Facing y^e Title Vol. VI.

G. Vertue Sculp

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THE HISTORY OF ENGLAND, AS WELL Eccleſiaſtical as Civil.

BY

M^r. DE RAPIN THOYRAS.

VOL. VI.

CONTAINING

I. The Reigns of the Three Kings of the Houſe *York*, EDWARD IV. EDWARD V. RICHARD III. and of HENRY VII. who joined the Two Houſes by his Marriage with *Elizabeth* Heireſs of the Houſe of *York*.

II. The STATE of the CHURCH during the Fifteenth Century.

Done into *ENGLISH* from the *FRENCH*, with large and uſeful NOTES mark'd with an *, by N. TINDAL, *A. M. Vicar of* Great-Waltham *in* Eſſex.

Illuſtrated with the Heads of the KINGS, &c. *Curiouſly Engrav'd on* COPPER-PLATES.

LONDON: *Printed for* JAMES *and* JOHN KNAPTON, *at the* Crown *in St.* Paul's *Church-Yard.* 1728.

MVSEVM
BRITAN
NICVM

TO THE

GENTLEMEN

OF THE

Engliſh FACTORY at *LISBON.*

SIRS,

THIS *Tranſlation*, the Fruits of my leiſure Hours whilſt at *Lisbon*, comes into the World very ſeaſonably to give me an Opportunity of making a publick Acknowledgement for the many Favours and Civilities I lately received at your Hands, during the five Months I had the Satisfaction to *officiate*, (in the Abſence of your Chaplain, the Reverend Mr. *Sims*) to the largeſt and nobleſt *Factory* in the World, as well as the moſt beneficial to the *Engliſh* Nation.

Were I to diſplay the great Advantages of that moſt valuable Branch of our Trade which paſſes through your Hands, or dwell upon your *real* Worth and good Qualities, as in Addreſſes of this Nature, moſt do upon their *feigned* ones of their *Patrons*, this *Dedication* would ſwell beyond all Bounds, and have no Proportion to the following Sheets. I forbear therefore to launch out into ſo ſpacious a Field, contenting my ſelf with the bare mention of two of your Virtues, SOBRIETY and GENEROSITY, which

you poſſeſs in ſo eminent a Manner as to be a Pattern and Example to all your Countrymen. Drinking to exceſs is a Vice hardly known among you, which I am afraid can ſcarce be affirmed of ſo large a Society of *Engliſhmen* any where in the World beſides. Your *conſtant Charity* to the Unfortunate, whereof I ſaw many Inſtances, and your *handſome Returns* for the leaſt *Services* done you, which I my ſelf experienced, loudly proclaim your *Generous Spirit*.

And here were I to enumerate the Obligations I owe to particular Perſons, as well as to all in General, it would be an endleſs Taſk. But however Gratitude will not ſuffer me to conclude without thanking in a more eſpecial Manner for his extraordinary Favours, *Arthur Stert* Eſq; whoſe *Worth* and Readineſs to do good to all his Fellow-Creatures, the moſt amiable Quality in the World! are ſo well known, that the *Burrough* of *Plymouth* upon no other Conſideration, (to their Honour be it remembered) have unanimouſly choſen him for their *Repreſentative in Parliament*, almoſt without his Knowledge. A Caſe very uncommon now-a-days!

That you may All be Happy and Proſperous in carrying on a *Trade* ſo advantagious and neceſſary to *England*, and that you may, as many as deſire it, return in good Time with Reputation and Riches to your native Country, and there enjoy the Fruits of your Labours with long Life, Health and Peace, is the ſincere and hearty Wiſh of,

SIRS,

Your moſt obliged

humble Servant,

NICHOLAS TINDAL.

Great-Waltham in Eſſex, September 10th, 1728.

THE HISTORY of *ENGLAND.*

BOOK XIII.

The Reigns of the three Kings of the Houſe of York, EDWARD IV, EDWARD V, *and* RICHARD III. *Containing the Space of Twenty-four Years and a Half.*

SECT. I.

16. EDWARD IV.

EDWARD was proclaimed the 5th of *March*, and on the 12th or 13th of the ſame Month he ſaw himſelf obliged to go and put himſelf at the Head of his Army. Before his Departure from *London*, a *Tradeſman* was executed for ſaying he would make his Son Prince of *Wales*. Apparently he added ſomething more in Contempt of the new King, and expreſſed too much Zeal for the *Houſe of Lancaſter* *. Be

1461. Edward *goes to Fight the Queen.*

An Execution upon a ſlight Account.

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1461. that as it will, ſome have looked upon this Man's Execution, in the beginning of this Reign, as a Preſage of the Blood which would be yet ſpilt in the Quarrel of the two contending *Houſes*.

The Queen's Army is much increaſed.

Queen *Margaret* had acted with Prudence in not hazarding a Battle at the Gates of *London*, and retiring among the *northern* People, who had appeared hitherto firmly attached to the *Houſe of Lancaſter*. They even gave her upon this Occaſion an evident Mark of their Affection, by ſtrengthening her Army with Recruits, nay, whole Bodies of freſh Troops. This was done with ſuch Expedition, that in a few Days the Queen ſaw herſelf at the Head of ſixty Thouſand Men, in Condition to expect her Enemy, or even to march againſt him.

Edward reſolves to fight the Queen.

Though *Edward* had been proclaimed at *London*, he was very ſenſible that did not add much to his Right, conſidering the irregular Manner wherein it was done. The Great Men of his Party, and the People of *London* were not inveſted with Power to put a Sovereign upon the Kingdom. And therefore he could not depend upon that extraordinary Election, unleſs it was backed with Force. *Henry* VI had reigned Thirty-eight Years, acknowledged for lawful King by all the *Engliſh*; and yet a Right which ſeemed ſo well eſtabliſhed, had not been able to bear it ſelf up againſt a ſuperior Strength. It was therefore eaſy to ſee that *Edward*'s Right, which had not greater Advantages, would ſubſiſt no longer than it ſhould be crowned with Succeſs. Matters ſtanding thus, there was a Neceſſity that the two Parties ſhould once more try the Way of Arms. Happy would it have been for both, if one ſingle Battle could have decided this bloody Quarrel! *Edward* being young and full of Life, truſted to his Courage and Fortune. He was likewiſe egged on to hazard all by the Great Men of his Party, who having ſhown ſo little regard for *Henry*, ſaw there was no ſafety for them but in Victory. He ſat out therefore from *London* a few Days after his being proclaimed, and heading

heading his Army marched towards the *North*, with a Reſolution to go in queſt of *Margaret*. 1461.

As ſoon as he was come to *Pontfract*, he detached the Lord *Fitz-Walter* to ſecure the Paſſage at *Ferribridge* upon the River *Are*, which he was obliged to paſs in order to come at his Enemies. *Fitz-Walter* ſucceeded as the King would have it, and went and poſted himſelf on the other Side of the River with his Detachment. In the mean Time *Henry* and the Queen who were at *York*, having notice that *Edward* was marching with all ſpeed, readily concluded that it was to give them Battle. This was what they themſelves earneſtly wiſhed for, ſince the gaining a Victory was the only means left to reſtore them. They made therefore the Duke of *Somerſet* General of their Army, and ſtayed themſelves at *York* waiting the Iſſue of a Battle which would determine their Fate. *He ſecures a Paſs.* Biondi. Habbington.

The Duke of *Somerſet* being informed that *Edward* had already ſecured the Paſſage at *Ferribridge*, made no queſtion but that it was with Deſign to fight, and therefore to oblige him to do it at a Diſadvantage, he reſolved to diſlodge *Fitz-Walter*, that he might have the River between him and his Enemy. Purſuant to this Reſolution, the Lord *Clifford* was detached to go and recover the Poſt that *Fitz-Walter* had ſeized. Whether *Fitz-Walter* was guilty of any Neglect, or whether he was not ſupported ſoon enough, he could not withſtand *Clifford*'s Charge, who drove his Troops over the River with great Slaughter. *Fitz-Walter* and the *Baſtard of Salisbury* were ſlain in the Action. *His Men beat from thence.*

The Earl of *Warwick*, of whom I have had frequent occaſion to ſpeak towards the End of the late Reign, was looked upon as the Life and Soul of *Edward*'s Army. The King was conſidered as a young Prince of great Valour but no Experience, and the Earl of *Warwick* was the real General. So that every one's Eyes were fixed upon him to ſee by his Looks whether there was reaſon to hope or fear. The News of *Fitz-Walter*'s Defeat being brought the Earl, he ſeemed to be under a great Conſternation, dreading that this firſt Check *The Earl of Warwick is alarmed at it.*

1461. would dishearten the Army. He immediately rid full speed to inform the King of it, with a Concern which plainly discovered how apprehensive he was of the Consequences. But at the same Time, to show that his Fears related not to his own Person, he stabbed his Horse, and kissing the Hilt of his Sword which was made in the Form of a Cross, swore that though the whole Army should take to Flight, he would stand alone in Defence of the King's Cause.

The King's Steadiness. *Edward* perceiving the concern the Earl was under, judged it necessary to prevent the ill Effects it might produce among the Troops. Accordingly, far from being alarmed at the News, he made Proclamation that all who had a Mind might depart: That he would reward those that should do their Duty: But that they who should fly during the Battle were to expect no Favour. At the same Time he detached *William Nevil* Lord *Falconbridge* to go and pass the *Are* at *Castleford* about three Miles from *Ferribridge*, with Orders to attack those who guarded the Post lately lost. *Falconbridge* executed his Orders with so much Secrecy and Expedition, that he had passed the River at *Castleford*, before the Enemies had the least Notice of it. Then marching along the River he met *Clifford* at the Head of a Body of *Horse*, briskly charged him, and put him to rout. *Clifford* was slain with an Arrow in the beginning of the Fight, too light a Punishment for his inhumane Usage of the young Earl of *Rutland* Brother of *Edward*, at the Battle of *Wakefield*. With him was killed likewise the Brother of the Earl of *Westmoreland*. The Post at *Ferribridge* being thus luckily recovered, *Edward* who kept in a readiness, passed his Army over the River, and immediately marched in quest of his Enemies.

He recovers the Passage.

The Battle of Towton. The two Armies met on *Palm-Sunday* between *Saxton* and *Towton* *, where they drew up in Order of Battle. *Henry*'s Army was sixty Thousand strong, and *Edward*'s about forty Thousand. The Air was darkened

* A small Village in *Yorkshire*.

ened by the Snow which fell very thick, and which the Wind blew in the Faces of the *Lancaſtrians*. Theſe laſt began the Fight with a Volley of Arrows, which being let fly too far off did no great Execution *. *Falconbridge* who commanded the Van of *Edward*'s Army, diſdaining to fight at ſuch a Diſtance, ordered his Men to lay by their Bows and take to their Swords. Whereupon the Armies coming up cloſe to one another began a furious Fight, wherein both Sides behaved with equal Bravery, and ſeemed bent to do their utmoſt to carry the Day. It would be a difficult Matter to deſcribe this Battle at large, the greateſt Part of thoſe that have ſpoken of it, not underſtanding any Thing of the Art of War, have given a very confuſed Idea of it, inſtead of repreſenting the ſeveral Circumſtances of it. Beſides, the two Armies are to be conſidered as truſting more to their Courage than the Experience of their Generals. It will ſuffice to obſerve that the Battle laſted from Morning to Night, and from thence one may judge how obſtinately it was fought on both Sides. *Edward* ſignalized himſelf by an uncommon Valour, which did not a little contribute to the keeping his Troops in their Reſolution of conquering or loſing their Lives for his ſake. At length the *Lancaſtrians* began towards the Evening to give Ground, not flying but maintaining a running Fight, and making a ſtand now and then, in ſuch manner that their Enemies could not be altogether ſure of the Victory. However this Advantage having encouraged *Edward*'s Soldiers to exert themſelves afreſh, they preſſed their Enemies ſo hard, that at length they forced them to take to their Heels. Then it was that a terrible Slaughter enſued. *Edward* had made Proclamation in his Army before the Fight, that no Quarter ſhould be given, well knowing

Edward wins the Victory.

* The Reaſon of this was, *Falconbridge* finding the Enemy was blinded by the Snow, ordered his Men to ſhoot a Volley of *Flight-Arrows* (provided on Purpoſe) and then draw back. The *Lancaſtrians* feeling the Arrows, and thinking their Enemies were nearer then they were, ſhot all their Arrows, which fell ſhort 60 Yards, and ſticking in the Ground did them hurt when they came to cloſe Fight.

1461. ing that the taking of Prisoners would but weaken his Army. The flying Troops shaped their Course towards *Tadcaster*-Bridge; but despairing of being able to reach that Place, their Enemies being close at their Heels, they turned aside in order to pass the *Cock* which runs into the *Wherf*. But this was done with such Confusion and Hurry, that the River was immediately full of those that were drowned, who in their Misfortune served for a Bridge to their Companions. The Slaughter is said to be so great in this Place, that the Waters of the *Wherf* were all died with the Blood. And indeed it is not to be wondered at, since the Historians affirm that no less than thirty-six Thousand seven Hundred and seventy-six were killed in the Battle. Among the Dead were found the Earls of *Northumberland* and *Westmoreland* *, the Lords *Dacres* and *Wells*, Sir *John Nevil* and *Andrew Trollop*. The Dukes of *Somerset* and *Exeter* had the good luck to escape. *Thomas Courtney* Earl of *Devonshire* was taken. His Life was spared at first, notwithstanding the King's Orders, but it was only in order to put him to a more inglorious Death on the Scaffold.

Number of slain.

The Earl of Devonshire *taken and beheaded.*

Biond. An *Italian* Author *†, who wrote the History of these Civil Wars, makes this Remark on the Battle of *Towton*: That if *France* or *Scotland* had then invaded *England*, there is no question but the Kingdom would have been subdued, in the weak Condition it was in after the Loss of so much Blood. This might have been the Case, and the Example of *France*, which in much the same Circumstances was almost entirely conquered by *Henry* V, gives Weight to this Reflection. But however, the Battles which were fought before the Quarrel between the two *Houses* was decided, show that there was

* *Ralph Nevil* Earl of *Westmoreland* was not in this Battle, neither did he die till 2 *Rich.* 3. but it was Sir *John Nevil* his Brother, whose Son *Ralph* succeeded his Uncle. *Dugdale.*

*† Sir *Francis Biondi* of the Bed-Chamber to King *Charles* I, writ an elegant History of our old *Civil Wars*, which was translated into *English* by the Earl of *Monmouth*. Folio 2 Volumes, *London*, 1641, 1646.

was ſtill a deal of *Engliſh* Blood to be ſpilt before it was poſſible to give *England* its Death's Wound. 1461.

After this ſignal Victory, *Edward* marched directly to *York*, it may be in hopes of finding *Henry* and *Margaret* there. But as after the Loſs of the Battle they could not expect to be ſafe at *York*, they choſe to retire to *Berwick*, and from thence fled for Refuge to *Edinburgh*. Upon his Arrival at *York Edward* ordered the Heads of the Duke his Father, and the Earl of *Saliſbury* to be taken down, and thoſe of the Earl of *Devonſhire* and ſome others, whom he had beheaded at *Pontfract*, to be put up in their room. He ſtayed ſome time at *York*, to take Meaſures for the Defence of the Borders, in caſe the *Scots* ſhould take it in their Heads to make an Incurſion. But as he was very ſenſible, that ſuppoſing they ſhould have ſuch a Deſign, they were in no readineſs to execute it, he believed he ſhould run no great Risk in returning to *London*, where he arrived the 8th of *June*.

Edward takes down his Father's Head from the Walls of York;

and returns to London;

All appearing quiet in *England* ſince the Victory of *Towton*, *Edward* would defer no longer his Coronation, which was fixed to the 20th of *June*. Whilſt the Preparations were making, he was thinking how to manage with regard to *Scotland*, from whence he foreſaw the fugitive King and Queen might obtain Aſſiſtance. With this view, he ſought the Means to cut out Work for the *Scots*, which ſhould hinder them from medling with their Neighbours Affairs. To this he was likewiſe ſpurred on by the Sollicitations of the Earl of *Dowglaſs*, who had taken Refuge in *England* ſeveral Years ſince. But for the better Underſtanding how Matters then ſtood between *England* and *Scotland*, it will be neceſſary to give a brief Account of the Poſture of Affairs in that Kingdom.

and prepares for his Coronation.

He guards againſt Scotland.

Scotland had been for ſome time rent with dangerous Factions, which began with the Reign of *James* II. That Prince not being above ſeven Years old when the King his Father was murdered, *Archibald Douglaſs* claimed the Regency. But the *States* not thinking proper to truſt ſo potent a Perſon with the Adminiſtration of

Affairs of Scotland. Buchanan.

1461. of Affairs, made *Alexander Leviſton* Regent, and *William Crichton* Chancellor. Theſe two *Barons* immediately formed two Parties, which would have divided all *Scotland*, if the Earl of *Douglaſs* had not had a Third which equalled the other Two. The Earl dying about two Years after, *William* his Son ſucceeded him, who ſtill more haughty and impetuous than his Father, raiſed great Diſturbances in this Kingdom. Sworn Enemy of the Regent and Chancellor, he ſhowed in all his Proceedings that he was labouring to work them both out, in order to raiſe himſelf upon their Ruins. This obliged them, for their own ſakes, to join againſt their common Enemy. Some time after, they found means to get him to be preſent at the Aſſembly of the *States*, upon the Aſſurance of a *Safe-Conduct*, which hindered them not from cauſing his Head to be ſtruck off. *Beatrix* his Daughter inherited his Eſtate, and *James* his Brother his Title. But *James* died two Years after, leaving *William* his Son Head of that powerful Family.

William fell not ſhort of his Predeceſſors in Pride and Ambition. He knew ſo well how to gain the Confidence of the young King, who began to look into his Affairs, that he became his prime Miniſter and Favourite. As ſoon as he ſaw his Credit ſufficiently eſtabliſhed, he attacked the two Heads of the oppoſite Factions, and conſtrained *Leviſton* to withdraw from Court. He met with ſtronger Oppoſition from *Crichton*. But however, he abuſed his Power to ſuch a Degree, and acted in ſo arbitrary a Manner, that he put People to Death, not only by his own Authority, but even contrary to the King's Pleaſure. In fine, *James* II. blinded by his Fondneſs for the Earl, was not contented with overlooking all his Exceſſes: but moreover, made him his Lieutenant-General of the whole Kingdom. In all appearance, this high Promotion inſpired the Earl of *Douglaſs* with too ambitious Thoughts. Without ſaying any thing to the King, he took a Journey to *England*, where it was known that he conferred in private with *Henry* VI's Miniſters. This Procedure gave his Enemies, what they had long been waiting for, an Opportunity

tunity to make him loſe the King's Favour. They filled the King's Head with ſo many Suſpicions and Fears, that in order to hinder the Earl from executing his pretended Deſigns, he turned him out of all his Places, not daring perhaps to attempt to puniſh him in a more rigorous Manner. At the ſame time he gave the Adminiſtration of Affairs to the Earl of *the Orcades*, mortal Enemy of *Douglaſs*, and reſtored the *Seals* to *William Crichton*. 1461.

The Earl vexed to the Heart to ſee his Enemies triumph, formed a League againſt them, and brought the Kingdom to the very Brink of Deſtruction. In fine, he committed ſo many Acts of Outrage and Violence, that the King juſtly provoked with him, reſolved to get rid of a Subject which created him ſo much Uneaſineſs. But as he was ſenſible he could not openly compaſs his Ends, he had recourſe to Policy. By means of ſome of his Friends, he put him in hopes of being reſtored to Favour upon the ſame Foot he was before. Then ſending for him to Court, upon a *Safe-Conduct* ſigned with his own Hand, he carried him alone into his Cloſet, and there plunged a Dagger into his Breaſt. This Deed, violent and irregular as it was, was approved of by the *States*, who at the ſame time declared *James*, Brother and Heir of the deceaſed, with the reſt of his Brothers, Enemies of their Country.

James, the new Earl of *Douglaſs*, thinking of nothing but how to revenge his Brother's Death, and ſupport the Credit of his Family, rais'd a Civil War in the Kingdom. During which, the King having laid Siege to one of his Places, *Douglaſs* was preparing to relieve it, when on a ſudden he ſaw himſelf forſaken by all his Friends, and forced to fly for Refuge into *England*. Some time after he entered the County of *Annandale* with ſome Troops, and being defeated, was once more oblig'd to fly his Country. *George* Earl of *Ormond* *, one of his Brothers, was taken and beheaded.

* This muſt be ſome Miſtake, *James Butler* Earl of *Wiltſhire* was Earl of *Ormond*. *Buchanan* gives him no Title, and ſays, *Archibald* Earl of *Murray* another Brother was ſlain on the Spot.

1461. These Misfortunes were not capable of daunting the Courage of the rebellious Earl. He found means to gain the Earl of *Roſs* Lord of *the Iſles*, *Donald* his Brother*, and the reſt of that Family, and to perſuade them to take up Arms againſt the King. Then they entered together the County of *March*, and ravaged it from one End to the other. But juſt as *Douglaſs* was preparing to purſue his Progreſs, the Earl of *Roſs* repenting his Fault, deſerted him, and went and caſt himſelf upon the King's Mercy. The King gave him hopes of a Pardon, on Condition he would deſerve it by his Services. *Douglaſs* unwilling to follow his Example, once more retired into *England*.

Theſe Commotions being appeaſed by the Earl of *Roſs*'s Submiſſion, and *Douglaſs*'s Retreat. *James* II. at the Inſtance of the Duke of *York*, went and beſieged *Roxburrough*. The Earl of *Roſs*, willing to deſerve the Pardon the King had made him hope for, came and offered his Service with a Body of choſen Troops. *James* was unfortunately killed at this Siege, as was related before, and left *James* III. his Son about ſeven Years old for his Succeſſor.

The Death of *James* II. and the tender Years of the new King, inſpired the Earl of *Douglaſs* with freſh Hopes. But as he could not then expect any Aſſiſtance from *England* by reaſon of the *Civil* War which raged in that Kingdom, he was fain to ſtay till the Poſture of Affairs ſhould be changed. He fancied the favourable Opportunity he expected was at length come, after *Edward*'s Victory at *Towton*. Wherefore applying himſelf to that Prince, who ſeemed to be firmly ſettled in the Throne, he gave him to underſtand that by the Help of his Friends in *Scotland*, it would be very eaſy for the *Engliſh* to conquer that Kingdom. *Edward* had no mind at all to undertake ſo difficult a Task in his preſent Circumſtances. However to find the *Scots* Employment, and hinder them from aſſiſting *Henry*, he embraced the Opportunity offered him by the Earl of *Douglaſs*,

* *Donald* Lord of the *Iſles*, and the Earl of *Roſs* were the ſame Perſon according to *Buchanan*, p. 311.

Douglaſs, in hopes of kindling a Civil War in *Scotland*. And therefore, *Douglaſs* having aſſured him that the Earl of *Roſs*, *Donald* his Brother, and the Son of *Donald*, were diſpoſed to riſe againſt the King of *Scotland*, he gave him full Power to go and treat with them. 1461. Act. Pub. XI. 474.

Whilſt *Douglaſs* was managing Matters with the Earl of *Roſs*, *Edward* was crowned at *Weſtminſter* with the uſual Solemnities. Edward *crowned.*

Though Queen *Margaret* was out of the Kingdom, yet ſhe gave the new King great Uneaſineſs. He was juſtly apprehenſive that the Succours of the *Scots* would enable her to make a freſh Attempt upon his Crown. Wherefore, with a view to obſtruct her Deſigns, he propoſed a Truce to the Regents of *Scotland*. That Kingdom was then divided into two Parties which were formed on the Score of the Regency. *Mary de Gelders*, Mother of the King, was at the Head of the Firſt, and the Earl of *Angus* of the Second. They both laid claim to the Regency: but the *States*, to diſoblige neither, had nominated two Regents of each Party, and petitioned the Queen to be contented with the Care of her Children's Education. Thus the two Factions ſtill ſubſiſted, becauſe it was not poſſible to ſatisfy both. The Affairs of *Scotland* ſtanding thus, when *Edward* propoſed a Truce, the Regents reſolved to agree to it, and ſent Ambaſſadors to him for that Purpoſe. But Queen *Margaret*, who was then at *Edinburgh*, perceiving how prejudicial the Truce would be to her, found means to break *Edward*'s Meaſures, by ſurrendering *Berwick* to the *Scots*, and concluding a Marriage bettween Prince *Edward* her Son, and *Margaret* Siſter of King *James*. Whereupon the Treaty about a Truce was entirely broke off. *He propoſes a Truce with* Scotland, ibid. 475. 477. Margaret *prevents it.*

Whilſt *Margaret* was taken up in gaining the *Scots* to her Side, *Edward* called a Parliament at *Weſtminſter*, to get the *Revolution* ratified, which had placed him on the Throne. It is eaſy to conceive, that at ſuch a Juncture, the Parliament needed not much Sollicitation to confirm what had been done hitherto in favour of *Edward*. How irregular ſoever his Election might be, *The Parliament confirms* Edward's *Election.*

1461. he was victorious; that was enough to hinder any Person from venturing to dispute his Right. It is evident from several former Instances that the Parliaments of *England* had never departed from that wholesome Principle of *siding with the strongest*; and what we shall see in the Sequel of this very Reign will farther confirm it.

All the Acts against the House of York *are repealed.*

Pursuant to this Rule, the Parliament approved of *Edward*'s Coronation, ratified his Title, and repealed all the *Acts* made in the late Reign against *the House of York*. *Henry* VI. after a Thirty-eight Years Reign, was deemed an Usurper, and all he had done whilst he sat on the Throne was annulled, as wanting a lawful Authority, and as being no longer in Force, but as it should be confirmed by the new Parliament. Thus did they abuse the People's Credulity, and make them believe, that what had been just and valid for sixty Years together, was become unjust by a contingent Accident, I mean by *Edward*'s Victory at *Towton*.

Creating of divers Peers. Act. Pub. XI. 476.

During this *Session* of Parliament, the King created *George*, the eldest of his Brothers, *Duke of Clarence*, and *Richard* his younger Brother, *Duke of Glouceſter*. The Lord *Falconbridge* was made *Earl of Kent*. *Henry Bourchier* the King's Uncle by the Mother's Side, * was honoured with the Title of *Earl of Essex*, and *John Nevil* Brother of the Earl of *Warwick* was made Lord *Mountague*.

The Earl of Oxford *and his Son beheaded.*

Though the Earl of *Devonshire* and some others had been beheaded at *York*, these Victims seemed not sufficient to attone for the Blood of the Friends of *the House of York*, which the Queen had caused to be shed on the Scaffold. To the King's Policy, Fears or Resentment, were likewise to be sacrificed *John de Vere* Earl of *Oxford*, and *Aubery* his eldest Son, who were publickly beheaded *.

After

* He married *Isabella* the King's Aunt, Sister to the late Duke of *York*, the King's Father.

* And also Sir *Thomas Tiddingham* Knight, *William Tyrrel* and *Walter Montgomery* Esquires. The Dukes of *Exeter* and *Somerset*, with 140 more were attainted. This *John de Vere* is said to have disputed in a former Parliament the Question about the Precedency of *Temporal* and *Spiritual* Barons, (a bold Attempt in those Days) and by his Arguments carried it for the Lords *Temporal*.

After *Edward* had thus ſettled Matters at home, he turned his Thoughts to Affairs abroad. The Kingdom was actually in War with *France*, *Scotland*, *Bretagne*, and the *Low-Countries*. He had whereof to be afraid from all theſe Quarters. If theſe *States* had all joined againſt him, it would have been very difficult for *Edward* to withſtand their Forces, conſidering the Circumſtances he was in, and the little Dependence he could have upon the Aſſiſtance of his Subjects. Luckily for him, *France* had a new King who never once thought of conquering *England*. I mean *Lewis* XI. whoſe Mind was taken up in projecting how to become abſolute in his own Kingdom, and pull down the great Men, among whom the Dukes of *Burgundy* and *Bretagne* were the Principal. It is true, his Deſigns had not yet broke out into Action. But what he was brooding in his Mind was more than enough to hinder him from renewing the War with the *Engliſh*. The Duke of *Bretagne* did not care to ſtir all alone in carrying on againſt *England* a War, which could not but be very detrimental to him upon all Accounts. As for the Duke of *Burgundy*, the ſame Reaſons which had made him deſirous of a Truce with *England*, were ſtill of force. Beſides, he ſaw plainly that it was againſt his Intereſt to unite with *France* and *Bretagne* in order to weaken *England*, much leſs to ſtand alone the Brunt of a War, which could not but be very deſtructive to the Trade of his Subjects. Indeed his Inclination carried him to ſtand by *the Houſe of Lancaſter* rather than by that of *York*, on the Score of his Marriage with *Iſabella* of *Portugal*, a near Relation of *Henry* VI. But Reaſons taken from the Inclinations of Princes do not always prevail above thoſe of Politicks. The Duke of *Burgundy* was perfectly well acquainted with the Character of *Lewis* XI. and conſequently he plainly ſaw that it was his Buſineſs to be upon his Guard againſt him, inſtead of endeavouring to render him more powerful by the weakning of *England*. Wherefore, contenting himſelf with wiſhing well to *the Houſe of Lancaſter*, without giving any Aſſiſtance to *Henry*, he judged

1461. *Diſpoſition of foreign Princes with regard to* England.

Of the King of France;

Of the Duke of Bretagne, *and* Burgundy.

1461. judged it beſt to live in Friendſhip with *Edward* IV. whom he ſaw pretty firmly ſettled in the Throne, without any likelihood of his being pulled down. With this view he ſent Ambaſſadors to congratulate him upon his Acceſſion to the Crown, and at the ſame time to demand Satisfaction for certain Outrages committed by the *Engliſh* contrary to the Truce. *Edward* gladly anſwered the Advances made him by the Duke of *Burgundy*, and forthwith appointed Commiſſioners to inquire into the Breaches of the Truce complained of by that Prince. His Affairs would not allow him to act with Haughtineſs towards any of the Princes his Neighbours, eſpecially towards the Duke of *Burgundy*, who was very potent and allied to *the Houſe of Lancaſter*.

Act. Pub. XI. 478.

There was only *Scotland* left which could give the King any Uneaſineſs. He knew that *Margaret* had yielded *Berwick* to the *Scots*, and contracted the Prince her Son with King *James*'s Siſter. He could not therefore queſtion but ſhe expected the Aſſiſtance of that Kingdom. Mean while, the Queen having ſettled her Matters in *Scotland*, had left there the King her Huſband, and the Prince their Son, and was gone to *France*. The Deſign of this Journey was to demand Succours of *Lewis* XI. But he was not of a Humour to engage in any Enterprize, which he ſaw he could not be a great Gainer by. However, as ſhe was his near Relation, he put her in hopes of ſome Aſſiſtance. But as he had a mind not to treat entirely with *Edward*, he was contented with making Proclamation that all the Friends of *the Houſe of Lancaſter* ſhould be well received in his Dominions, and that the Adherents of *the Houſe of York* ſhould not be admitted.

1462. Edward's *Treaty with the Earl of* Roſs.

Edward did not doubt in the leaſt but *Margaret* would contrive ſome freſh Attempt. Her Voyage to *France*, and eſpecially the Alliance ſhe had lately made with the King of *Scotland*, fully convinced him of it. Wherefore, judging it would be in vain to try to break her Meaſures by a Truce with *Scotland*, to which the *Scots* daily ſtarted freſh Obſtacles, he reſolved to renew his Negotiation with the Earl of *Roſs*. In all appear-

ance

ance the Earl of *Douglaſs* had prepared that Lord already to take up Arms: Nothing was wanting but to ſettle the Terms. To conclude this Affair, which *Edward* hoped would turn to his Advantage, he impowered the Biſhop of *Durham*, the Earl of *Worceſter*, and others, to make in his Name a Treaty with the Earl of *Roſs*, which was done accordingly. The Subſtance whereof was as follows: 1462. Act. Pub. XI. 483, 484.

That *John* Earl of *Roſs*, Lord of *the Iſles* *, *Donald Balagh* his Brother, and *John* of the *Iſles*, Son of *Donald*, ſhould do Homage to King *Edward*.

That they ſhould never acknowledge any other King of *England* but *Edward*, or his Succeſſors deſcended from *Lionel* Duke of *Clarence*.

That they ſhould be always ready to ſerve him in all his Wars with *Scotland*, or with the *Scots* in *Ireland*.

That in time of Peace the Earl of *Roſs* ſhould have a Penſion of a Hundred Pound *Sterling* a Year, *Donald* one of Forty, and *John* his Son one of Ten Pound: and that theſe Penſions ſhould be doubled in time of War, during actual Service.

That in caſe *Scotland* ſhould be conquered by the Arms of *Edward*, and with their Aſſiſtance, the King ſhould inveſt them with all the *Iſles* lying beyond the Sea of *Scotland*, to be equally divided among them.

That *James* Earl of *Douglaſs* ſhould likewiſe be inveſted with all the Lands he had formerly held in the Kingdom of *Scotland*, from the North-Sea to *England*.

Laſtly, That *Edward* ſhould make neither Peace nor Truce with the King of *Scotland*, without including them if they deſired it. As

* The *Weſtern Iſles* called by the Inhabitants *Inch Gall*, by a Writer of the laſt Age, *Hebrides*: by the Antients, *Beteorica*, *Inchades*, *Leucades*, *Habudes*, commonly thought to be Forty-four in Number, but are really more. Amongſt them is *Jona*, which *Bede* calls *Hy* or *Hu*, given to the *Scotch* Monks by the *Picts*, for preaching the Goſpel amongſt them. Here ſtands a Monaſtery famous for the Burial of the Kings of *Scotland*. The Inhabitants of theſe *Iſles* ſpeak the *Iriſh* Language, and retain the Cuſtoms, *&c.* of the antient *Scots*, as the *High-landers* do. They are enjoyed at preſent by the *Mac Conells*, who derive themſelves from this *Donald*, who took the Title of *King of the Iſles*, and ravaged *Scotland* in a cruel Manner.

1462. As no *English* or *Scotch* Historian has mentioned this Treaty, in all likelihood it lay concealed among the *Records* of *England* till it was inserted in the *Collection of Publick Acts*. Indeed it was of little Moment since it was not enacted. *Edward* had too much Business upon his Hands to think of the Conquest of *Scotland*; his only view was to make use of the Earls of *Douglass* and *Ross* to raise Disturbances in that Kingdom. But apparently the Earl of *Douglass*'s Measures were not well laid, since the History of *Scotland* speaks of no Insurrection about this Time.

The rest of the Year 1462 was quiet enough, the Storm which was gathering not being ready yet to burst forth.

Pius II. congratulates Edward, Act. Pub. XI. 489.

Pope *Pius II* believing *Edward* sufficiently established in the Throne, writ him a Letter to congratulate him upon his coming to the Crown, in Answer to one sent him by the King to notify him of it. The Pope expressed himself in such a Manner, that it appeared he reserved the Power of retracting what he had said, if their was Occasion, since his Approbation was grounded only upon the Proofs *Edward* himself had given him of his Title, whereby he made it conditional.

The Duke of *Exeter* who had married *Edward*'s Sister, having followed *Henry* into *Scotland*, the King gave the confiscation of his Estate to his Dutchess, who had chosen rather to stay with the King her Brother, than follow the Fortune of her Husband.

The Lord *Falconbridge*, a zealous Friend of the *House of York*, who was created in Parliament Earl of *Kent*, was made High Admiral of *England* about the End of this Year.

The Duke of Somerset submits.

All being quiet in the Kingdom, and no appearance of any fresh Attempt upon *Edward*, the Duke of *Somerset*, and *Ralph Percy*, Brother of the Earl of *Northumberland* came and threw themselves upon the King's Mercy, who generously gave them a Pardon.

Historians assure us that in the Course of this Year the *English* Fleet made an Attempt upon the Coasts of *Bretagne* and the Isle of *Ree*, which neither the *French*

nor

nor the *Bretons* ſay a Word of. And indeed it is hard to conceive what ſhould induce *Edward* to renew the War, at a Juncture wherein he ſhould have thought himſelf very happy in being let alone. It even appears from the *Collection of Publick Acts*, that he was not without Fear of an Inſurrection of the *Lancaſtrians*. At leaſt one cannot well aſcribe to any Thing elſe, the Precaution he took to gain the *Clergy* to his Intereſts, by granting them a Favour which none of his Predeceſſors had ever done willingly. And that was, that for the future all *Eccleſiaſtical* Perſons indicted for any Crime, ſhould be tried in the *Eccleſiaſtical Court*, without the King's Judges having any Thing to do in the Matter upon any Account whatever. By this ſame *Charter* he ſcreened the *Clergy* from the Penalties of the *Statutes* of *Proviſors* and *Præmunire* paſſed in the 16th Year of *Richard* II. He pretended that he was induced to this Conceſſion from his great Zeal for the *Church*, his Dread of the *Excommunications* decreed by the *Holy Canons*, and his Belief that all the Calamities which inflicted *England* ſome Time ſince, were the juſt Judgments of God for the little Regard which had been paid to his *Miniſters*. But it is extremely probable, that he was ſwayed by quite another Motive in breaking through ſo many *Statutes* which the Parliaments had deemed neceſſary to give a Check to the Growth of the *Clergy*'s Power.

1462.

The King's Conceſſion to the Clergy. Act. Pub. XI. 493.

About the End of this Year the Truce of Commerce between *England* and the Duke of *Burgundy*'s Dominions was prolonged for ſome Time.

ibid. p. 497.

In the mean while *Edward* hearing that Preparations were privately carrying on in *Scotland*, and that in all likelihood it was againſt him, called upon the Earl of *Roſs* to perform his Promiſe, and to that End appointed Commiſſioners who had Orders to receive his Oath. But the Earl, who had his Spies in *England*, not ſeeing that *Edward* was preparing in good earneſt to back him, thought not proper to begin, for fear of being left in the Lurch.

Edward calls upon the Earl of Roſs to perform his Promiſe. p. 499.

1463. *Queen* Margaret *arrives in the North of* England; Biondi. Habing.

It was not without Ground that *Edward* dreaded a Storm from the *North*. Presently after, Queen *Margaret* having obtained of the King of *France* an Aid of five Thousand Men, with the Promise of a greater, imbarked in order to make a Descent in *England*. As she was in hopes that the Inhabitants of the *northern* Counties would take up Arms in her Favour, she went and landed at the Mouth of the *Tine*. But she found there a Body of *English* Troops, who forced her to re-embark with Precipitation. A few Hours after, her Ship being separated from the rest of the Fleet by a Storm, it was not without great Difficulty that having entered the *Tweed* she at last got a shore at *Berwick*. The rest of the Ships were driven towards *Bamburgh*, where the *French* would fain have landed. But the Bastard *Ogle*, who was in those Parts, having hindered their landing, they retired to the little Isle of *Lindisfarn*, the Weather not permitting them to put to Sea. Thither *Ogle* followed them, and falling upon them slew part of them, and took four Hundred Prisoners. Their Leader was the only Person that found means to escape to *Berwick* in a Fisher-boat.

and is forced to fly to Berwick.

The King sends Montague *into the North.* ibid. 500, 501.

Edward being informed of this, plainly perceived that *Margaret* was sure of the Assistance of the *Scots*, and that it would not be long before she marched into *England*. His Apprehensions of this putting him upon seriously attending to his Affairs, he dispatched the Lord *Montague* with what Troops were ready, whilst he himself forwarded a great Amament he was making by Sea and Land, to go and oppose his Enemy.

Henry *and* Margaret *re-enter* England.

Montague having began his March, heard upon the Road that the Queen was entered *Northamberland* at the Head of an Army which daily increased by reason of the great License she allowed her Soldiers in. He went on however as far as *Durham*, where he halted some Time in Expectation of a Reinforcement which the King was sending him. These Supplies being arrived, he continued his March, and meeting a Detachment of the Enemies Army commanded by the Lords *Hungerford* and *Ross*, attacked and put them to rout.

Montague *defeats a Detatchment of their Army.*

Ralph

Ralph Percy who was on *Henry*'s Side though he had taken the Oath to *Edward*, was ſlain in this Action. The Duke of *Somerſet* having made no more Conſcience than *Percy* of breaking his Oath, was likewiſe gone to join the Queen. 1463.

Montague fluſhed with this Succeſs, marched forthwith to *Hexham* where *Henry* lay intrenched, and attacking him in his *Lines* without giving him Time to look about him, gained a compleat Victory. The Duke of *Somerſet*, *Roſs*, and *Hungerford* were taken Priſoners; but *Henry*, *Margaret*, and the Prince their Son fled into *Scotland*. The Priſoners were not ſuffered to languiſh long. Some Days after the Duke of *Somerſet* was beheaded at *Hexham*, *Roſs* and *Hungerford* elſewhere, and Twenty Officers of Diſtinction at *York*. Many others who had concealed themſelves in ſeveral Places, being diſcovered or given up to the Conqueror, were likewiſe ſacrificed to his Vengeance. *He attacks Henry's Camp and puts him to rout.* Biondi. Habing. Henry *eſcapes*; Somerſet *is beheaded.*

After this Victory *Edward*, who had advanced as far as *Durham*, ſent the Earl of *Warwick* farther towards the *North* to recover ſome Places the Queen had taken, after which he marched back to *London*. The Earl of *Warwick* having nothing to fear after the Victory his Brother had juſt gained, divided his Army into three Bodies, and laid Siege at once to *Bamburgh*, *Dunſtanburgh*, and *Alnwick*. The two firſt of theſe Places were carried with eaſe, and the commanding Officers puniſhed. *Alnwick*, where a *Frenchman* commanded with ſome Troops of his Nation, held out till the Earl of *Angus* came to its Relief with a Body of *Scotch* Troops. But the Earl could do nothing more than draw out the Garriſon, apparently by means of a Treaty with the Beſiegers, though *Buchanan* repreſents the Matter quite otherwiſe. Edward *returns to* London, *and leaves the Earl of* Warwick *in the North.*

Edward being come to *London* ordered two *Patents* to be drawn up under the *Great Seal* to reward the Lord *Montague* and *William Herbert*, with the Honours he conferred upon them. The firſt had done him a great Service in the two Victories he had lately gained. The other had all along diſtinguiſhed himſelf by an extraordinary Montague *is created* Marquiſs, *and* Herbert *Earl of* Pembroke. Biondi.

1463. traordinary Zeal for the *House of York*. Wherefore being pleased to give them both Marks of his Gratitude, he created the former *Earl of Northumberland*, and the latter *Earl of Pembroke*; *Henry Percy*, and *Jasper Tudor*, who bore these Titles having forfeited them by adhering to King *Henry*. But *Percy* having afterwards submitted to the King, and obtained his Pardon, *Montague* was willing to resign to him the Title of *Earl of Northumberland*, and to have that of *Marquiss of Montague*. As to the Title of *Earl of Pembroke*, care must be taken not to confound the two Lords that bore it, namely, *Jasper Tudor* Half-Brother of *Henry* VI, and *William Herbert* who was in *Edward*'s Service.

Preparations are making in France *against* Edward.

Whilst *Edward* was enjoying the Tranquillity which his late Victory had procured him, he received Intelligence that Preparations were making in *France* to support the Interests of *Henry* and *Margaret*. Whereupon he resolved to send for the Earl of *Warwick*, and to leave the Marquiss of *Montague* in the *North*, with a *Patent* of Governour of the *northern Marches*, and a Power to levy what Troops he should think necessary. He did not question but it was from that Quarter that his Enemies had resolved to exert their utmost, by reason of the neighbourhood of *Scotland*. These Precautions, joined to his late Victory, apparently cooled the Ardour of the *French* and *Scots*. Soon after the *Scots* demanded a *Safe-Conduct* for Ambassadors they intended to send to him. At the same Time *Lewis* XI set a Treaty on Foot with him, by the Mediation of the Duke of *Burgundy*. This Truce was actually concluded at St. *Omer* to the 15th of *November* 1464, upon Condition that neither of the two Kings should assist the Enemies of the other. The Duke of *Burgundy* agreed likewise to renew for one Year, the Truce of Commerce between *England* and the *Low-Countries*.

He sends for the Earl of Warwick.

A Truce with the French, Act. Pub. XI. 507. *and Duke of* Burgundy.

and with Scotland. *p.* 510.

After *Edward* had thus screened himself from *France*, he concluded with *Scotland* a Truce for a Year, which the Archbishop of St. *Andrews* had negotiated at *London* in the Name of the Regents. Having therefore nothing to fear from his Neighbours, at least for one Year,

Year, he ſaw himſelf at leiſure to take Meaſures to ſupport himſelf in the Throne in caſe of another Attack. 1463.

Mean while the unfortunate *Henry*, deſerted by the King of *France*, the King of *Scotland*, and the Duke of *Burgundy*, who alone were able to aſſiſt him, ſaw himſelf without any Refuge. He was ſtill at *Edinburgh*, but not without Uneaſineſs. Beſides, that the Truce lately concluded between the *Engliſh* and *Scots*, tied up the Hands of theſe laſt from giving him any Aſſiſtance, it is very likely that upon concluding the Truce with *Scotland*, *Edward* had ſtipulated that his Enemy ſhould not be ſuffered to remain any longer in that Kingdom. It even appears by the *Collection of Publick Acts*, that before the Truce was ſigned, the two Kings of *England* and *Scotland* had agreed upon certain ſecret Articles which could relate to none but the unfortunate fugitive King. Be this as it will, *Henry* not knowing where to go, prepoſterouſly imagined he ſhould be able to lie concealed in *England*. It may be he flattered himſelf that the Inhabitants of the *northern* Counties would riſe in his Favour. But unhappy Princes ſeldom meet with faithful Friends. At leaſt it may be preſumed that fearing to be delivered up by the *Scots*, and having no Opportunity to eſcape by Sea, he hoped he ſhould find a ſafe Retreat at ſome Friend's Houſe in *England* till an Opportunity ſhould offer of going into *France*. Whatever his Deſigns might be, he had no ſooner ſet Foot in *England* but he was known, ſeized *, conducted to *London* in an ignominious Manner, and confined in the *Tower*. Some affirm that he was taken laſt Year at the Battle of *Hexham*, or at leaſt a few Days after. But it appears by ſome of the *Collection of Publick Acts*, that in *October* that Year he was not yet in *Edward*'s Power. It is therefore more probable that he was taken as I have ſaid, in endeavouring to hide himſelf in *England*, after he had made ſome ſtay in *Scotland*. An Adventure which befell *Margaret*, and is related by *Monſtrelet*, makes it thought that ſhe had likewiſe reſolved to conceal

Henry *and* Margaret, *in great Perplexity.*

p. 508.

Henry *fancies he could lye concealed in* England.

He is taken and carried to London.

Adventure of Queen Margaret. Monſtrelet

* At *Waddington-Hall* in *Lancaſhire* whilſt he was at Dinner.

1463. ceal herſelf in *England*, in order to have an Opportunity to imbark, not daring to truſt the *Scots* any longer, and that the better to accompliſh her Deſign, ſhe had parted from the King her Huſband. *Monſtrelet* ſays, *Margaret* being in *England* with the Prince her Son, attended with *La Verenne* a *French* Lord, fell into the Hands of ſome Robbers who would have killed her, if a ſudden Quarrel had not aroſe amongſt them, which afforded her an Opportunity to eſcape into a Wood with the Prince. He adds, that afterwards ſhe found Means to imbark for *Sluice* in *Flanders* where the Duke of *Burgundy* gave her an honourable Reception. If this Adventure be true, it could not happen but at the Time I am now ſpeaking of. However that be, after ſhe had quitted *Scotland* ſhe retired to *René* of *Anjou* her Father, with the Prince her Son. *Edmund* the new Duke of *Somerſet*, Brother of him beheaded at *Hexham*, and the Duke of *Exeter*, fled for Refuge into the *Low-Countries*, where however they durſt not make themſelves known for fear of being given up to *Edward*. They endured in *Flanders* all that a wretched Exile attended with extreme Want was capable of bringing upon Perſons of their Character. *Philip de Comines* ſays, he ſaw the Duke of *Exeter* before he was known, following bareſoot the Duke of *Burgundy*'s Equipage, and ſerving apparently as a Footman for his Livelihood. But theſe two Lords being at length known, the Duke gave them a mean Penſion for their Subſiſtence; not daring without doubt to carry his Generoſity any farther, for fear of offending *Edward*. Theſe are ſtrange Turns for a King who had ſat Thirty-eight Years on a Throne, for a Queen who had for many Years together governed *England* with an abſolute Sway, for a Prince deſtined by his Birth to wear a Crown, for Lords related or allied to the Royal Family, who had always been ſeen in the higheſt and moſt important Stations. Theſe Kinds of Inſtances of the Viciſſitude of worldly Grandeur make ſometimes but little Impreſſion at the very Time they are ſeen, becauſe thoſe who are concerned are generally induced to aſcribe

She retires to her Father.

The Duke of Somerſet *and* Exeter *withdraw to* Flanders, *where they live wretchedly.*

aſcribe their Misfortunes to the Malice of their Enemies. But ſuch as read them impartially in Hiſtory, can they forbear reflecting upon them, and acknowledging the Hand of Divine Providence in them? 1463.

Edward having King *Henry* in his Power, and Queen *Margaret* being gone to the Duke her Father, there was no Body appeared that could raiſe Commotions in the Kingdom. Then it was that after having in vain offered a Pardon to all the Friends of the *Houſe of Lancaſter* that would come and make their Submiſſion and ſwear Allegiance by ſuch a Time, he confiſcated their Eſtates, and liberally beſtowed them upon thoſe that had ſerved him. Then willing to gain the Affections of his Subjects after giving them convincing Proofs of his Severity, he made himſelf extremely Popular, even to ſuch a Degree that the *Italian* Author ſpoken of before, taxes him with running into Exceſs upon that Score. 1464. Edward *gives his Friends the Eſtates of the Rebels.* *He makes himſelf very Popular.*

During this Calm, which ſeemed as if it would continue long, the King's chief Counſellors preſſed him to think of marrying, that he might leave the Crown to his Heirs. He took their Advice, and three Matches were propoſed. The firſt was *Margaret* Siſter of the King of *Scotland*. But beſides that this Princeſs was betrothed already to *Henry*'s Son, ſhe was ſo young that it would have been a great while before the Marriage could have been conſummated. The ſecond Match was *Iſabella of Caſtile*, who was afterwards married to *Ferdinand of Arragon*. The *Engliſh* Writers ſay, ſhe was rejected by reaſon of her being too young. And yet it is certain ſhe was then thirteen Years old. *Bona of Savoy*, Siſter of the Queen of *France* was the third. *Edward* was reſolved to have her, and ſhortly after ſent the Earl of *Warwick* to demand her in Marriage. She was then at the Court of *France* with the Queen her Siſter. It is Time now to ſpeak of the Affairs of *France* by reaſon of their Connexion with thoſe of *England*. Otherwiſe the Reader would not underſtand, as I may ſay, but by halfs, what paſſed in *England* in the Reign of *Edward* IV. *He demands in Marriage* Bona of Savoy, Lewis's *Siſter.* *The Earl of* Warwick *ſent upon that Account to* France.

Lewis

1464. *State of Affairs in* France.

Mezerai.

Lewis XI, a Prince of a turbulent and restless Spirit, was no sooner seated in the Throne of *France*, but he formed the Design of becoming absolute. This is what some Flatterers have called *rendering himself Free*, but what a famous Historian says ought rather to be termed, *running Mad*. To bring about this grand Design, there was a Necessity in the first Place of humbling the overgrown Power of the *Peers*, among whom the Dukes of *Burgundy* and *Bretagne* were the most considerable. They not only upheld one another, but were likewise a support to the rest. The first held *Burgundy* and *Flanders*, the only two antient *Lay-Peerdoms* which remained to be united to the Crown. This Duke, who was moreover Sovereign of almost all the *Low-Countries*, was so powerful, that it would have been imprudent to begin with attacking him. Wherefore *Lewis* resolved to enter upon the Execution of his Projects by falling upon the Duke of *Bretagne* first. An old Quarrel about *Homage* afforded him a Handle to begin. Ever since *Peter* sirnamed *Mauclere*, had done Homage to St. *Lewis*, the Nature of that Homage had been a continual Subject of Disputes between the Kings of *France* and the Dukes of *Bretagne*. The Kings pretended it was *Liege* or *Full*, and the Dukes affirmed, it was not. This was a very important Question, by reason of the great Difference between *bare Homage*, and *Homage-Liege*. The former was paid by those who without being naturally dependent on a Prince, did him *Homage* however upon other Accounts, as for his Protection, for his Assistance when wanted, or even for a Pension only. The *Collection of Publick Acts* contain sundry Homages of this Kind paid to the Kings of *England* by the Sovereign Princes of *Germany* and of the *Low-Countries*, and by the Earls of *Savoy*. But *Homage-Liege* was paid by those that held Lands dismembered from the Dominions of the Prince to whom it was paid; such were the *Dukedoms* and *Peerdoms* of *France*. As these two sorts of *Homage* were of a different Nature, they were likewise performed in a diffetent Manner. The Person that did *Homage-Liege* was uncovered

Contests between the Kings of France, *and the Dukes of* Bretagne, Argentre.

uncovered, on his Knees, ungirded, without Sword or Spurs; he held his Hands together within thoſe of the Sovereign, and ſwore Fealty to him. But *ſimple Homage* was paid ſtanding, with the Sword and Spurs on, and without taking an Oath. *Liege-Homage* therefore was for Lands diſmembered from the Crown, and denoted that the Lands were liable to Confiſcation, and to be united again to the Prince's *Demeſn.* But *ſimple-Homage* was perſonal, upon certain Conditions advantagious to the *Vaſſal*: So that the Default of *Homage* deprived him only of the Benefit of the Conditions. And therefore the obliging the Duke of *Bretagne* to do *Liege-Homage* would have been putting him under a Neceſſity to own that his Dukedom was liable to Confiſcation, and to be re-annexed to the Crown of *France.* To avoid this Inconveniency, the Dukes of *Bretagne* had found out the Expedient of doing their *Homage* in general Terms, in like manner as their Predeceſſors had done it; whether the Rights of the Kings of *France*, with regard to the Nature of the *Homage*, could not be fully made out, or whether the Circumſtances of Affairs obliged them to keep fair with the Dukes of *Bretagne*, it is certain they received for a long while their Homage in that Manner. It is true, that after the Homage was done, the *Chancellor* or *High-Chamberlain* ſaid aloud, that the Homage was *Leige*; to which the Duke replied, that it was not, and thus the Pretenſions of each remained entire. *Charles* V plainly ſhowed he ſuppoſed the Homage to be *Liege*, ſince he got the Dukedom of *Bretagne* to be confiſcated and annexed to his Crown, by a Decree of the Court of *Peers.* A Peace being concluded between *France* and *Bretagne* in the beginning of the Reign of *Charles* VI, the Duke of *Bretagne* was reſtored to his Dukedom, without any thing being done about determining the Nature of the Homage, the Pretenſions of both Parties ſtill ſubſiſting. *Arthur* III, who had been Conſtable of *France*, being become *Duke of Bretagne*, ſolemnly declared in doing Homage to *Charles* VII, that he meant not to do *Liege-Homage*, and was allowed to pay it in general 1464.

1464. Terms, like his Predeceſſors. *Francis* II. his Succeſſor made the ſame Declaration, and *Charles* VII. received his Homage, though without approving his Proteſtation.

Lewis XI. *attacks the Duke of* Bretagne, *who forms a League againſt him.* Argentre.

Matters ſtood thus between *France* and *Bretagne*, when *Lewis* XI. came to the Crown. In all likelihood *Lewis* would have been no harder to pleaſe than *Charles* his Father, in the Point of the Duke of *Bretagne*'s Homage, had he not, as has been ſaid, determined to begin with him, in his grand Project of humbling all thoſe that might ſtand in his Way to arbitrary Power. He had taken this Reſolution the Moment he was ſeated in the Throne, and it may be before the Death of the King his Father; but it was not till 1464. that he was pleaſed to enter upon the Execution of it. To that End, having firſt ordered ſome Troops into *Anjou*, he ſent the Chancellor *de Morvilliers* to the Duke of *Bretagne*, to forbid him in his Name to aſſume any Right of Sovereignty in his Dukedom. *Francis* II. finding himſelf ill provided for his Defence, had recourſe to Artifice, and demanded three Months time to conſult his *States*. This Term being granted him, he made uſe of it to cabal in *France* among the great Men, and to form againſt *Lewis* a powerful League, called *the League of the publick Good*, of which there will be mention preſently.

Negotiations between Edward *and* Lewis XI.

It was at the very time *Lewis* was thinking of attacking the Duke of *Bretagne*, that *Edward* ſent the Earl of *Warwick* to demand *Bona of Savoy* his Siſter-in-law in Marriage. This Propoſal could not but be very acceptable to him, ſince he deſired nothing more ardently than to make an Alliance with the King of *England*, in order to prevent him from concerning himſelf in the Quarrels he was quickly to have with the great Men of his Kingdom. But before the Concluſion of the Marriage, he was willing to be ſure of reaping the Benefit he expected from it. To that End, he cauſed the Buſineſs of the Marriage to be ſpun out a little, whilſt he ordered to be negotiated at *London*, and did negotiate himſelf with the Earl of *Warwick*, a perſonal Friendſhip

ſhip between him and *Edward*. This appears by *the Collection of Publick Acts*, where we find ſeveral Things relating to this Negotiation. We ſee there a *full Power* given by *Edward* to the Earl of *Warwick* to treat about a final Peace, an Alliance, or a Truce with *Lewis* XI. and another to conclude a Treaty of Amity and Friendſhip between the two Kings. The Deſigns of *Lewis* went further ſtill. With a View to deprive the Duke of *Bretagne* of all Protection, he would have got the Duke of *Burgundy* into the Alliance he intended to make with *England*. Upon which account it was that he agreed with *Edward* and *Philip* upon having a Congreſs of Ambaſſadors at *Hesdin*, which was afterwards removed to St. *Omer*. He managed his Matters at *London* by the Lord *Lanoy* Governor of *Amiens*, whom he had ſent thither towards the End of the laſt Year. But all theſe Negotiations ended in nothing but the Concluſion of a Truce at Sea, of the ſame length with that which had been before made for the Land.

1464. Act. Pub. XI. 515, 518. P. 521. P. 512.

Whilſt theſe things were in Agitation at *London* and *Paris*, *Edward* concluded with *Scotland* a fifteen Years Truce. *John Kennet*, a Lord of great Abilities, and very zealous for his King and Country, thought he could not, during the Regency, do a greater Service to both, than to keep a good Underſtanding with the *Engliſh*. Otherwiſe it was next to impoſſible to preſerve Tranquillity in *Scotland*, becauſe, during the War, the Male-Contents of *Scotland* always relied upon the Protection of *England*.

Edward makes a Truce with Scotland, p. 514—515.

This Affair being over, *Edward* offered to all that had taken Arms againſt him an abſolute Pardon, excepting only *Ralph Grey*, and *Humphry Nevil*. *Grey* having been taken in *Banborough*, where he commanded for *Henry*, had been degraded. Apparently he had done ſomething ſince, which cauſed him to be excepted in the Pardon the King granted to the reſt. Shortly after the King iſſued out a *Proclamation*, commanding all his Subjects from ſixteen to ſixty Years of Age to take up Arms. But Hiſtorians make no mention of this Armament, or of what could be the Occaſion of it.

He grants a Pardon to Henry's *Friends.*

1464. *He concludes a Peace with* Bretagne. Act. Pub. XI. 531, 532.

In *Auguſt* this Year *Edward* received Ambaſſadors from the Duke of *Bretagne*, who came to treat about a Truce. As the Duke found himſelf then hard preſſed by the King of *France*, and as he was labouring to form *the League of the publick Good*, he was very glad to ſecure himſelf from the Side of *England*. He obtained from *Edward* a Truce for one Year, which was ſigned the 1ſt of *October*.

About the ſame time the See of *York* becoming vacant, *George Nevil*, Brother of the Earl of *Warwick*, was promoted to it by the King's Recommendation.

1465. *The Earl of* Warwick *concludes the King's Marriage with* Bona *of* Savoy.

In the mean while, the Earl of *Warwick*, who was ſtill at the Court of *France*, having preſſed *Lewis* upon the main Buſineſs of his Embaſſy, the Marriage of *Edward* with *Bona of Savoy* was at length made and concluded. Preſently after *Lewis* appointed the Earl of *Dammartin* for his Ambaſſador to *Edward*, to go and ſettle with him what remained farther to be done in that Matter. But *Love* overturned all theſe Projects. What I am going to relate is not a *Romance*, but a true Story, which ſhows how great a Share that Paſſion has ſometimes in the moſt important Revolutions: for this Affair was attended with great Conſequences.

Edward *falls in love with* Elizabeth Woodville.

Whilſt the Earl of *Warwick* was haſtning in *France* with all his Power the Concluſion of the Negotiation committed to his Charge, *Edward* rendered it of no Effect in *England* by mere Chance. Happening to be in *Northamptonſhire* near the Manor of *Grafton*, he had a mind to go and viſit *Jaquelina* of *Luxemburg*, Dutcheſs of *Bedford*, who had eſpouſed in ſecond Marriage Sir *Richard Woodville*. By him ſhe had among other Children a Daughter called *Elizabeth*, who had been Wife to Sir *John Grey*, [of *Groby*] and upon his Death was returned to her Father's Houſe. She had the Affliction to ſee her Huſband's Eſtate confiſcated, on account of his adhering to the *Lancaſtrian* Intereſt, in the Service of which he had loſt his Life. The King's Viſit appearing to this young Lady to be a favourable Opportunity, ſhe came and threw herſelf at his Feet, beſeeching him to reſtore the Lands of her deceaſed Husband, and intreating

treating him to have pity upon her Children. *Edward*, who was young and exceeding amorous, no ſooner beheld the charming Widow at his Feet, but he fell deſperately in love with her. He immediately gave her hopes, as he raiſed her from the Ground, that he would grant her Requeſt. He even let her know, that it was not in his Power to refuſe her any thing. Afterwards, in his private Converſation with her, he would fain have perſuaded her to purchaſe the Favour at a very high Rate. All the Hiſtorians agree, that he was the beſt made Man in *England*, and the moſt proper to win the Affections of the fair Sex. As he knew this, he did not queſtion but he ſhould find the ſame eaſy Acceſs to this Lady's Heart, as he had found to thoſe of many others. But ſhe plainly gave him to underſtand, that although ſhe thought her ſelf unworthy to be a Queen, ſhe had too honeſt a Heart to take up with the Title of Miſtreſs. This Declaration, which denoted ſo much Virtue in *Elizabeth*, made ſo deep an Impreſſion on the King's Mind, that deſpairing of being able to attain his Ends any other way, he offered her Marriage. The Tender of ſuch a Heart as *Edward*'s, together with a Crown, could hardly be rejected. The young Lady, agreeably ſurprized at ſo advantagious a Propoſal, accepted it immediately in ſo reſpectful and grateful a Manner, as completed the Conqueſt of the young Monarch's Heart. Mean while, as he was unwilling to diſoblige the Dutcheſs of *York* his Mother, he could not think of proceeding any farther without acquainting her with his Intention. The Dutcheſs ſurprized at this haſty Reſolution, uſed all her Endeavours to diſſuade him from it. She repreſented to him the Injury he would do the Earl of *Warwick*, to whom he owed ſo many Obligations, and who, it was to be feared, would highly reſent it: That by the Affront he was going to put upon the King of *France*, he would make him his mortal Enemy, and render a Peace between them impracticable: That the Nobles of *England* would behold with Grief and Jealouſy the *Woodville* Family raiſed ſo high above them, and that their Diſcontent might be attended 1465.

1465. attended with fatal Conſequences. In fine, that he was going to marry a Woman with nothing, his Subject, and one that had Children by another Man. *Edward* replied in a few Words, that it was uncertain whether the Earl of *Warwick* would look upon his Change as an Injury; but that, as for him, he was ſure of his Affection: That the King of *France* was like to have Buſineſs enough upon his Hands to divert him in all probability from all Thoughts of Revenge: That a King's taking to Wife one of his Subjects, would be ſo far from giving Offence to the Nobility, that on the contrary, it would be very pleaſing to them, ſince for the future all the noble Families might aſpire to the ſame Honour. Laſtly, That a Dowry ought to be of no weight in a King's Marriage; and that his Love and her Virtue whom he pitched upon for his Wife, made up to him whatever he might expect beſides. The Dutcheſs perceiving that the King was not ſwayed by her Arguments, ſhe added another which to her ſeemed of much greater Force. She remonſtrated to him, that he had plighted his Faith to the Lady *Elizabeth Lucy*, and that he could not in Conſcience take another Wife. *Edward* poſitively denied that he was engaged to that Lady. Nevertheleſs, either for the Satisfaction of the Dutcheſs his Mother, or for fear this pretended Contract might one Day furniſh a Handle to diſpute the Validity of his Marriage, he conſented that *Elizabeth Lucy* ſhould be examined by ſome Biſhops. Upon her Examination, ſhe confeſſed that the King had not made her a poſitive Promiſe: but however, ſhe ſaid ſhe ſhould never have yielded to his Deſires, had ſhe not been perſuaded that he intended to marry her. This Anſwer making appear that there was no abſolute Promiſe on the King's Part, the Biſhops were of Opinion that the King might marry another with a ſafe Conſcience. Accordingly, *Edward* eſpouſed *Elizabeth Woodville* in the Preſence of a few Perſons, ſo that his Marriage was not divulged but by the Orders which were given to prepare for the Coronation of the new Queen.

And marries her. February.

The

1465. *The Nobles jealous of the* Woodvilles. *The Q's Father made Earl of* Rivers, *and her Brother marries a rich Heireſs.*

The Nobles and People were extremely ſurprized to ſee the King married to one of his Subjects, whilſt he was treating about a Match at the Court of *France* with the Princeſs of *Savoy*, nay, when the Match was already concluded. Sir *Richard Woodville* the Queen's Father was forthwith raiſed to the Dignity of *Earl of Rivers*, and *Anthony Woodville* her Son, married to the only Daughter of the *Lonſcales*, the greateſt Heireſs in the Kingdom. This ſtirred up the Jealouſy of the Nobles, and eſpecially of the Duke of *Clarence*, who could not forbear taking it very ill of the King his Brother that he had not thought of him, and helped him to ſo rich a Match. But this was nothing in Compariſon of the Earl of *Warwick*'s Indignation for having been thus made a Fool of. He thought the King ſhould have had more regard for him than to uſe him in ſo diſhonourable a Manner. In this Belief he expreſſed his Reſentment to the King of *France*, who did not fail to inflame it to the utmoſt of his Power. *Lewis* himſelf could not but look upon *Edward*'s Proceedings as a deadly Affront. But the Poſture of his Affairs not permitting him to demand Satisfaction immediately, he concealed his Reſentment till he ſhould find a favourable Opportunity to ſhow it. As to the Earl of *Warwick*, he left the Court of *France* in order to return to *England*, with a Heart full of Hatred and Revenge againſt *Edward*, whoſe Ingratitude he abhorred. He took care however to hide his Thoughts, becauſe it was not yet a proper time to diſcover them. But his very hiding them, made the King perceive he was very much diſguſted. Wherefore *Edward* began to look upon him as a ſecret Enemy, though he continued to ſhow him ſome ſlight Marks of his Confidence. Thus the King and Earl diſguiſing their real Sentiments, a mutual Hatred took root in their Breaſts, which induced the King to give him ſeveral Occaſions of Uneaſineſs, as well to gratify his Paſſion, as with a View to leſſen the Earl's Credit with the People. As he could not imagine that he who had been able by his Intereſt to place him in the Throne, might likewiſe have it in his Power

The King and Warwick *begin to hate one another.*

to

1465. to pull him down, he took no great Care to keep fair with him. *Warwick* plainly perceived the King's Aim: but he wisely took no notice of it, for fear an unseasonable Resentment might oblige *Edward* to take such Measures against him, as would put it out of his Power to be revenged. All the Historians unanimously agree, that presently after his Return from *France*, he retired into the Country on Pretence of his Health. But we find in *the Collection of Publick Acts*, that during the Years 1465 and 1466. he was at Court, and even employed in Negotiations of Importance with Ambassadors of foreign Princes. So that it was two Years first before he withdrew, when he could no longer bear to see himself entirely removed from Affairs, whilst the new Earl of *Rivers* wholly engrossed the King's Confidence to himself.

Act. Pub. XI. 540—578.

The rest of the Year 1465 was spent in sundry Negotiations with the King of *France*, the Duke of *Burgundy*, the Earl of *Charolois*, and the Duke of *Bretagne*. As these several Negotiations concerned the Affairs of *France*, and as the Knowledge of the History of *England* in great Measure depends upon these Affairs, it will be necessary to give a brief Account how Matters stood then in *France*.

Affairs of France.

Lewis XI. was one of the subtlest and least scrupulous Princes at that time in *Europe*. His Design was, as has been remarked, to ruin the Dukes of *Burgundy* and *Bretagne*, the former by Cunning, and the latter by open Force. I have already taken notice that with regard to the Duke of *Bretagne*, he had begun to put his Project in Execution, by drawing together an Army in *Anjou* ready to fall upon *Bretagne*, and which only waited till the Time granted the Duke was expired. As to the Duke of *Burgundy*, *Lewis* had not thought proper to proceed in the same Manner with him. He was too powerful a Prince for him to have any Prospect of succeeding by attacking him openly. But he made use of a secret Expedient, which helped him in Part to what he would not have been able but with great Difficulty to obtain by Force of Arms. He bribed the Lords

Lords of *Croy* and *Chimay*, Brothers, prime Miniſters and Confidents of the Duke, who got their Maſter to give up to the Crown of *France*, the Towns lying on the *Somme*, for four Hundred Thouſand Crowns, purſuant to the Treaty of *Arras*. *Charles* Earl of *Charolois*, only Son of the Duke of *Burgundy*, looked upon this Reſtitution as a mortal Blow to him and his *Houſe*. He was of Opinion that the Duke his Father ſhould at any Rate have kept thoſe Places which rendered him more formidable to *France* than all the reſt of his Dominions together. He was ſo angry with the *Miniſters*, that he openly threatened to make them one Day ſuffer for the deſtructive Council they had given the Duke his Father. This Affair created between the Father and Son a Quarrel which the Favourites took Care to foment, ſo that in the End the Earl in great Diſcontent withdrew into *Holland*. He gave out that it was not ſafe for him to be any longer at Court; that the Favourites had adviſed the Duke his Father to apprehend him, and had even bribed People to poiſon him. 1465.

Whilſt the Earl of *Charolois* was in *Holland*, *Lewis* XI ſent thither privately the *Baſtard of Rubempré*, in a Veſſel fitted out at *Dieppe*, with ſome choſen Soldiers, who without knowing where they were going, had Orders to obey *Rubempré* in every Thing he commanded them. The Baſtard being landed with four of theſe Soldiers, was known and diſcovered to the Earl of *Charolois*, who immediately cauſed him to be ſeized. Some ſay, that there was found about him an Order under the King's own Hand to apprehend the Earl and bring him away dead or alive. In the mean Time *Lewis* was upon the *Somme* with a conſiderable Army which he had drawn together upon ſome Pretence. He had appointed the Duke of *Burgundy* to come to him, on Purpoſe, as it was reported afterwards, to ſeize upon his Perſon as ſoon as he ſhould hear of the Succeſs of *Rubempré*'s Plot. But the Earl of *Charolois* having ſent ſpeedy notice to the Duke his Father of what he had diſcovered, the Duke immediately rode away from *Memoirs of* Comines.

1465. *Hesdin*, where he was already come. Thus, if it be true that *Lewis* had formed a Design to seize at once upon the Father and Son, his Projects miscarried. This wicked Attempt, whether it was only suspected, or whether there was any Proof of it, greatly increased the Hatred the Earl of *Charolois* had before entertained against *Lewis*. He proclaimed every where that the King of *France* had designed to have him assassinated or carried away by Force, and the Report immediately flew over all the Towns of the *Low-Countries*.

Lewis easily perceived that his Honour must needs lie at Stake in this Affair, especially if the *Bastard of Rubempré*, whose Tryal was getting ready in *Holland*, should come to be convicted of the Fact laid to his Charge. And therefore in order to hinder his being tried, he sent the Chancellor *de Morvilliers* with some other Ambassadors to the Duke of *Burgundy*, to require him to deliver up the Prisoners into his Hands. The Earl of *Charolois* being present at the *Audience*, the Chancellor spoke to the Duke in a very haughty Manner, and even dropped some offensive Words against the Earl his Son. The Earl would have frequently replied; but the Chancellor still interrupted him, with saying he was sent to the Duke his Father and not to him. The Duke of *Burgundy*'s Answer was, that being Sovereign in *Holland* without any manner of Dependence on *France*, he would cause the Prisoner to be tried, and either punished or acquitted, according as he should be found Guilty or Innocent. When the Ambassadors of *France* took their Leave of the Duke, the Earl of *Charolois* took one of them aside and said these Words to him: *The King your Master has been very severe upon me by his Chancellor, but he shall repent it before a Year passes over his Head.* And indeed he was as good as his Word.

War of the Publick Good against Lewis XI. Comin. Argen. Mezerai.

This passed in the Year 1464, whilst the Duke of *Bretagne*, in order to defend himself against *Lewis*, was labouring to form the *League of the Publick Good* abovementioned. The Earl of *Charolois* was one of the first that came into it, and had got leave of the Duke his Father

Father to raiſe Troops and join the Duke of *Bretagne*, with almoſt all the Great Men of *France*, who were to be near *Paris* in the Month of *June* 1465. As ſoon as the Duke of *Bretagne* ſaw himſelf ſure of a powerful Aſſiſtance, he ſent Ambaſſadors to the King, under colour of deſiring a longer Time, but in reality to entice away the Duke of *Berry* his Brother. They ſucceeded ſo well that they brought the Duke along with them into *Bretagne*. As ſoon as he was out of the King's Power, the Confederates declared him Head of the League, and every one went and prepared in order to be at the Rendezvous. The Duke of *Bourbon* was the firſt that ventured to take up Arms, with Deſign to draw the King into his Country, and get him at a diſtance from *Paris*. *Lewis*, who had yet no Intelligence of the League, marched forthwith towards *Bourbonnois*. But quickly after he received Advice, that the Earl of *Charolois*, at the Head of a powerful Army was approaching *Paris*, and that the Duke of *Bretagne* with the reſt of the Confederates were preparing to go and join him. Upon this News he immediately left *Bourbonnois*, in order to try to ſave his Metropolis. In the mean Time the Earl of *Charolois* attempted to become Maſter of it. But as he ſaw no Proſpect of Succeſs, he went and encamped at *Montlhery*, expecting the Dukes of *Berry* and *Bretagne*. Mean while the King who was advancing with great Marches, being come near *Montlhery*, the two Armies met and joined Battle. The Iſſue of it was ſo doubtful that both Sides claimed the Advantage. But as the King decamped in the Night in order to go and throw himſelf into *Paris*, he gave Occaſion to his Enemies to ſay that he owned himſelf worſted. Some Days after the Dukes of *Berry* and *Bretagne* joined the *Burgundians*. But the King had already ſo well provided for the Defence of his Capital, that it was impoſſible for the Confederates to take it. At length the War ended in a Treaty ſigned at *Conflans* the 30th of *October*. *Lewis* reſtored to the Duke of *Burgundy* the Towns upon the *Somme*, for which he had paid four Hundred Thouſand Crowns, and gave *Normandy* in

1465.

It ends in a Treaty.

1465. Appennage to the Duke his Brother. After ſigning the Treaty, the Earl of *Charolois* retired into the *Low-Countries*, and the Duke of *Berry* in Company with the Duke of *Bretagne* went and took Poſſeſſion of *Normandy*. But a few Days after, the Duke of *Bretagne* having quarrelled with the Duke of *Berry*, returned into his own Dominions. Then *Lewis* taking Advantage of their Diſſenſions marched without Loſs of Time into *Normandy*, drove his Brother from thence, and put him under a Neceſſity of taking Refuge once more in *Bretagne*, where he was civily received by the Duke, notwithſtanding their preceeding Quarrel. Theſe are all the Matters of Importance that paſſed in *France* in the Year 1465.

Lewis ſeizes again upon Normandy.

Negotiations of the Duke of Bretagne *and Earl of* Charolois *with* Edward.

Whilſt the *French* Princes had been taken up in Preparations for the War of the *Publick Good*, they had not neglected the King of *England*. We find in the *Collection of Publick Acts*, that from *March* to the Time they took the Field, the Duke of *Bretagne* and the Earl of *Charolois* had their Ambaſſadors at *London*, and that the Earl offered to make with *Edward* a Treaty of Alliance and Friendſhip. *Lewis* XI himſelf, though very angry with him, did not omit courting him. But *Edward* willing no doubt to have a little farther Knowledge of his Affairs, avoided on divers Pretences concluding any Thing with any of them.

Act. Pub. XI. 540---542. *p.* 547.

Truce prolonged with Scotland.

He did not proceed in the ſame manner with regard to the King of *Scotland*, with whom, after a long Negotiation he concluded at *Newcaſtle* a Treaty, whereby the late Truce was prolonged for Forty-five Years till 1510.

1466. *Birth of the Princeſs* Elizabeth.

In the Beginning of the Year 1466, the Queen was brought to Bed of a Princeſs, who was called *Elizabeth*, and became afterwards the happy Inſtrument to bring Peace to *England* after a long Civil War.

Edward *keeps fair with the King of* France, *and with his Enemies,*

Edward having put a grievous Affront upon *Lewis* XI, conſidered him as a ſecret Enemy who would not let ſlip any Opportunity that offered to be revenged. He kept fair with him however during the War of the *Publick Good*, for fear of affording him a freſh Motive

to

to countenance the *Houſe of Lancaſter*, in Caſe he got the better of the Confederate Princes. The ſame Reaſon had induced him to hearken to the Propoſals of the Duke of *Berry* and *Bretagne*; but he had taken Care to conclude nothing either with them or the King of *France*. Afterwards *Lewis*'s Diſadvantage at the Treaty of *Conflans*, might have carried *Edward* to regard him leſs, had not the Revolution immediately after in *Normandy* cauſed him to act with Deliberation. In the mean Time he was equally preſſed on both Sides. The King of *France*, making as if he minded not the Affront he had received, urged him to enter into a Treaty with him, for a final Peace between the two Crowns, or at leaſt for a long Truce. On the other Hand, the Duke of *Burgundy*, the Earl of *Charolois*, and the Duke of *Bretagne* repreſented to him, that if he ſuffered the *French* Princes to be oppreſſed, the King of *France* would by that become ſo powerful as could not but prove fatal to *England*. The Courſe he took upon this Occaſion, was to carry it fair with all, and keep both Sides in hopes. The Truth is, it was by no means his Intereſt to concern himſelf in their Quarrels, and thereby create to himſelf new Enemies at a Time when the *Lancaſtrian* Party, though humbled, were however ſtill very numerous in *England*. This is the real Motive of his Conduct, and of all his Negotiations as well with the King of *France* as with the other Princes, who preſſed him to declare his Intention. Mean while, to keep Matters ſtill upon the ſame Foot, till he could ſee how Things would go, he concluded a ſhort Truce with *France*, and the like with the Duke of *Bretagne*. In keeping fair with the King of *France* he had a farther Aim, to haſten the Concluſion of a Match which had been propoſed to him, between *Margaret* his Siſter and the Earl of *Charolois*. He was ſenſible that the leſs inclined he appeared to break with *Lewis* XI, the more eager would the Duke of *Burgundy* and the Earl his Son be for the Marriage. And indeed his Policy had all the Succeſs he expected. Theſe two Princes perceiving how difficult it was to ingage

1466.

He makes a Truce with France, April 30. *and with* Bretagne, Jun. 7. Act. Pub. XI. 567, 568.

Project of the Marriage of the Earl of Charolois, *with* Edward's *Siſter.* p. 564.

1465. ingage him in their Party, imagined there was no ſhorter way to attain their Ends than to effect the Marriage propoſed. As ſoon as *Edward* ſaw them in this Temper, he entered into Engagements with them without delay. He loved not the King of *France*, becauſe he knew very well that he was not beloved by him. Beſides, he conſidered he could not rely apon that Prince's Word; that the Steps he had taken upon his Account were not ſincere, and that one Time or other he would ſhow his Reſentment. Moreover it was not for the Intereſt of *England* to ſuffer the Dukes of *Burgundy* and *Bretagne* to be cruſhed, which as it evidently appeared was *Lewis*'s grand Deſign. Wherefore *October* the 21ſt. he ſigned a Treaty of perſonal Alliance, Amity and Friendſhip with the Earl of *Charolois*. A few Days after he ſent a Safe-Conduct to *Lewis of Bruges* Lord of *Gruthuyſe*, whom the Duke of *Burgundy* had appointed to go and treat with him, about a laſting Peace, and to finiſh the ſettling of the Articles of the Marriage of the Earl of *Charolois* with the Princeſs *Margaret*.

Treaty with the Earl of Charolois. *p.* 580.

The Duke of Bretagne *is hard preſſed.* Comin. Argen.

All this looked as if it would end in a League between *Edward* and the Duke of *Burgundy*, for the Defence of the Duke of *Bretagne*, who ſaw himſelf hard preſſed. Since the Duke of *Berry* had been driven out of *Normandy*, the Duke of *Bretagne* had undertaken to ſupport him and cauſe the Treaty of *Conflans* to be put in Execution. This was projected by him and the Earl of *Charolois*, who had engaged to make a powerful Diverſion in *Picardy*. But unluckily for the Duke of *Bretagne*, the Duke of *Burgundy* had undertaken againſt the *Liegeois* a War which hindered the Earl of *Charolois* from performing his Promiſe. Mean while *Lewis* XI, improving this Juncture, was extremely urgent with the Duke of *Bretagne*, who being in no Condition to ſtand againſt him alone, gave him hopes that he would comply with his Will. But this was only to gain Time, till the Duke of *Burgundy* ſhould be ready. At length, the War with *Liege* being ſuſpended by a Truce, the Earl of *Charolois* prepared to march

The Earl of Charolois *cannot aſſiſt him.*

march into *Picardy*. But when he leaſt expected it, *Lewis* by his ſecret Practices cauſed the *Liegeois* to take up Arms again. So that the Duke of *Bretagne* was put to great Straits. He made however the beſt Defence he could, in hopes of being quickly ſuccoured. 1466.

Whilſt theſe Things were doing in *France*, *Edward* concluded a Treaty of perpetual Alliance with the King of *Caſtile*. He had done the ſame with the King of *Denmark* in the Beginning of this Year. Though theſe Alliances were of little Moment with reſpect to his principal Affairs, they gained him however Reputation, and rendered him more formidable to his Enemies. *Edward's Alliances with* Caſtile *and* Denmark. Act. Pub. XI. 580, 583.

The firſt Part of the Year 1467 was wholly ſpent in divers Negotiations with *France* and the Duke of *Burgundy*. The Duke only waited for the End of the War with *Liege*, to give all his Forces to the Earl his Son, that he might by a powerful Diverſion prevent the Ruin of the Duke of *Bretagne*, who having loſt already the Places he had in *Lower-Normandy*, ſaw himſelf upon the Point of being attacked in his own Country. On the other Side, *Lewis* who ſpared no Coſt to have good Spies, was informed of what paſſed between *Edward* and the Duke of *Burgundy*, and plainly perceived that their Union tended to the Defenſe of the Duke of *Bretagne*. As he had ſtill in view the Project of ruining that Prince, he omitted nothing that could help to take off *Edward* from the Engagements he was beginning to enter into with his Enemies. With this view it was that in the Month of *February* 1467 he ſent the Baſtard of *Bourbon* into *England*, and in *June* the Archbiſhop of *Narbonne*. *Edward* pretending to be entirely diſengaged, appointed immediately Commiſſioners to treat with theſe Ambaſſadors. But as it is no hard Matter to ſpin out the Time in theſe kinds of Negotiations, nothing was concluded. Mean while, *Lewis* was afraid to puſh home the Duke of *Bretagne* for fear of obliging *Edward* to declare for him. 1467. *Negotiations with* Lewis *and the Duke of* Burgundy. *See* Act. Pub. 1467.

Thus

1467. *Death of the Duke of* Burgundy. *The Earl of* Charolois *succeeds him.* Mezerai.

Thus ſtood Matters between thoſe Princes, when the Duke of *Burgundy* died on the 15th of *July*, in the 72d Year of his Age. *Charles* Earl of *Charolois* his only Son, whom for the future I ſhall call Duke of *Burgundy*, ſucceeded him in all his Dominions. He would immediately have ran to the Aſſiſtance of the Duke of *Bretagne* if the War with *Liege* had not held him back. Mean while *Lewis* fearing that the Prey which he held as it were in his Hands, would ſlip from him, ſent and offered the new Duke of *Burgundy* to deſert the *Liegeois* whom he had hitherto aſſiſted, provided he would in his Turn abandon the Duke of *Bretagne*. If *Charles* had cloſed with this Propoſal, the Duke of *Bretagne* would have been loſt beyond recovery, ſince there was already a *French* Army of thirty Thouſand Men in the Heart of his Country. But he openly rejected it, declaring he would ſtand by the Duke of *Bretagne* to the utmoſt of his Power, let what would happen. He only waited for the End of the War with *Liege*, in order to throw himſelf into *Picardy*, and he did not queſtion but *Edward* would declare againſt *France*, the Moment he ſaw himſelf ſure of being ſo well backed. The very Day of the Duke his Father's Death, he had ratified his Alliance with *Edward*, and the new Bond which was going to unite them cloſer, namely, his Marriage, which was upon the Point of being concluded, ſeemed to promiſe him that he ſhould never want the Aſſiſtance of *England* in Time of Need. Mean while the Duke of *Bretagne* fearing to be oppreſſed before Succours ſhould arrive, put *Lewis* in hopes of all the Satisfaction he deſired, and by that means obtained a Truce which gave him Time to Breath.

He refuſes to leave the Duke of Bretagne.

He ratifies his Treaty with Edward. Act. Pub. XI. 580.

The Duke of Bretagne *obtains a Truce.*

Whilſt theſe Things paſſed in *France*, conſiderable Alterations were made at the Court of *England*, which in the End occaſioned great Troubles. The Queen's Relations daily increaſed in Favour with the King, and the Earl of *Warwick* with his Brothers, who had been ſo powerful, were hardly looked upon. The Archbiſhop of *York* was ſtill *Chancellor*; but at length he was

The Queen's Relations in great Credit at Court. Biond. Habing.

was turned out to make room for the Biſhop of *Bath* and *Wells*, one of the Queen's moſt zealous Sticklers. 1467.

Warwick and his Brothers neglected.

The Earl of *Warwick* was no longer employed as before in Affairs of Moment. This manifeſtly appears by *the Collection of Publick Acts*, where his Name is not found after the middle of this Year. As for the Marquiſs of *Montague* his Brother, who was Governor of the *Northern* Counties, as that Poſt was of no great Conſequence, ſince there was nothing to fear from the Side of *Scotland*, he was ſuffered to enjoy his Place. Beſides, *Edward* had leſs Inclination to ſowre him, becauſe in the Decline of his Family's Credit he behaved more prudently than his Brothers. On the other Hand, the Earl of *Rivers*, Father of the Queen, was raiſed to the higheſt Degree of Favour. Beſides the Office of *Treaſurer*, which he had already, he was likewiſe made *High-Conſtable*, upon the voluntary or forced Reſignation of the Earl of *Worceſter*, whom the King requited, by making him his Lieutenant of *Ireland*, under the Duke of *Clarence*. Thus the Earl of *Rivers* held at the ſame Time two of the greateſt Offices of the Crown; and moreover, *Anthony Woodville* his Son had the Reverſion of the *High-Conſtableſhip*. Apparently it was about this time that the Earl of *Warwick* withdrew from Court, and that the Archbiſhop of *York* went and reſided upon his Dioceſe.

The Earl of Rivers is Treaſurer and High-Conſtable.

The Earl of Warwick withdraws from Court.

It was very hard for a Man of the Earl of *Warwick*'s Character to ſuffer ſuch a Diſgrace without Reſentment. He was the haughtieſt Lord that had ever been in *England*, and his natural Haughtineſs was ſtill encreaſed by the great Services he had done the King. The Affront the King had put upon him in marrying in *England* without his Knowledge, and at the very time he employed him at *Paris* to negotiate another Marriage which was even brought to a Concluſion, had extremely incenſed him. The Contempt the King ſhowed for him at his Return from *France*, in not making him ſome Excuſe in that Matter, had very much increaſed his Diſguſt. To this was added an extreme Indignation to ſee his Credit entirely ſunk. In fine, the Favours

He is extremely incenſed againſt the King.

1467. which the King ſhowred upon the Queen's Relations, raiſed his Envy to ſuch a Degree, as that it hurried him to take the moſt violent Reſolutions. If we may believe certain Hiſtorians, he had a ſtronger Reaſon to hate *Edward* than thoſe I have mentioned. And that is, *Edward* had attempted the Chaſtity of one of his Daughters; and that Prince's Character, who made no great ſcruple to do ſuch Things, gives ground to believe the Fact. Be that as it will, the Earl hated *Edward* mortally, though he concealed his Averſion in order to ſhow it to the Purpoſe. It is certain, the King who knew him very well, made a very falſe Step in not giving him ſome Satisfaction, or in not ruining him entirely. With Perſons of that Character, Policy requires that you take one or other of theſe two Courſes.

He hides his Reſentment.

He goes and makes Lewis *his Friend.*

The Continuator of *Monſtrelet* ſays, that in the Month of *June* 1467, the Earl of *Warwick* went to *Lewis* XI. at *Roan*, and ſtaid with him twelve Days. If ſo, it may be preſumed, that having been ſent to *France* about the King's Affairs, he took that Opportunity to make ſure of the Protection of *Lewis*, and to concert Meaſures with him touching the Execution of the Project he was forming to dethrone *Edward*.

1648. *The Duke of* Burgundy's *Marriage ſolemnized.*

Mean while, the Negotiation of the Marriage of *Edward*'s Siſter with the Duke of *Burgundy* ſtill went on, whilſt *Edward* kept *Lewis* in hopes of concluding a laſting Peace with him. But it was only to amuſe him, and to haſten at the ſame time the Marriage of the Princeſs his Siſter. However, for fear the Embaſſy he had ſent to *Paris* might give ſome Suſpicion to the Duke of *Burgundy*, he iſſued out a *Proclamation*, expreſsly ordering the Coaſts to be well-guarded, as ſoon as the Truce with *France*, which was to end in the Month of *March*, ſhould be expired. Shortly after the Marriage was at length concluded, and *Margaret* ſent to *Bruges* with a ſplendid Retinue, being attended by the Dutcheſs of *Exeter* and *Suffolk*. There it was that the Nuptials were ſolemnized with a Magnificence ſuitable to the Princes who were joined together by this Marriage. The ſame Day the Truce of Trade and Com-

A Truce of Trade prolonged for 30 Years. Act. Pub. XI. 605.

merce

merce between *England* and the Duke of *Burgundy*'s Dominions was prolonged for thirty Yerrs. 1468.

The reſt of the Winter was ſpent in treating about an Alliance between *Edward* and the Duke of *Bretagne*. The Duke of *Burgundy* ſtrongly ſollicited the Concluſion of that Affair, becauſe he found himſelf ſo incumbered with the War of *Liege*, that it was not poſſible for him to aſſiſt his Ally. The Buſineſs was not without Difficulties, ſince there was a Neceſſity of paſſing from a War of a long ſtanding between *England* and *Bretagne*, to a ſtrict Alliance. So that all that could be done at firſt was to prolong the Truce till the Month of *July*. After that *Edward* and the Duke of *Bretagne* ſent one another *Letters Patent*, whereby they promiſed to aſſiſt one another to the utmoſt of their Power. The Duke of *Burgundy* ſent the like to the King, with deſign to get him the ſooner to declare againſt *France*. The Truth is, it was a great thing for him to hinder the Ruin of the Duke of *Bretagne*, and to procure the Duke of *Berry* a Settlement, which inabled him to keep the King his Brother in awe. He was well aſſured, that after *Lewis* ſhould have put it out of the Power of theſe two Princes to hurt him, he would not fail to attack him with all his Forces. On the other Hand, *Edward* ſaw but too plainly how prejudicial *Lewis*'s too great Power might be to him. Wherefore by his Order his Commiſſioners ſigned the 2d of *July* a Treaty of Commerce with *Bretagne*, and the next Day he commanded Troops to be levied for the Aſſiſtance of that Dukedom. In the Beginning of the Month of *Auguſt*, he ſent Ambaſſadors to *France*, on pretence of treating with *Lewis* about a perpetual Peace, and yet two Days after he ſigned a Treaty, whereby he obliged himſelf to ſend the Duke of *Bretagne* an Aid of Three Thouſand *Archers*. As the Duke ſaw himſelf preſſed by the King of *France*, it was neceſſary to haſten that Affair as well on his own as on the Part of *Edward*, without ſtanding too much upon Terms. The Fleet and Troops deſigned for *Bretagne* being ready in the Beginning of *October*,

Negotiations with the Duke of Bretagne.

Ibid. p. 615.

Edward *reſolves to aid the Duke of* Bretagne, p. 624, 625.

626, 628.

1468. the King conferred the command upon *Anthony Woodville*, Lord *Scales* his Brother-in-law.

The Dukes of Berry *and* Bretagne *are put to ſtraits.* Argent. Mezerai. Comin.

Whilſt theſe Affairs were negotiating at *London*, the Dukes of *Berry* and *Bretagne* were not a little embarraſſed. The Truce *Lewis* had granted them being about to expire, they ſaw the Duke of *Burgundy* at too great a Diſtance, and too much taken up elſewhere to have any hopes of being delivered by his Means. As for the Succours which were to come from *England*, they were neither ſpeedy nor ſtrong enough to free them from the Danger they were in. Mean while the Duke of *Burgundy* made all the haſte poſſible to put an End to the War with *Liege*, well-knowing how hard preſſed the Duke of *Bretagne* was. At length he found Means to oblige his Enemies to come to a Battle, wherein he obtained a compleat Victory, which put them under a Neceſſity to ſue for Peace. As ſoon as the Treaty was ſigned he ſet out for *Picardy*. He was come to the *Somme*, ready to enter upon Action, when he heard that the Dukes of *Berry* and *Bretagne* had made a Peace with the King of *France*; and that after renouncing all foreign Alliance, the Duke of *Berry* had taken up with an *Appennage* of Six Thouſand *Livres* a Year in Land, and an Annuity of Sixty Thouſand more in lieu of *Normandy*, which had been granted to him by the Treaty of *Conflans*. This News, which *Lewis* ſent to him by an Expreſs, was the moſt unwelcome. However, without ſuffering himſelf to be diſheartned by this unexpected Blow, he reſolved to remain incamped in the Place where he was. He was in hopes, as the Duke of *Bretagne* had heen compelled to make a Peace, he would repent of what he had done, as ſoon as he ſaw himſelf ſupported, and would eaſily find ſome excuſe to break it. This is what he plainly told thoſe who adviſed him to ſue to the King of *France* for Peace.

The Duke of Burgundy *beats the* Ligeois.

He hears the Dukes had made a Peace with Lewis.

He reſolves to go to War without them.

He gets advantagious Terms of Lewis.

The Duke of *Burgundy*'s Reſolution made *Lewis* afraid. He was apprehenſive that the Dukes of *Berry* and *Bretagne* would go from their Words, upon ſeeing Aſſiſtance ſo near at Hand. In which caſe, he might depend

depend upon having to deal with the King of *England*, the Dukes of *Burgundy* and *Bretagne*, and a great many of the moſt potent Lords of the Kingdom, who were diſſatisfied with him. In this Uneaſineſs, which was not ill-grounded, he went from *Paris* where he then was into *Picardy*, on purpoſe to treat with the Duke of *Burgundy*. His Deſign ſucceeded to his Wiſh. The Duke, uncertain of the Reſolution the Duke of *Bretagne* might take, agreed to retire, upon payment of Four Hundred Thouſand Crowns, which *Lewis* gave him to defray his Charges. 1468.

Thus far *Lewis* had reaſon to be ſatisfied with the Advantages he had gotten. He had broken the League made againſt him, and had brought the Duke his Brother to accept of a very ſmall *Appennage*. However, he could not find in his Heart to drop his firſt Project. He was reſolved to ruin the Duke of *Bretagne*, that he might afterwards attack the other Peers, and the Duke of *Burgundy* himſelf, with the greater Safety. His extreme Deſire to go through with this Project, made him commit the groſſeſt Overſight that a Prince of his Cunning could poſſibly be guilty of. After ſigning the Treaty with the Duke of *Burgundy*, he would go and have a Conference with him. He had ſuch a Conceit of himſelf, that he imagined he ſhould be able to perſuade that Prince to forſake the Duke of *Bretagne*. At leaſt he hoped to ſow Jealouſies between them, which could not fail to turn greatly to his Advantage. With this view he demanded of the Duke a *Safe-Conduct* to come and meet him at *Peronne*. As ſoon as he had received it, he repaired to that Town with a ſlender Retinue, that he might the ſooner gain the Good-will of the Duke, by putting ſo great Confidence in him. But before he ſat out, he forgot to recal the Ambaſſadors he had ſent to the *Liegeois*, to perſuade them to break the Peace with the Duke of *Burgundy*, upon the Aſſurance he gave them of a powerful Aid. This was enough to induce that People to take up Arms again, and the News of it was brought to the Duke of *Burgundy* at *Peronne*, the ſame, or the next Day after the King

Lewis puts himſelf imprudently in the Power of the Duke of Burgundy. Comin.

The Duke diſcovers the Inſincerity of Lewis, *and makes him Priſoner.*

1468. King arrived. A Procedure ſo contrary to good Faith, having convinced the Duke that *Lewis* ſought only to over-reach him, he made him Priſoner in the Caſtle of *Peronne*, where he had lodged him, and detained him ſeveral Days, uncertain what Courſe he ſhould take with him. *Lewis* judging of his Enemy by himſelf, was in mortal Agonies. So that not knowing how to get out of this Plunge, he ſaw he had nothing elſe to do but to ſubmit to what Terms the Duke ſhould think fit to impoſe upon him. He met with more Generoſity in that Prince than he could have expected. After a pretty ſhort Negotiation, it was agreed between them, that the King ſhould give *Champagne* and *Brie* to the Prince his Brother, inſtead of *Normandy*, which he ſhould have had by the Treaty of *Conflans*, and that he ſhould accompany the Duke in the War with *Liege*. A few Days after they ſat out together towards the Territories of *Liege*, and *Lewis* had the Mortification to be himſelf a Witneſs of the Deſtruction of the Capital which he had prepoſterouſly hurried into that Misfortune. At length he got out of the Hands of the Duke of *Burgundy*, after having been in continual Fears either of loſing his Life, or of undergoing a grievous Captivity during the Reſidue of his Days. Mean while he had no Inclination to execute indeed the Treaty he had made at *Peronne*. He found means afterwards to evade it.

Lewis ſubmits to hard Terms.

Deſtruction of the City of Leige.

Edward's Alliance with Arragon. Act. Pub. XI. 631.

It is time now to leave the Affairs of which it was neceſſary to give a general Knowledge, and return to thoſe of *England*, where a more moving Scene is going to open, by reaſon of the Variety of the Events which render this Part of *Edward*'s Reign very remarkable. On the 20th of *October*, *Edward* renewed the old Alliance between *England* and *Arragon*. The *Engliſh* Hiſtorians place this Treaty in the Year 1466. but in *the Collection of Publick Acts*, it is dated *October* 20. 1468. Apparently they have confounded the Alliance with *Caſtile*, made in 1466. with that which was renewed two Years after with *Arragon*. 'Tis ſaid, that upon this Occaſion, *Edward* ſent the King of *Arragon* a Preſent

He preſents the King of Arragon *with ſome Sheep.* Biond. Habing.

ſent of ſome *Ewes* and *Rams*, which ſo much increaſed, that it proved very detrimental to the Woollen-Manufacture of *England*. 1468.

It was about the End of the Year 1468. or the Beginning of 1469, that the Earl of *Warwick* thought himſelf in a Condition to begin the Execution of the Project he had formed againſt *Edward*. Since he had quitted the Court, he was ſo forgotten, that no body ſo much as thought of him there, but when it was neceſſary to ſend him Orders relating to his Government of *Calais*. If he went to *France* laſt Year, as the Continuator of *Monſtrelet* affirms, it is hardly to be doubted but that he communicated his Deſigns to *Lewis* XI. and took meaſures with him accordingly. But ſuppoſing he went not out of *England*, it was no difficult Matter for him to treat with that Prince by ſecret Emiſſaries. Be that as it will, the Earl paſſionately deſiring to let the World ſee that no Man ſhould offend him with Impunity, believed his beſt way would be to begin with winning his two Brothers, the Archbiſhop of *York* and the Marquiſs of *Montague*, whoſe Intereſt was the ſame with his. To that End, he repreſented to them the Services they had all three done the King, and the little Account he had made of them, ſince the Rewards they had obtained bore no Proportion to what they had done for him: *That* not content with being ungrateful to all their Family, he had put upon him in particular a deadly Affront in the Affair of his Marriage: *That* moreover, he had attempted to diſgrace their Family in a manner inſupportable to Men of Honour. In fine, after abundance of other Things tending to convince them of the King's Ingratitude, he told them he had taken a Reſolution to do his utmoſt to make him know, that he that had lifted him into the Throne was powerful enough to pull him down, and that in order to compaſs his Deſign, he deſired their Advice and Aſſiſtance. The Archbiſhop of *York* ſuffered himſelf to be very eaſily carried to follow the Paſſion of the Earl his Brother. But the Marquiſs of *Montague* was more backward to reſolve. He alledged Arguments

1469. *The Earl of* Warwick *draws his Brothers into the Plot to dethrone the King.*

1468. guments and Objections which the Earl of *Warwick* answered with great Vehemence. At length he suffered himself to be prevailed with; but he gave to understand that it was not so much out of Inclination, as in pure Condescension to his Brother.

He ingages the Duke of Clarence *in the same Design.*

This first Step being made, the Earl of *Warwick* addressed himself to the Duke of *Clarence*, who was the eldest of the King's Brothers. He knew the Duke was dissatisfied because the King his Brother had done nothing for him, but given him an empty Title which he had no Occasion for; that besides, he had beheld with a jealous Eye the Lord *Scales* Brother of the Queen, married to the richest Heiress in the Kingdom, without any Care being taken to help him to so advantagious a Match. These Considerations having made the Earl of *Warwick* think the Duke would gladly embrace an Opportunity of being revenged, he imparted to him his Design. The Duke was inclined just as the Earl wished him; and as he burned with Desire to be revenged of the little Affection the King expressed for him, he came without Hesitation into the Plot which was proposed to him. To settle him the firmer in this Resolution, the Earl of *Warwick* promised him his eldest Daughter in Marriage with a very considerable Fortune. All the Historians affirm, that presently after this Conference, they went together to *Calais*, where the Wedding was solemnized. But they do not say whether it was done privately, or with the King's Consent. What they add, that the Duke and Earl staid at *Calais* till the Insurrection which will be mentioned presently, cannot be true. It appears on the contrary, by several Papers in the *Collection of the Publick Acts*, that they were in *England* the best part of this Year, before the Insurrection, and even in the King's Favour, who had no Intelligence of their Plot. It even seems that he began to be sorry for having so much neglected the Earl of *Warwick*, since he made him chief Justiciary of *South-Wales*, and some Time after Seneschal of the whole Country.

He marries his Daughter to him.

Not-

Notwithſtanding theſe Favours, the Earl of *Warwick*'s Projects began to be put in Execution. In the beginning of the Month of *October*, there was a Riſing in *Yorkſhire*, which all the Hiſtorians unanimouſly aſcribe to the ſecret Practices of the Marquiſs of *Montague*, and the Archbiſhop of *York* his Brother. The Occaſion or Pretence of it was this: There was at *York* an *Hoſpital*, to the Maintenance of which the whole *County* had always contributed, without however being obliged to it. In Time theſe voluntary Contributions were changed into a kind of Right, wholly founded upon Cuſtom, and for which there were *Collectors* appointed. They who had been bribed to ſtir up the People, ſlily ſpread a Report, that the Contributions were miſapplied, and ſerved only to inrich the *Directors* of the *Hoſpital*: that beſides, the Hoſpital being ſufficiently endowed, there was no need of theſe Gatherings. Whereupon the Country People took Fire, as if it had been an Affair of the utmoſt Importance. They came together to the Number of fifteen Thouſand, and having killed ſome of the *Collectors*, marched towards *York*, under the Command of one *Robert Huldern*. Upon News of this, the Marquiſs of *Montague* who reſided at *York*, having drawn a Body of the Citizens together, ſallied out upon the Rebels, ſlew great Numbers of them, and having taken their Leader, ordered his Head to be ſtruck off. This proceeding would give Ground to perſume, that he himſelf had not been concerned in raiſing the Sedition, if ſome other Steps which he made afterwards had been as doubtful.

1469. *An Inſurrection in Yorkſhire, raiſed by Warwick's Friends.*

Montague defeats the Mutineers, and beheads their Leader.

The firſt Rumour of this Commotion made the King apprehenſive it would be attended with ill Conſequences. Indeed the Occaſion of it was of no great Moment. But knowing how numerous the *Lancaſtrian* Party ſtill were, he queſtioned not but that ſome Lord, Friend to that *Houſe*, had ſet it on Foot. However he was far enough from miſtruſting that the Duke his Brother, and the Earl of *Warwick* were the prime Authors of it. Whatever the Iſſue might be, he diſpatched

Pembroke ordered to raiſe an Army in Wales.

1469. Orders to the Earl of *Pembroke* Governour of *Wales*, to aſſemble forthwith all the Forces of thoſe Parts, and to keep in a readineſs to march. In the mean Time the *Yorkſhire* Male-Contents rather incenſed than diſheartened at the ill Succeſs of their firſt Attempt, took up Arms again, and ſet at their Head *Henry* Son of the Lord *Fitz-Hugh*, and *Henry Nevil* Son of the Lord *Latimer*. Theſe two young Leaders had not much Experience; but they were aſſiſted by Sir *John Conyers*, a Perſon of great Conduct and Valour, and well verſed in the Art of War. Their firſt Project was to make themſelves Maſters of *York*; but ſuddenly altering their Reſolution and Rout, they marched towards *London*, not at all doubting but that their Army would increaſe by the Way, as it fell out indeed. Then it was that one might begin to perceive that the Buſineſs of the *Hoſpital* had been only a Pretext to get the People together. The Truth is, that Reaſon afforded the Mutineers no manner of Cloak to take the Rout to *London*.

The Mutineers march towards London.

The Earl of Pembroke *goes out to meet them. He is joined by the Lord* Stafford.

Mean while the Earl of *Pembroke* having drawn together in haſte about ten Thouſand Men, began his march in queſt of the Male-Contents. He was joined upon the Road by the Lord *Stafford*, who brought him eight Hundred Archers. The two Armies being come pretty near one another, the Earl of *Pembroke* ſent Sir *Richard Herbert* his Brother with a Detachment to take as near a View of the Enemy as was poſſible. Sir *Richard* who was a very good Officer, executed his Orders with a great deal of Conduct, without expoſing himſelf however to be attacked. But his People, who had not his Experience, prepoſterouſly imaginning that he would loſe a fair Opportunity to defeat the Enemies, fell in ſpite of his Teeth upon their Rear. But *Conyers*, who had expected it, had taken ſuch Care, that the Detachment was put to rout with great Loſs.

The Mutineers reſolve to retire to Warwick.

The Earl receives a Loſs.

Edward hearing of this, writ to the Earl of *Pembroke* not to be diſcouraged for ſo inconſiderable a Loſs, aſſuring him he would come in Perſon and join him, or ſend a ſtrong Reinforcement. Mean while the Mutineers finding they had cloſe at their Heels an Army which

which might daily increaſe, and fearing to meet the King in their march, came to a Reſolution to retire to *Warwick*, where in all Appearance the Leaders knew very well they ſhould be be received. But the Earl of *Pembroke*, impatient to have his Revenge, marched directly towards them, and conſtrained them to halt near *Banbury*, where the two Armies encamped at a ſmall Diſtance from one another *. In the mean Time, the Earl of *Pembroke* and the Lord *Stafford* having quarrelled about a Lodging *1. *Stafford* withdrew in the Night with his eight Hundred Archers. On the Morrow, at break of Day, the Male-Contents marched in good Order to attack the King's Army. They had been informed by Deſerters of the Lord *Stafford*'s Retreat, and were reſolved to take Advantage of it. *Henry Neville* one of their Generals, having advanced in order to engage, for fear the *Royaliſts* ſhould take it in their Heads to retire, was fiercely repulſed, made Priſoner, and put to Death in cool Blood. This barbarous Action having inſpired the *northern* Men with a ſort of Fury, they ran headlong upon the Enemy, and in ſpite of the Valour of Sir *Richard Herbert*, who performed that Day Actions which all the Hiſtorians ſpeak of with the higheſt Praiſes *2, the King's Army was put to rout. The Earl of *Pembroke* and his Brother fell into the Hands of the Conquerors, who having brought them to *Banbury*, ordered their Heads to be ſtruck off, in revenge for the Death of Sir *Henry Neville*. After this Victory, the Male-Contents kept on their March to *Warwick*. Hitherto the Earl of *Warwick* and the Duke of *Clarence* had not declared for them. It may be they went ſome Time before to *Calais* to avoid the Suſpicion of having any Hand in the Inſurrection in Caſe it miſcarried, and to make their Advantage of it, in caſe it ſucceeded.

1469.

The Earl purſues them.

Stafford *deſerts him.*

The King's Army is worſted, and the Earl of Pembroke *beheaded.*

* Upon *Danes-More* near *Hedgcote*, within four Miles of *Banbury*.

*1 Where it ſeems the Lord *Stafford* had got a Miſtreſs.

*2 With his Pole-Ax in his Hand he made his way twice through the main Body of his Enemies.

1469. *The* Northampton-ſhire *Mutineers behead the Earl of* Rivers.

A few Days after the Battle of *Banbury*, the People of *Northamptonſhire* following the Example of the *Yorkſhire* Men, flocked together in great Numbers, under the Conduct of one *Robert of Riddeſdale*. This Troop which increaſed continually, going in a tumultuous Manner to the *Manſion*-Houſe of *Grafton*, belonging to the Earl of *Rivers* Father of the Queen, ſeized upon the Earl by Force, and brought him to *Northampton*, where he was beheaded without any Proceſs of Law.

The King beheads the Lord Stafford.

On the other Side, the King juſtly incenſed with the Lord *Stafford* for having abandoned the Earl of *Pembroke* upon a frivolous Quarrel, and thereby occaſioned the Loſs of the Battle of *Banbury*, commanded him to be publickly beheaded.

The King's Blindneſs in regard to the Earl of Warwick.

One would think the Death of the Earl of *Rivers* ſhould have convinced the King that the Earl of *Warwick*, though Abſent, was the real Author of theſe Troubles, ſuppoſing the march of the Male-Contents towards *London*, and the Battle of *Banbury* had not been enough to make him ſuſpect it. *Warwick* was ſworn Enemy of the Earl of *Rivers*, he was angry with the King, and the Male-Contents had been received without Oppoſition into the Town of *Warwick*. In a Word, theſe People had no manner of Reaſon to take up Arms againſt *Edward* on the Score of the Hoſpital at *York*, if they had not been privately egged on by ſome powerful Enemy of the King, who could be no other than the Earl of *Warwick*. The Truth is, there was not at that Time in the Kingdom any Prince of the *Houſe of Lancaſter*, or any Lord of that Party, in a Condition to cauſe theſe Inſurrections. Wherefore as *Edward* could not be ignorant of the Diſcontent and great Credit of the Earl of *Warwick* and his Brothers, he ought to have concluded that they were at the Bottom of theſe Things. And yet, though it appears by the *Collection of the Publick Acts* that the Earl of *Rivers* was put to Death before the 16th of *November*, it was not till the *March* following that the King ſaw plainly

Act. Pub. XI. 649.

he

he had to do with the Earl of *Warwick*; ſo monſtrouſly Blind was he in that Reſpect! 1469.

The ſharpneſs of the Seaſon interrupted for ſome Time the Civil War which was juſt kindled. Beſides, the King, who had expected no ſuch Thing, wanted Time to prepare. On the other Side, the Male-Contents not having yet a Head declared, lay quiet, expecting more particular Directions. 1470. *The War ceaſes during the Winter.*

During this Winter, *Lewis* XI ſent Ambaſſadors into *England*, under Colour of treating about the renewing of the Truce. In all appearance his ſole Aim was to have perfect Information of the Poſture of Affairs in that Kingdom. At the ſame Time *Edward*, deſirous of knitting cloſer the Band of the Alliance he had made with the Duke of *Burgundy*, ſent him the *Order of the Garter*, which that Prince received at *Bruges* on the 4th of *February* with great Solemnity. *Embaſſy from* France. P. 560. P. 651.

If the Duke of *Clarence* and the Earl of *Warwick* were at *Calais* during the Troubles I have juſt ſpoken of, it is likely that they returned not to *England* till about the Month of *February* 1470. The Truth is, there is no mention of them in the *Collection of the Publick Acts* ſince *Auguſt* laſt Year. After their Return, *Edward* was ſo far from ſuſpecting them, that on the 7th of *March* he ſent them jointly a Commiſſion to levy Troops againſt the Rebels in the *North*. Seven Days after he conferred upon the Earl of *Worceſter* the Office of *High-Conſtable*, vacant by the Death of the Earl of *Rivers*. P. 652. P. 654.

But ſhortly after the King's Eyes were fully opened with regard to the Duke his Brother and the Earl of *Warwick*. They levied Troops by Virtue of his Commiſſion; but not for his Service. Beſides, the Rebels made no ſcruple to own them for their Heads. Wherefore on both Sides greater Preparations than ever were made to renew the War. Mean Time, *Edward* was ſo prepoſſeſſed that the Duke his Brother and the Earl of *Warwick* durſt not appear before him, that he imagined their Deſign was to fly into *Ireland*, of which the Duke of *Clarence* was Lord-Lieutenant. In this Belief he *Warwick and Clarence declare for the Rebels.* *The King's Security ill grounded.* P. 654.

1470. he issued out a *Proclamation*, dated *May* the 23d, forbidding the *Irish* to obey any longer the Duke his Brother, and ordering them on the contrary to apprehend him as well as the Earl of *Warwick*, in case they retired thither. Moreover he promised any Person that should take them, an Annuity of a Thousand Pounds *Sterling*, or the Sum of ten Thousand Pounds in ready Money, which he would. By the same *Proclamation*, he conferred the Government of *Ireland* upon the Earl of *Worcester*. Three Days after he gave Orders for levying Troops in all the Counties under his Obedience, the which was performed with good speed.

P. 655.

The Duke and Earl levy Troops and join.

The King marches against them.

Biond. Habing. Echard.

But the Duke of *Clarence* and the Earl of *Warwick* were far enough from any Thoughts of withdrawing into *Ireland*. On the contrary, they were very busy in raising Troops, each in different Quarters. At length, having received Intelligence that the King was preparing to march against them, they thought proper to join, least by remaining separate they should give him too great an Advantage. And therefore *Edward* when he marched to attack them, found them waiting for him, and bent to decide the Quarrel by a Battle. But however the Uncertainty of the Issue keeping both Sides equally in suspence, some of the most prudent Lords interposed to try to procure an Accommodation before they came to Blows. The King passionately desired it, because he considered that he was going to hazard his Crown by the Loss of a Battle, whereas the Victory could procure him no great Advantage. On the other Hand, he flattered himself, that the Earl of *Warwick* seeing him in so good Posture, would be glad to get out of the Plunge he was in, by an honourable Composition. So looking upon the Negotiation as sure of succeeding, he omitted to take the usual Precautions for the Defence of his Camp, contrary to the most steady Maxim of War, that a Man ought never to be more upon his Guard than whilst he is upon Treaty.

Talk of an Accommodation.

The King desires it.

He is negligent during the Negotiation.

Mean

1470. *The Earl of* Warwick *attacks the King unawares,*

Mean Time the Earl of *Warwick* having been informed of the King's Negligence, failed not to take Advantage of it. Having taken all poſſible Care to hinder his Deſign from being diſcovered, he marched in the Night directly into the King's Camp, and attacking it unawares, put it in the utmoſt Confuſion. *Edward* himſelf ſurprized, as well as all the reſt of his Army, ſaw himſelf in the Hands of his Enemies before he could take any Meaſures for his Defence or Eſcape. The victorious Earl no ſooner had him in his Power but he cauſed him to be conducted to *Warwick*. After that he ordered him to be removed to *Middleham*-Caſtle, under the Cuſtody of the Archbiſhop of *York* his Brother, who was no leſs concerned than he to look well to ſuch a Priſoner.

and takes him Priſoner.

Warwick *diſmiſſes his Troops.*

This Accident ſeemed to have put an End to the War. Indeed *Edward* being a Priſoner, nothing appeared that could oppoſe the two victorious Lords. Wherefore they ſo far confided in their good Fortune that they disbanded the beſt part of their Troops, as having no farther need of them after ſo deciſive a Blow. They had no other Buſineſs but to ſee in what manner the Government ſhould be ſettled; for it does not appear that they had any Deſire to reſtore *Henry* to the Throne. But an unexpected Event, no leſs ſurprizing than that which had juſt happened, broke all their Meaſures. *Edward* being confined in *Middleham*-Caſtle, under the Cuſtody of the Archbiſhop of *York*, behaved in ſo obliging a Manner to that Prelate, that he got leave to go now and then a Hunting in the Park with a ſmall Guard. Having made this firſt Step, he prevailed with one of his Guards to deliver a Letter to two Gentlemen of the neighbourhood, wherein he chalked out to them what Courſe they ſhould take to free him. The Gentlemen * overjoyed at having an Opportunity to do the King ſo great a Service, privately got their Friends together, and lying in Ambuſh cloſe by the Park, eaſily carried him off. *Edward*

Edward *makes his eſcape and comes to* London.

* Sir *William Stanly* and Sir *Thomas Burgh*.

1470. *ward* being at Liberty contrary to all Expectation, forthwith repaired to *York*. But he made no long ſtay there, either not relying too much on the Inhabitants, or thinking it beſt to approach nearer *London*. Be that as it will, he went with all ſpeed into *Lancaſhire*, where he found the Lord *Haſtings* his High-Chamberlain, who had drawn ſome Troops together. After that, having fetched a Compaſs in order to deceive the Vigilance of the Earl of *Warwick*, he went directly to *London*, where he was received without any Difficulty. The Earl of *Warwick* ſo little expected ſuch a Turn, that he had taken no Care to ſecure the Metropolis, not imagining it was in the leaſt Danger.

Warwick *draws his Troops together again.*

It is eaſy to conceive what a ſurpriſe the Earl of *Warwick* was in upon the receiving this fatal News. The Indiſcretion of the Archbiſhop his Brother was ſo exceeding great, that he could not help ſuſpecting that he had ſuffered himſelf to be bribed. But as it was then no proper Time to examine his Conduct, he thought of nothing but how to draw together his Troops again, the which could not be done in a few Days. *Edward* was likewiſe in the ſame Perplexity, ſeeing he was without an Army. So that notwithſtanding they were both deſirous to end the Quarrel by a Battle, they were fain to ſtay till they had aſſembled their Forces. During that Time ſome Lords of peaceful Diſpoſition, propoſed the renewing the Negotiation ſet on Foot before the King's Impriſonment. The Propoſal being cloſed with, the Mediators judged that an Interview of the King and the two Chiefs of the oppoſite Party, might conduce to a Peace. In this Belief they ordered it ſo, that the two Heads came to *Weſtminſter* upon the King's *Safe-Conduct*. But the Conference had not the Effect that was expected. It was wholly ſpent in mutual Reproaches, which are not very apt to ſoften Men's Minds.

Edward *does the ſame.*

Conference at Weſtminſter *of no Effect.*

Preſently after the Interview, every one prepared for War. The Earl of *Warwick* commiſſioned Sir *Robert Wells*, Son of the Lord *Wells*, to levy Troops in *Lincolnſhire*, which he performed with great Eaſe, by reaſon

The Lord Wells's *Son raiſes Troops for* Warwick.

of

of the Intereſt his Family had in thoſe Parts. *Edward* having notice of it, ſent an expreſs Order to the Lord *Wells* to come immediately to Court. His Deſign was to oblige him to uſe his Authority, to induce his Son to forſake the Rebels. The Lord *Wells* being come to *London*, heard how much the King was incenſed againſt his Son, and fearing he himſelf ſhould feel the Effects of his Reſentment, took *Sanctuary* in *Weſtminſter-Abbey*. But the King having ſent him a *Safe-Conduct*, he immediately went to Court. He even writ to his Son, enjoining him to quit the Earl of *Warwick*'s Party, and diſmiſs his Troops: but the Son refuſed to obey. Then *Edward* enraged at not being able to ſucceed, ordered the Lord *Wells* to be beheaded, together with Sir *Thomas Dymock* his Brother-in-law, who had accompanied him. Apparently he imagined that they connived at the Matter. 1473.

The Lord Wells *is beheaded.*

This violent Action was very injurious to *Edward*'s Reputation, and inſpired young *Wells* with a Deſire of Revenge, which brought on his own Ruin, and proved extremely prejudicial to the Earl of *Warwick*'s Affairs. The King perceiving that *Wells*'s Troops viſibly increaſed, thought beſt to go and fight him before he had joined the Duke of *Clarence* and the Earl of *Warwick*, who were raiſing Men in other Counties. *Wells* was incamped near *Stafford*, to which Place he might eaſily have retired. But the deſire of revenging the Death of his Father, made him reſolve to expect the King without ſtirring. He fought with an undaunted Courage as long as his Troops would ſtand by him. At laſt, finding Victory declared for the King, he would have provoked his Enemies to kill him, but they refuſed him that favour, and ſpared his Life only to make him loſe it a few Days after on the Scaffold. In this Battle *Edward* obtained a compleat Victory over his Enemies, of whom Ten Thouſand were ſlain *.

The King defeats young Wells *and beheads him.*

* This Battle was fought near *Stamford* not *Stafford*, and from the *Lincolnſhire* Men throwing off their Coats in order to run away the lighter, was called *the Battle of Loſe-Coat Field*.

1470. Clarence *and* Warwick *retire into* France.

The Defeat of Sir *Robert Wells* broke all the Meaſures of the Duke of *Clarence* and the Earl of *Warwick*. They were not yet ready, and the King was upon the March to attack them. In this Extremity they had no other Courſe to take but to embark in order to ſcreen themſelves from the impending Danger. The Earl of *Warwick* took his two Daughters along with him, the eldeſt of whom, who had married the Duke of *Clarence*, was ready to lye-in. His Intent was to go to his Government of *Calais*, were he had left for his Deputy-Lieutenant one *Vauclair*, a *Gaſcon* Captain, in whoſe Fidelity he entirely confided. But how great was his Surprize, when upon his approaching *Calais* he ſaw a Canon-Ball fired at him! He imagined he ſhould be able to move *Vauclair* by the Conſideration of the Dutcheſs of *Clarence*'s Caſe, who was juſt brought to Bed in the Ship of a Prince named *Edward*. But all he could get of him was a Preſent of two Bottles of Wine for the Dutcheſs. Mean while *Vauclair* took care to ſend this poor Preſent by the Hands of a truſty Meſſenger, who told the Earl of *Warwick* from him, that he was ſtill devoted to his Service: but however, was forced to uſe him in this manner, the better to ſerve him, becauſe if he entered the Town, he would by no means be ſafe; but that he might depend upon his Fidelity. *Edward*, who knew not the Motive of *Vauclair*'s Proceedings, was ſo well pleaſed with what he had done, that he made him Governor of *Calais*, as the Duke of *Burgundy* of his own accord added a yearly Penſion of a Thouſand Crowns.

Vauclair *refuſes them Entrance into* Calais.

Comin. *He is made Governor of* Calais.

Warwick ſeeing himſelf thus repulſed, ſteered his Courſe to *Dieppe*, where he ſafely landed with the Duke of *Clarence* and his two Daughters. A few Days after they departed from thence to go and wait upon the King of *France*, who was then at *Amboiſe*, and who received them very civilly. I have remarked before, that *Lewis* had no mind to concern himſelf with the Affairs of *England*, when *Edward* and *Henry* were contending for the Crown. But ſince he ſaw the ſtrict Alliance which was formed between *Edward* and the Duke of *Burgundy*,

The Duke and Earl go to Lewis XI, Biond.

gundy, he found it was no leſs his Intereſt to work the Ruin of the one than of the other. To this Reaſon of State was added the Deſire of revenging the Affront *Edward* had put upon him on the Affair of his Marriage. In fine, the Aſſiſtance *Edward* would have given the Duke of *Bretagne*, fully convinced him, that as long as that Prince ſat on the Throne, the *French* Princes would ever find in him a Protector. All theſe Reaſons together moved *Lewis* not only to give the fugitive *Engliſh* a civil Reception, but moreover to promiſe them a powerful Aid. The Truth is, nothing could be to him more agreeeble, and withal more advantagious, than to ſee the civil War kindled afreſh in *England*. It is even very probable that he had already for that purpoſe taken private Meaſures with the Earl of *Warwick*, and that the Earl would never have ventured to declare againſt *Edward*, had he not been ſure of the *French* King's Aſſiſtance. Be that as it will, an opportunity naturally offering to create *Edward* in his own Country Troubles, which would prevent his interpoſing in the Affairs of his Neighbours, he ſent for Queen *Margaret* to Court, who ſome Years ſince was gone home to the King of *Sicily* her Father. It was the Earl of *Warwick* that had brought all the Miſfortunes on that Princeſs, and the Earl for his Part looked upon her as his mortal Enemy. And yet their common Intereſt requiring that they ſhould ſtifle their Animoſity, *Lewis* was at no great Pains to make them Friends. Upon the preſent Occaſion they could hardly do one without the other. *Warwick* plainly perceived that he wanted a Pretence to dethrone the King, and he could find none more plauſible than that of reſtoring *Henry*, which he could not labour to bring about, without going Hand in Hand with the Queen. On the other ſide, the Queen ſaw no other way but this to reſtore the King her Husband, or rather to reſtore herſelf to the Throne. Wherefore, as ſhe beheld a Glimpſe of Hope ſhining from that Quarter, ſhe ſtuck not to receive her old Enemy for her Protector. Their Reconciliation therefore was made by the Mediation of

1470.

who promiſes them Aid.

Queen Margaret *is reconciled with them.*

1470. *The Terms of Reconciliation,* the King of *France*, upon these Terms: *That* the Duke of *Clarence* and the Earl of *Warwick* should do their best to restore *Henry* to the Throne: *That* the Queen should bind herself by Oath to leave the Government of the Kingdom in their Hands during the King's Life, and the Nonage of the Prince his Son, in case he should come to the Crown before he was of Age: Lastly, *That* to strengthen their Union, the Prince of *Wales* should marry the Earl of *Warwick*'s youngest Daughter. The last Article was executed out of hand. Thus the Brother of King *Edward* became Brother-in-law of the young Prince of *Lancaster*, and the Earl of *Warwick* was equally allied to the two contending *Houses*.

The Duke of Burgundy *warns* Edward *of it.* The Duke of *Burgundy*, who had good Spies at the Court of *France*, being informed of what was doing, warned *Edward* of it, who took but little notice of it. He could never believe that the Earl of *Warwick*, who had been fain to quit the Kingdom for want of Friends to support him, would be powerful enough in his Absence to cause the People to rise in his Favour. As for the Preparations that were making in *France*, he was in no manner of Fright about them, being sensible how difficult it is for a foreign Nation to conquer *England*, if the People themselves don't lend a helping-hand. Reasoning thus upon very doubtful Grounds, namely, the Affections of the People for him, and the little Credit of the Earl of *Warwick*, he neglected his main Business to give himself up to an effeminate and voluptuous Life, to which he was extremely inclined.

Edward gains the Duke of Clarence. Comin. Biond. Habing. What gave him the most Uneasiness was to see the Duke of *Clarence* his Brother in strict Union with his Enemies. This Union had already produced ill Effects, and might in time produce still worse. In order therefore to make himself easy, he believed he ought to do his best to win his Brother to his side. To that End, he bribed one of the Dutchess of *Clarence*'s Women, and having fully instructed her in the Part she was to act, he granted her a *Pass-Port*, to go to her Mistress. This Woman setting out for *Paris*, passed through

through *Calais*, where ſhe ſaw the Governor without letting him into the Secret. It was very lucky for *Edward* that *Vauclair*, who was in the Intereſts of the Earl of *Warwick*, was not acquainted with the Affair: for he would not have failed to diſcloſe the whole Matter. When the Woman came to her Miſtreſs, ſhe diſcharged her Commiſſion very dexterouſly and with ſucceſs. She repreſented to the Duke of *Clarence* from the King his Brother, *that* the Courſe he was taking muſt needs end in the Ruin of himſelf: *That* ſuppoſing the Deſigns he had formed with the Earl of *Warwick* ſhould ſucceed to his Wiſhes, he could not expect that *the Houſe of Lancaſter* would put any Truſt in a Prince of *the Houſe of York*, the Moment they ſhould have no farther need of him: *That* his very Life would be in danger: *That* he was ſo far from being able to rely upon the Queen's Oath, that he ought on the contrary to conſider it as a Snare to entrap him: *That* the Earl of *Warwick* would be the firſt to oppreſs him, as well to get rid of an Aſſociate in the Government, as to diſpatch out of the Way a Prince, who might one Day have it in his Power to revenge the Injuries done to his *Houſe*: *That* on the other Hand, the King his Brother having only one Daughter of a tender Age, whom Death might eaſily ſnatch out of the World, he was the next Heir to the Crown: but in caſe *the Houſe of Lancaſter* happened to be reſtored, he would loſe all Proſpect of mounting the Throne, ſince it was very poſſible that *Henry*'s Son would have a numerous Iſſue: To theſe Reaſons which were very ſtrong, ſhe added Motives taken from the Ties of Blood; ſome Excuſes from the King, with a poſitive Promiſe to look upon him for the future as his real Brother, and as the chief Support of their Family. A Man muſt have wanted common Senſe not to yield to ſuch convincing Arguments. The Duke of *Clarence* ſeeing then at laſt his true Intereſts, charged the Woman to tell the King his Brother that he would not fail to declare for him, the Moment he ſhould be able to do it with ſafety, and with likelihood of doing him ſome conſiderable Service. *Ed-* 1470.

ward

1470. *ward* having been informed how the Duke of *Clarence* ſtood affected, grew perfectly eaſy, believing that the future Attempts of the Earl of *Warwick* would be fruitleſs, ſince he would not be ſeconded by the Duke his Son-in-law. It muſt be confeſſed that the Earl of *Warwick* was ſomewhat out in his Politicks, in making the Duke of *Clarence* an Inſtrument to ruin the King his Brother. He muſt have taken for granted, that the Duke would with his Eyes open run counter to his own Intereſts, the which he could not have expected from the moſt ſtupid Perſon alive. And indeed, he was very ſenſible at laſt, but when it was too late, that he had taken falſe Meaſures.

The Earl of Warwick comes into England. Mezerai. Whilſt *Edward* lived on in a deceitful Security, the Earl of *Warwick* was preparing to return to *England*. He was ſure of finding there a ſtrong Party, to which were joined all the Friends of *the Houſe of Lancaſter*, whom he had taken care to acquaint with his Deſign. *Lewis* XI. furniſhed him with Money and Troops, but in no great Quantity. As far as one can judge, the ſole Aim of that Monarch was to foment the Diſcord among the *Engliſh*, to prevent them from interpoſing in his Affairs. He ſtill perſiſted in his Deſign of ſubduing the Dukes of *Burgundy* and *Bretagne*, in which he thought he could not ſucceed, as long as theſe two Princes might expect the Protection of *England*. Mean while, to facilitate the Earl of *Warwick*'s Deſcent, he had ordered the *Baſtard of Bourbon* to convoy him with ſome Ships of War; but it was no eaſy Matter to paſs over into *England*. The Duke of *Burgundy*'s Fleet, much ſtronger than that of *France*, lay upon the Watch in the Mouth of the *Seine* to engage the *French* in caſe they ſet Sail; and it was not very likely that the Baſtard of *Bourbon* would venture to fight againſt ſo great odds. This hindered not the Earl of *Warwick* from repairing to *Haver de Grace*, that he might be ready to lay hold on any Opportunity that ſhould offer. This Procedure was not in vain. Some Days after his Arrival a violent Storm diſperſed the *Flemiſh* Ships, ſo that they could no longer keep the Sea, but were forced to retire into

into their Harbours. The Storm being blown over, the Duke of *Clarence* and the Earl of *Warwick* ſet ſail and arrived at *Dartmouth*, from whence they had paſſed into *France* four or five Months before. 1470.

The News of their landing, was ſo far from alarming *Edward*, that he was overjoyed at it. Poſſeſſed with the Notion that it was impoſſible for the Earl of *Warwick* to compaſs his Ends, he fancied that he could wiſh for nothing better than to ſee his Enemy come and give himſelf up into his Hands. Thus prejudiced, he deſired the Duke of *Burgundy* to order his Fleet out to Sea, to hinder the Earl of *Warwick* from eſcaping once more. But the Duke of *Burgundy* thought otherwiſe of this Expedition. He could not believe that ſo prudent a Perſon as the Earl of *Warwick* would have ventured thus, if he had not been ſure of a Party in *England* ſtrong enough to ſupport him. And indeed *Warwick* had no ſooner landed his Men, but he ſaw himſelf at the Head of an Army, which in a few Days became ſixty Thouſand ſtrong. Immediately he cauſed *Henry* VI to be proclaimed, and iſſued out an Order in his Name, for all his Subjects from Sixteen to Sixty, to take up Arms and drive out the Tyrant and Uſurper.

Edward's ill grounded Security.

Warwick has an Army of 60000 Men.

So unexpected a Turn opened *Edward*'s Eyes and made him ſee the Folly of his Expectations. Mean Time he gave Orders to levy ſome Troops, and appointed the Rendezvous about *Nottingham*. Some affirm that his Army was more numerous than the Earl of *Warwick*'s. Others again ſay that it was much inferior, and this indeed is moſt probable. Had *Edward* been Superior in Number of Troops, he would moſt certainly have marched towards his Enemies, whereas upon their Approach he retired towards the Sea. The News he received, that the Marquiſs of *Montague* who commanded in the *North*, had declared againſt him, troubled him exceedingly, apprehenſive as he was that this Defection would be followed by many others. He wanted to avoid coming to a Battle; but knew not where to retire, becauſe he was ignorant who were his real Friends. At length he went and encamped

Edward raiſes Troops likewiſe.

Montague deſerts him.

Edward retires into Lincolnſhire.

1470. camped near *Lynn* in *Lincolnſhire*, a little Town by the Sea-ſide, and lodged in the Caſtle. This Precaution, though perhaps taken without Deſign, proved of great Service to him. The Earl of *Warwick* being come within three Miles of his Army, made every Place reſound with *King Henry*! *King Henry*! and the ſame Shouts, by ſome unknown Stratagem, began likewiſe to be heard in *Edward*'s Camp. Whereupon he commanded the Caſtle-Gates to be ſhut, and the Bridge to be ſtrongly guarded, whilſt he held a Council about what was to be done. But the Shoutings which grew louder and louder in his Army not affording him Time to debate, he ſaw no remedy but to embark with four or five Hundred truſty Men, on Board three ſmall Ships which had ſerved to bring Proviſions for his Army. The Lord *Haſtings* placed himſelf in the *Rear*, to keep back the Soldiers in caſe they had attempted to ſtop the King's Flight, and when all were embarked he went himſelf on Board one of the Ships.

He is purſued.

He imbarks and goes for Holland.

Edward being in this ſad Condition, ordered his Ships to ſteer for *Holland*, not knowing where to retire but to the Dominions of the Duke of *Burgundy* his Brother-in-law. Whilſt he was beating the Seas, his Ships were ſpied by eight *Pyrates* of the *Low-Countries* or *Germany*, whom the *Engliſh* called *Eaſterlings*, from their Country lying *Eaſt* of *England*. Immediately the Pyrates ſet all their Sails and gave Chace to the three Ships; but as theſe were the lighter Veſſels, they had Time to get into *Alcmar*-Road at low Water. And that hindered the Pyrates from purſuing them any farther, they not daring to ſtand in ſo near the Land. Mean Time they came to an Anchor within Sight of them, deſigning to go and attack them at High-Water. In this Extremity *Edward* had no other Courſe to take but to make Signals to implore the Protection of the Country. Luckily for him, the Lord *Gruthuyſe*, whom I have ſpoken off before, being then Governour of *Holland*, happened to be at *Alcmar*. The Moment he was informed that theſe Ships deſired Aſſiſtance, he ſent a Sloop to know what they were. As ſoon

He is in Danger of being taken by Pyrates, but is delivered by the Lord Gruthuyſe

ſoon as he heard that the King of *England* was on Board, he ſent an Order to the Pyrates not to approach upon Pain of incurring the Indignation of the Duke his Maſter. Theſe People, though ſo near their Prey, durſt not diſobey. They ſtood too often in need of the Governour's Protection to do any Thing to diſpleaſe him. So *Gruthuyſe* went himſelf in a Sloop to wait on the King, and paid him all the Reſpect due to him. *Edward* not having any Money to give the Maſter of the Veſſel that had brought him over, made him a Preſent of a rich Robe lined with *Sables*. After that he was conducted to the *Hague*, where *Gruthuyſe* bore his and his Retinues Charges, till he had received the Duke of *Burgundy*'s Orders. 1470.

The Queen flies for Sanctuary.

Mean while the Queen who was at *London*, hearing of the King's Flight, had taken *Sanctuary* in *Weſtminſter*-Abby, where ſhe was followed by great Numbers of the Friends of the *Houſe of York*. There ſhe was brought to Bed of a Prince called *Edward*, who was born Heir of a noble Kingdom, at the very Time the King his Father loſt it. Whilſt *Edward*'s Friends were in the utmoſt Conſternation, the Duke of *Clarence* and the Earl of *Warwick*, Victorious without drawing their Swords, were upon the Road to *London*, where they entered in Triumph in the Beginning of *October*. On the 6th of the ſame Month the Earl of *Warwick*, attended by ſeveral Lords and a great Crowd of People, went to the *Tower* and freed King *Henry*, who had been a Priſoner there ſix Years.

Clarence and Warwick comes to London and frees King Henry.

Sedition in Kent.

Whilſt theſe Things were in Agitation, the Populace of *Kent* being gathered together, marched directly to *London* with Deſign to inrich themſelves with the Plunder of the City. But the Earl of *Warwick*, going out againſt them with Part of his Troops, eaſily beat back the Rabble, and ordered ſome of the moſt mutinous to be executed. He could not however prevent the Plundering of *Southwark* parted from the City by the *Thames*.

1470. Henry *is restored to the Throne.*

The Tumult being appeased, *Henry* was solemnly proclaimed, as mounting again the Throne. Next Day there was a *Procession*, at which the new King assisted with his Crown on his Head, and followed by an innumerable Crowd of People, who by their Acclamations showed that they rejoiced at the *Revolution* which had just happened. Thus the Earl of *Warwick* had the Honour of restoring *Henry* to the Throne, from whence he had made him descend, and of pulling down *Edward* who had been raised purely by his Means. Wherefore he was commonly called, *The King-Maker.*

HENRY VI Restored.

Montague *is made President of the North.* Act. Pub. XI. 665.

ONE of the first Things the new King did, or rather the Earl of *Warwick* who governed in his Name, was to restore the Marquiss of *Montague* to the Government of the *northern* Counties, which *Edward* had taken from him and conferred upon the Duke of *Glouceſter* his Brother. Then a Parliament was called for the 20th of *November* to confirm the late *Revolution.* This was a necessary Formality to please the People, though in the main the Parliament's Confirmation was of no great Weight, in an Affair which was done without it, and in which it could make no Alteration. The very same Thing had happened when *Edward* mounted the Throne. The contrary Resolutions of the Parliaments in regard to the Quarrel between the *Houses* of *Lancaster* and *York*, are a clear Evidence that these Assemblies acted not with Freedom, but were swayed by the Events which happened before they had debated the Matter. To no purpose then is it to plead the Authority of the Parliaments in Defense of the Rights of either of the two *Houses.* Their Resolves are properly of no manner of Force,

Remark upon the Parliaments.

Force, ſince they had not the Liberty to judge according to their Conſcience. Unleſs a Man will ſay that their Conſcience directed them always to ſide with the ſtrongeſt. 1470.

Be this as it will, the Parliament voted *Edward* a *Traitor* and an *Uſurper* of the Crown, confiſcated all his Eſtate, and annulled all the *Statutes* made in his Reign, as wanting a lawful Authority. *Edward declared a Traitor and Uſurper.*

By another *Act* the Crown was confirmed upon *Henry* VI and the Heirs Male of his Body. But for want of ſuch Heirs it was decreed that the Crown ſhould go to the *Houſe of York*, that is, to the Duke of *Clarence* and his Heirs, *Edward*'s eldeſt Son of the late Duke of *York* being excluded on the ſcore of his Rebellion. Here would be a large Field to expatiate upon the unlimited Authority of the Parliaments, if this *Statute* had been made with Freedom, and after a mature Debate. But a Man may eaſily ſee the little Freedom there was in this Parliament, if he conſiders that this *Act* was nothing more than a bare Confirmation of the Earl of *Warwick*'s Engagements. Moreover, out of pure Condeſcenſion for the Earl, or rather by his Direction, and contrary to the Laws and Cuſtoms of the Realm, they made no ſcruple to deprive the Women of the *Houſe of Lancaſter*, of a Right which the Princeſſes of the Royal Family had all along enjoyed ever ſince the *Norman Conqueſt*. Thus by a haſty Reſolve, was eſtabliſhed in *England* a kind of *Salick-Law*, which the *Engliſh* had carped at ſo much, and been ſo merry upon, when *Edward* III and *Philip de Valois* were contending for the Crown of *France*. This ſame Parliament reſtored to all their Honours and Rights, *Jaſper Tudor* Earl of *Pembroke* half-Brother to *Henry*, and *John* Earl of *Oxford*, who had been attainted in the Reign of *Edward*. *An extraordinary Act to ſettle the Succeſſion.*

Moreover in purſuance of the Engagements Queen *Margaret* had entered into at *Amboiſe*, the Duke of *Clarence* and the Earl of *Warwick* were declared and appointed Governours of the Kingdom. By this the Parliament manifeſtly ſuppoſed *Henry*'s Inability, who *The Duke and Earl declared Governours of the Kingdom.*

1470. indeed was considered only as the Shadow of a King. A Pardon was likewise granted to the Marquiss of *Montague*, for the Fault he had been guilty of in serving *Edward*, since his deserting him at so critical a Time, was the principal Cause of his flying the Kingdom. But this was not all yet. To give the Earl of *Warwick* a plausible Pretence to be revenged of his private Enemies, all those that had born Arms in Defence of *Edward*'s pretended Right, were declared Traitors and Rebels. Pursuant to which *Act*, *John Tiptoft* Earl of *Worcester* Governour of *Ireland*, and High-Constable of *England* having been found hid in a hollow Tree, was brought to *London* and beheaded. By these Acts of private Revenge, the Nobles of the opposite Party were forced, as one may say, to seek for safety in Arms only. Perhaps this is one of the principal Causes of several Revolutions which had already happened, and of those which fell out in process of Time.

The Earl of Richmond *presented to the King.*

Henry's pretended Prophecy.

Shortly after the breaking up of the Parliament, the Earl of *Pembroke* went to see for *Henry* Earl of *Richmond* his Nephew, who had concealed himself in *Wales*, and brought him to the King. It is pretended that *Henry*, stedfastly fixing his Eyes upon that young Prince, foretold that he should one Day mount the Throne and put an End to the Quarrel of the two *Houses*. But I do not know whether this Fact be so well averred as divers Historians affirm it to be. There seems to be some Ground to presume it was invented in the Reign of *Henry* VII, when the *Canonization* of *Henry* VI was solliciting at *Rome*. The Truth is, the chief Cause of the Pope's Opposition was, that although he was willing to own *Henry* VI for a good Man, yet he could see in his Life no Proof of an eminent Sanctity. So that this pretended Prophecy, if it had been well attested, would have been exceeding proper to remove the Objection.

A Grant to the Archbishop of York. Act. Pub. XI. 669.

The Earl of *Warwick* having forgiven the Archbishop of *York* his Brother for letting *Edward* escape, procured him a Grant of *Woodstock-Park*, and divers other

other *Manors*, with the Confiſcation of the Eſtates of ſeveral Perſons condemned for Rebellion, that is, for having ſerved *Edward*. 1470.

I left *Edward* at the *Hague* in a very ſad Condition, deprived of his Kingdom, and living at the Expence of the Lord *Gruthuyſe*, till the Duke of *Burgundy* was informed of his Caſe. The News of the Arrival of the King his Brother-in-law in his Dominions was by no means pleaſing to the Duke. *Philip de Comines* affirms, he would have been leſs uneaſy at the News of his Death. Indeed as Matters ſtood, he had but one Courſe to take, namely, to approve of *Henry*'s Reſtoration. But *Edward* being alive and in *Holland*, could not but throw him into great Perplexity. He had made an Alliance with him not out of Affection, but purely for Reaſons of *State*. He had ſacrificed to his Intereſt the Averſion he had for the *Houſe of York*: an Averſion wherein he had been brought up by his Mother, who was Daughter of a Princeſs of the *Houſe of Lancaſter*. Mean while he was reduced to the wretched Neceſſity either of deſerting his Brother-in-law who was come for Refuge into his Dominions, or of expoſing himſelf, by giving him Protection, to the Danger of drawing upon him the united Forces of *France* and *England*. On the other Hand, the Dukes of *Exeter* and *Somerſet*, who made another ſort of Figure at his Court than what they did before the Revolution, earneſtly preſſed him to abandon *Edward*, and threatened him in caſe of Refuſal, with the Indignation of *England*. Moreover the Earl of *Warwick* had ſent already to *Calais* a Body of Troops, which only waited for Orders to join the *French* and invade ſome Part of the *Low-Countries*. *Vauclair* had not only received theſe Troops into the Town, but by many other Steps he had ſhown that he had been far enough from being unfaithful to the Earl of *Warwick*. *Philip de Comines* relates that the Duke his Maſter having ſent him to *Calais*, to get the Truce of Commerce confirmed between that Place and the *Low-Countries*, found the Governour, Garriſon, and Townſmen entirely of *Henry*'s Side. He adds, that

The Duke of Burgundy's *Trouble about* Edward.

Comin.

1470. that he ſaw no other way to ſucceed in his Negotiation but to give the Inhabitants of *Calais* to underſtand, that the Truce being made with *England*, and not with *Edward*'s Perſon, the changing of the King was not a ſufficient Motive to break it. By that he intimated that his Maſter diſliked not the Revolution.

Poſture of the Duke of Burgundy's *Affairs*

It is certain that it was greatly for the Duke's Intereſt to keep fair with the *Engliſh*. But the better to underſtand the Perplexity which *Edward*'s Retreat into his Dominions threw him into, it will be neceſſary to know the Poſture his Affairs were in. By the Treaty *Lewis* XI had ſigned at *Peronne*, he had promiſed to give in *Appennage* to the Duke of *Berry* his Brother, *Champagne* and *Brie* in lieu of *Normandy* which he had taken from him. This Engagement gave him no ſmall Concern. He plainly perceived that the Duke of *Burgundy*'s Aim was to have Prince *Charles* for his Neighbour, that he might be able by his Means to ſtir up Commotions in *France*, whenever he ſhould think fit. But it was likewiſe for the ſame Reaſon that he himſelf wanted to keep his Brother at a Diſtance from the Duke. To extricate himſelf out of this Difficulty, he tried to perſwade the Duke of *Berry* to accept of *Guienne* and the Town of *Rochelle*, inſtead of *Champagne*, and in order to compaſs his Ends he bribed all thoſe who had any Credit about him. The Duke of *Burgundy* being informed of the Matter, oppoſed it to the utmoſt of his Power, by cauſing it to be repreſented to the Duke of *Berry*, how much that Exchange would be to his Prejudice. But perceiving that his Reaſons had but little Effect, he inſinuated to him by ſome private Emiſſaries, that if he would demand his only Daughter in Marriage, he would certainly obtain her, and might, to prevent any Oppoſition from the King his Brother, retire into *England* till the Marriage was concluded. This Negotiation had been ſo far carried on, that at the Duke of *Burgundy*'s Inſtance, *Edward* had already ordered a *Safe-Conduct* to be drawn up for that Prince. But theſe Meaſures were broken, ſince the Duke of *Berry*, prevailed upon by his treacherous Counſellors,

Act. Pub. XI. 644.

Counſellors, determined at length to accept of the Exchange, offered him by the King his Brother. 1470.

Upon this the Duke of *Burgundy* grew cool in the Buſineſs of the propoſed Marriage, which could no longer be ſubſervient to his Deſigns. Mean while the Duke of *Bretagne* and the Conſtable of St. *Paul*, who had been deeply concerned in the Negotiation, were extremely deſirous to bring it to a happy Iſſue. As they loved not the King, they conſidered that this Match would be an infallible Means to keep up between the two Brothers, a Diſſenſion from which they hoped to reap great Benefit. There was nothing wanting but the Duke of *Burgundy*'s Conſent; and as they ſaw he was very backward in the Matter, they attempted to bring him to it by an extraordinary Method. They made as if they were diſſatisfied with the Duke, and adviſed the King of *France* to wage War with him, aſſuring him they would aſſiſt him to the utmoſt of their Power. Their Aim was to proffer the Duke, when he ſhould come to be hard preſſed, to eſpouſe his Quarrel, on Condition he ſhould give his Daughter in Marriage to the Duke of *Guienne*. *Lewis* XI deſired nothing better than to ſee the Duke of *Burgundy* and *Bretagne* at Variance. Beſides, he moſt earneſtly wanted to wreſt out of the Duke of *Burgundy*'s Hands the Towns upon the *Somme*, which had been yielded to him by the Treaty of *Conflans*. He would not however have attempted to fall upon him, for fear the Duke of *Bretagne* and the *Conſtable* would have raiſed Diſturbances in the Kingdom, whilſt he ſhould be employed elſewhere. But the Moment he thought himſelf ſafe from that Quarter, he reſolved upon the War, as having no Intelligence of their Plot. Before he proceeded openly, he ſent private Emiſſaries to the Towns he wanted to recover, in order to win the principal Burghers to his Side. It muſt be obſerved, that the Duke of *Burgundy* kept but ſlender Garriſons in his Towns, and upon the Peace, diſbanded his Troops to ſpare the Purſes of his Subjects.

Comin. Argent.

Comin.

1470. Lewis XI. *declares War against* Burgundy. Mezerai.

Lewis having laid all his Plots, assembled the *Estates* at *Tours* in the Month of *March* 1470, where upon frivolous Complaints brought by the Earl of *Eu* against the Duke of *Burgundy*, he got the Duke summoned to appear before the *Court of Peers*, and sent the Citation by a Summoner of the Parliament. The Duke not appearing, he proclaimed War against him, and took from him St. *Quentin*, where the Constable of St. *Paul* entered without any Opposition. *Amiens* opened her Gates to the King by the like Practices, and the Duke was very near losing *Abbeville* also.

The Duke is afraid of incensing the Earl of Warwick.

Such was the Posture of the Duke of *Burgundy*'s Affairs, when *Edward* came for Refuge into his Country. He saw himself attacked unawares by the King of *France*, and presently after the Earl of *Warwick* sent four Thousand Men to *Calais* to join the *French*, or make a Diversion. Wherefore the Duke could do nothing more opposite to his own Interest, than to exasperate the Earl of *Warwick* by protecting *Edward*. It is not to be wondered at therefore, if *Edward* endured some Mortifications during his Refuge. It was necessary for the Duke of *Burgundy*'s Interest, that it should be believed in *England* that he was sorry to see him, and had no Mind at all to give him Protection. But in private he promised him Assistance as soon as he should be able to do it with safety.

This politick Proceeding did not serve *Edward*'s Turn. He could have wished that the Duke of *Burgundy* would have openly declared for him, imagining that such a Declaration would have conduced mightily to the keeping alive his Party in *England*. At length, finding that the Duke remained stedfast in his Resolution, and that his Dutchess's Instances made no Impression upon his Mind, he demanded a private Audience. The Duke not being able to deny him, he represented to him, "That a longer Delay would be "extremely prejudicial to him; That he should lose "his Friends and Creatures in *England*, whilst the Earl of "*Warwick* was daily strengthening himself in the Power "he usurped; That therefore there was no middle

Edward's Discourse with the Duke of Burgundy.

"Way

" Way between aſſiſting him ſpeedily, and abandon- 1479.
" ing him to his Ill-Fortune. Then he imparted to
" him the Promiſes which the Duke of *Clarence*
" his Brother had made him. And added, it was ab-
" ſolutely neceſſary to make haſte, leaſt that Prince
" who was of a fickle Temper, ſhould happen to al-
" ter his Mind, or the Earl of *Warwick* diving at
" length into his Deſign, ſhould hinder him from put-
" ting it in Execution, by removing him from the
" Government. To theſe Reaſons which concerned
" him in particular, he added the Conſideration of
" their mutual Oath, whereby they were bound to
" give one another Proofs of a ſincere Friendſhip and
" a ſpeedy Aſſiſtance in Time of Need. Moreover he
" intreated him to reflect that in acting for him, he
" would promote at the ſame time the Good of his own
" Family, which might one Day ſtand in need of Aid;
" not to reckon the Honour which would redound
" to him by reſtoring a King his Brother-in-law to
" the Throne. Finally, he poſitively promiſed to en-
" ter into a ſtrict Alliance with him againſt *France*
" the Moment he was reſtored, adding that ſuch a
" League was the right way to withſtand their com-
" mon Enemy. He concluded with letting him ſee
" that the Courſe he had taken to diſſemble the Mat-
" ter, would never be able to produce the Effect he
" intended, ſince it would not hinder *Lewis* and the
" Earl of *Warwick* from endeavouring together to
" work his Ruin.

The Duke of Burgundy *reſolves to aſſiſt* Edward.

The Duke of *Burgundy* found himſelf moved by this Diſcourſe. He perceived that in Effect there was no middle Way in the Alternative *Edward* had propoſed to him. Above all, he ſeriouſly conſidered what that Prince had ſaid to him in the laſt Place, that he could not expect to be able to repulſe the Attacks of the King of *France*, without the help of *England*, which could not be expected but by *Edward*'s Reſtoration. That on the contrary, by deſerting him, he ſhould run the Risk of ſeeing *France* and *England* unite all their Forces againſt him. But on the other Side, he conſidered

1470. that he could give *Edward* but a very poor Aſſiſtance, conſidering the preſent Poſture of his own Affairs. That it was to be feared, that this Attempt happening to miſcarry, he ſhould furniſh the Earl of *Warwick* with a plauſible Pretence to attack him. In this Perplexity he bethought himſelf of an Expedient whereby he imagined he ſhould be able at the ſame Time to ſalve the Appearances with *Warwick*, and give ſome ſmall Aſſiſtance to the fugitive King. He cauſed four large Ships to be fitted out at *Vere*, a free Port in *Holland*, under other People's Names, to whom he remitted Money. Moreover he privately hired fourteen Ships of the *Eaſterlings*, to convoy the King of *England*, and to keep upon the Coaſts fifteen Days after his Landing, that he might re-embark in caſe of Neceſſity. Then having put into *Edward*'s Hands a good round Sum of Money, he left him in *Holland*, and went himſelf into *Flanders*. When all theſe Ships were ready, *Edward* having diſappeared, notice was ſent of it to the Duke, who immediately ordered Proclamation to be made, that none of his Subjects ſhould aſſiſt him directly or indirectly upon Pain of Death. But in all Appearance, if *Edward*'s Attempt had miſcarried, the Earl of *Warwick* would not have been cheated by this Artifice.

Warwick has ſome Intimations of Edward's Deſign. Act. Pub. XI. 676.

What Care ſoever *Edward* and the Duke of *Burgundy* could take to keep their Deſigns private, the Earl of *Warwick* had received ſome Intelligence of them. It was too much for his Intereſt to have good Spies in *Holland*, to neglect ſo neceſſary a Point. It appears in the *Collection of the Publick Acts*, that on the 21ſt of *December*, the Marquiſs of *Montague* had Orders to levy Troops in the *North*, on pretence of a Rebellion, which Hiſtorians make no mention of. Apparently, it was only a Precaution which the Earl of *Warwick* took upon ſome general Advices that ſomething was hatching in *Holland*.

1471. *He is made High-Admiral. p. 679.*

The 2d of *January* 1471, the Earl of *Warwick* was made High-Admiral. Without doubt he was afraid to truſt to another's Care the fitting out a Fleet which he fore-

foreſaw he ſhould want, if the Duke of *Burgundy* attempted to aſſiſt *Edward* with open Force. The Advices which came from *Holland* being ſomewhat more certain than they had been hitherto, the Duke of *Clarence*, who was by no means ſuſpected of holding Intelligence with his Brother, was commiſſioned to raiſe an Army to oppoſe his Deſigns in caſe he ſhould return into the Kingdom. 1470. Clarence *levies Troops*, p. 680.

Theſe Meaſures being taken, the Earl of *Warwick* made haſte to conclude with *Lewis* XI. an Alliance, which had been projected ſome time ſince. But as it was a difficult Point to make an Alliance with a Prince that was in an actual War with *England*, and as a Peace could not be concluded by reaſon of *Henry*'s Pretenſions to the Crown of *France*, a long Truce was reſolved upon, which was almoſt equivalent to a Peace. In the Treaty made upon this Occaſion, it was agreed that the Truce ſhould laſt till one of the two Parties had a mind to break it, in which caſe he was to give the other notice five Years beforehand. It was further agreed, that a Place ſhould be appointed to treat about a final Peace. *Lewis* XI. was pleaſed, I know not for what reaſon, that the Duke of *Guienne* his Brother ſhould be particularly included in this Treaty. *Truce between* England *and* France. p. 681, 683. P. 660.

The ſame Day the Treaty was ſigned, the *Grand Prior* of the *Order* of *St. John of Jeruſalem* ſet out for *France* to fetch Queen *Margaret* and the Prince of *Wales*. P. 693.

Shortly after the Earl of *Warwick*, either out of Love to the Duke of *Clarence* his Son-in-law, or to attach that Prince the faſter to the King's Side, reſtored him to the Government of *Ireland*, with ſeveral *Manors* in *England* which had been forfeited by *Edward*'s Adherents. The Marquiſs of *Montague* and *Jaſper Tudor* Earl of *Pembroke* had likewiſe a Share in the King's Favours. *Grants to the Duke of* Clarence, *&c.* p. 699, 700.

Mean while, *Edward* having finiſhed all his Preparations, ſet ſail from the Port of *Vere* about the middle of the Month of *March*, bringing along with him Two Edward *ſets ſail.* Biond. Habing.

1470. Thouſand Men. He landed at *Ravenſpur*, where *Henry* IV. had formerly landed when he came to wreſt the Crown from *Richard* II. He expected to be received with Acclamations: but contrary to his Expectation he found the Inhabitants of thoſe Parts very much diſpleaſed at his coming. Some were well-affected to *the Houſe of Lancaſter:* Others, ſeeing *Edward* ſo poorly attended, were afraid of running too great riſk in openly eſpouſing his Cauſe. Mean while, as there were no regular Troops, he met with no Oppoſition. But that was not all that he wanted. He would fain have had the People come out to meet him, and increaſe the Bulk of his Army. This Diſappointment obliging him to march with Circumſpection, he cauſed a Rumour to be ſpread, that he was come only as Duke of *York* to claim the private Inheritance of his Family, which had been confiſcated. *Henry* IV. had formerly made uſe of the ſame Artifices, but upon better Grounds, having been baniſhed without juſt Cauſe. But if *Edward* had no Right to the Crown, as he ſeemed to own, he muſt have been guilty of having uſurped it, and conſequently could not juſtly complain that his Eſtate had been confiſcated. The Reaſon why he did not carry his Pretenſions any farther upon his Arrival in the Kingdom, ſeems to be this: He was fully perſuaded that the People in general were much more inclined to him than to his Rival; but that the Magiſtrates were againſt him. Indeed, as ſoon as the Earl of *Warwick* had the Government in his Hands, after *Henry*'s Reſtoration, his firſt Care was to fill all the Offices and Places with his Creatures. It was therefore convenient that *Edward* ſhould furniſh the People with a Pretence to countenance him, how ſlight ſoever it might be, that thereby he might oppoſe the Authority of the Magiſtrates, who would have had too great a Handle againſt him, had they been able to aſſure that he was come Sword in Hand, to ſnatch the Crown from the Head of the reigning King. Whereas by demanding only his private Patrimony, he moved the Compaſſion of the People, and gave them hopes that the Quarrel between the

He lands at Raven-*ſpur, and is coldly received.*

He takes only the Title of Duke.

The Reaſon of it.

the two *Houſes* might at length be determined, by reſtoring to him the Inheritance. Be that as it will, *Edward*, though little pleaſed with the Peoples Coldneſs, marched towards *York*, giving *Henry* every where the Title of *King*, and ſtiling himſelf only *Duke*. 1471. *He marches to* York.

The News of *Edward*'s landing having reached the Court, the Duke of *Clarence* and the Earl of *Warwick* departed from *London* to go and levy Forces: At the ſame time the Magiſtrates of the Towns were ordered to ſhut their Gates upon the Enemy, and the Marquiſs of *Montague*, who kept at *Pontfract* with a Body of Troops, had Orders to go and fight *Edward* before he ſhould reach *York*. But the Marquiſs, for what Reaſon is unknown, continued in his Poſt without making one Motion to hinder his March. Some aſcribe this Conduct to his Ignorance of what Forces *Edward* had with him. But what likelihood is there that he ſhould want good Intelligence upon ſo important an Occaſion? Others tax him with Cowardice: but he was one of the braveſt Lords in the Kingdom. Others believe there was a good Underſtanding between him and *Edward:* but the Sequel ſhewed the contrary. They that reaſon upon the moſt probable Grounds ſay, That *Montague*, imagining *Edward* would not return into *England* without a good Proſpect of being reſtored, reſolved to ſteer this Courſe, in order to make his Peace with him. And ſuppoſing his Attempt ſhould miſcarry, *Montague* did not deſpair of appeaſing the Earl his Brother. Warwick *prepares to beat him back.* Act. Pub. XI. 705. *The doubtful Behaviour of* Montague. *The apparent Reaſon of it.*

Mean while *Edward* being come near *York*, two of the *Aldermen* came out to meet him, and intreated him in the Name of the Magiſtrates to march another way, repreſenting to him, that they could not receive into their City a Prince that was come to take the Crown from their lawful King. *Edward*, purſuant to the Plan he had formed, replied, That he was not come to take the Crown from the King: That ſeeing the People had declared for *Henry*, he acknowledged him for his Sovereign, and had no Intention to do him any Prejudice: That he was come purely to requeſt the King for the Reſtitution Edward *upon his approach to* York, *is deſired to take another Rout. He anſwers with great Moderation.*

1471. tution of his Eſtate, not with an Army to uſe Force, but only with a few Followers, to ſcreen him from the Malice of his Enemies: That the Parliament ſhould be the Judge of his Cauſe; and that he deſired only the Means to paſs his Days quietly in the Allegiance becoming a good Subject: That as for the reſt, the Inhabitants of *York* ſhould of all others be the laſt to deny him Entrance, ſince the Lands he held in the *County*, as well as the Title of *Duke of York* which he bore, made him their Countryman. In fine, that he beſought them to call to mind the Favours which on ſeveral Occaſions the City had received from his Family.

The People oblige the Magiſtrates to admit him.

The Aldermen returned with this Anſwer, which was not ſufficient to ſatisfy the Magiſtrates devoted as they were to the Earl of *Warwick*. But the Friends *Edward* had in the City, having perſuaded the People that it would be too cruel to refuſe admittance to a Prince that ſubmitting himſelf to the King and Parliament, was come only to demand his own Inheritance, there was ſuch a Commotion in the City, that the Magiſtrates were not able to appeaſe it. All they could get of the People was, that Deputies ſhould be ſent to *Edward* to make Terms with him, in order to preſerve as much as poſſible the Rights of the King, and ſave the City from plunder. The Deputies found *Edward* ready to promiſe whatever they deſired of him. He proteſted to them that he was ſincere, and aſſured them that he would do no damage to the City, and would always remain faithful to the King. Whereupon the Gates were opened to him, and entering the City he went to the *Cathedral*, and confirmed his Engagements with a ſolemn Oath. Every thing being thus tranſacted with a great deal of Mildneſs and Moderation on his Part, he borrowed ſome Money of the Citizens, and leaving a Garriſon behind, he went from thence in order for *London*. During the ſhort ſtay he made at *York* his Army was greatly increaſed. He would not however have ventured to march towards *London*, had he not expected it would continue to increaſe

Deputies are ſent to him.

He ſwears to be faithful to Henry.

creaſe as he went along, and that the Duke of *Clarence* would not break his Word. 1471.

Whilſt theſe Things were doing, the Duke of *Clarence* and the Earl of *Warwick* were parted in order to go and draw their Forces together. Their Deſign was to join their Troops into one Body, and to ſet at their Head the Prince of *Wales*, Son of *Henry*, who was expected from *France*. The Earl of *Warwick* thought he had leiſure enough to prepare and join the Duke of *Clarenee*, not doubting but that *Montague* his Brother would be ſtrong enough to ſtop *Edward*. But contrary to his Expectation, he heard that *Montague* had let him paſs without Oppoſition; and that his Army increaſed continually upon the March, great Numbers of Officers and Soldiers coming in to him from all Parts of the Kingdom. This News ſtartled him exceedingly. He could not tell what to think of *Montague*'s behaving ſo faintly in a Matter of ſuch Moment. He uſed Diſſimulation however, and having ſent him expreſs Orders to come and join him, and deſired the Duke of *Clarence* to advance with all poſſible Speed, he reſolved to incamp near *Coventry*, and there expect *Edward*. His Deſign was to follow him in caſe he was ſo bold as to come between him and the Duke of *Clarence*, or to amuſe him in thoſe Parts till his two other Bodies ſhould arrive. Indeed *Montague* began his March to go and join his Brother, and the Duke of *Clarence* having likewiſe moved forward, kept within diſtance, as if he intended to do the ſame.

Clarence *and* Warwick *command each an Army.* Act. Pub. XI. 706.

Montague *lets* Edward *paſs.*

Warwick *encamps at* Coventry.

The Duke is in reach to join him.

Mean while, *Edward* who was now come about *Coventry*, approached the Earl of *Warwick*'s Intrenchments, making as if he would attack them. The Earl finding himſelf weak, ſent frequent Expreſſes to the Duke of *Clarence* to deſire him to advance with all the Expedition poſſible. But the Duke ſtill found ſome Excuſe to put off their joining. Whilſt the two Armies were thus in ſight, and juſt ready in all appearance to engage, the Duke of *Glouceſter* rid forth from the Camp of *Edward* his Brother, with a few Attendants, and went directly to the Duke of *Clarence* without having ſent

Edward *makes as if he would attack him.*

The Duke of Clarence *joins* Edward.

1471. ſent for a *Safe-Conduct*. At their firſt Meeting they tenderly embraced one another. Then, after a ſhort Conference, the Duke of *Clarence* cauſed *Edward* to be proclaimed in his Army, the principal Officers whereof he had gained before-hand. The ſame Day, *Edward* put himſelf at the Head of his Troops, and went and joined the Duke of *Clarence* with all the Marks of a mutual Friendſhip.

The Duke offers his Mediation to the Earl, who rejects it.

This was a ſtunning Blow for the Earl of *Warwick*, who little expected it. However, in ſpite of this croſs Accident which would have diſheartned any Man but him, he could not ſtoop to hearken to any Propoſals of an Accommodation, though the Duke of *Clarence* offered him his Mediation. But ſuch a Mediator that had juſt betrayed him openly, could not but be ſuſpected by him. As his Army would be ſoon reinforced by *Montague*'s Troops, and as he was ſtrongly intrenched, he did not think it beſt to be too haſty to treat about an Accommodation, which could not but be very diſadvantagious to him. Beſides, he was in hopes that *London*, where he had left the Duke of *Somerſet* and the Archbiſhop of *York*, would ſhut her Gates againſt *Edward*, in caſe he went and appeared before the City. If he ſhould do ſo, he was reſolved to follow him immediately after *Montague*'s Arrival, and put him under a neceſſity either of retiring elſewhere, or of joining Battle at the Gates of the Capital with a manifeſt Diſadvantage. But theſe Meaſures proved not very juſt.

Edward *marches towards* London.

Preſently after the joining of the two Brothers, it was debated whether they ſhould attack the Earl of *Warwick* in his Intrenchments, or march directly to *London*, and the laſt was deemed moſt convenient. Firſt, becauſe *Edward* having a great many Friends in the City, it was likely that ſeeing him approach at the Head of a ſtrong Army, they would uſe their Endeavours to gain him admittance, and that the Earl of *Warwick*'s Diſtance would very much further their Attempt. Secondly, nothing could be more for *Edward*'s Advantage than to have *London* on his ſide. He ſtood in need of Money, and could not eaſily find it any where elſe. Moreover, he could

could not abſolutely rely upon his *Reſtoration*, as long as he was not Maſter of the Metropolis. Laſtly, it was of great Moment to him to have *Henry* in his Power. He began his March then for *London*, leaving the Earl of *Warwick* behind him, not without danger of being reduced to great ſtraits, in caſe the *Londoners* refuſed to let him in. 1471.

The Londoners are determined to receive Edward.

As ſoon as the News had reached *London*, that the two Brothers were joined, and were approaching the City, the Earl of *Warwick* was given over for loſt. This Belief inſpired the People with a Terror which *Edward*'s Friends took care to foment, by aggravating the Danger the City was in, of being expoſed to *Edward*'s Indignation, unleſs it was averted by a ſpeedy Submiſſion. At the ſame time they that after *Edward*'s Flight had taken *Sanctuary* in *Weſtminſter-Abbey*, came out and backed that Prince's Intereſt. On the other Hand, thoſe that were againſt him durſt hardly open their Mouths, for fear their Endeavours ſhould turn to their Deſtruction. So that without ſtaying for the Reſolution of the Magiſtrates, the People were ready to open the Gates to *Edward*, and run out to meet him. In vain would the Duke of *Somerſet* and the Archbiſhop of *York* have oppoſed this Reſolution: they were not heard. To no purpoſe did they aſſure the People that the Earl of *Warwick* would come to their Relief in three Days: *Edward*'s Army, which was juſt at the Gates of the City, made them believe quite the contrary. In fine, *Edward*'s Party having prevailed by far, the People went out in Crowds to receive him with Acclamations, which, whether real or feigned, did his Buſineſs effectually. Whilſt the People were taken up with receiving *Edward*, *Henry*'s Friends withdrew from the City, and not a Man of them bethought himſelf of helping that unfortunate Prince to make his Eſcape.

Edward enters the City.

Edward entered *London* on the 11th of *April*, and immediately thanked the People for the Affection they had expreſſed for him, and promiſed to have it in everlaſting Remembrance. He backed his Promiſe with

1471. ſeveral Acts of Clemency which entirely won him the Hearts of the Citizens. In the mean Time *Henry*, who had not found Means to eſcape, and who perhaps had not ſo much as thought of it, was ſent again to the *Tower*, from whence he had been taken ſeven Months before to re-aſcend the Throne.

Continuation of the Reign of EDWARD IV.

Edward *goes out to meet* Warwick.

EDWARD had not Time to make a long ſtay at *London*. Two Days after his coming, he departed to put himſelf at the Head of his Army, having heard that the Earl of *Warwick* was advanced as far as St. *Albans*. Undoubtedly the Earl was at a great Loſs what to do. He had decamped from *Coventry*, and marched with great ſpeed in hopes that the City of *London* would keep *Edward* at leaſt a few Days before the Walls, and that the News of his Approach would hinder the Inhabitants from letting him in. But he ſaw the Metropolis loſt, King *Henry* in Priſon, and the whole Kingdom, as one may ſay, ready to declare for his Enemy. In this Extremity there was no other Remedy for him but to fight and vanquiſh *Edward*. The obtaining a Battle was the only means of reſtoring his Affairs. But on the other Hand, although he had a pretty good Army, yet was it far from being ſo ſtrong as *Edward*'s, which increaſed moreover every Day, ſince he was Maſter of *London*. Beſides the Conduct of the Marquiſs of *Montague* his Brother was ſo myſterious, that he could not tell what to think of it. He called to Mind that it was not without Difficulty that he came into the Project of dethroning *Edward*, and that lately he had twice neglected to fight him, upon Occaſions wherein he ſhould have run all hazards. It is true, he was come to join him; but this was what

Warwick *reſolves to fight.*

increaſed

increaſed his Suſpicions the more. The Example of the Duke of *Clarence* his Son-in-law made him apprehenſive that his own Brother had ſuffered himſelf to be corrupted. In this State of Fear and Doubt he would willingly have diſmiſſed him, if he had not been afraid to diſcourage his Army. In fine, after many Reflections upon the Poſture of his Affairs, Flight being difficult and diſhonourable, and the Iſſue of the Battle yet uncertain, he concluded, that he had no other Courſe to take than to hazard a Battle and die honourably, in Caſe Victory declared for his Enemy. But at the ſame Time he was reſolved to order it ſo, that the Marquiſs his Brother ſhould run the ſame Hazard as himſelf, ſince it was the Event only that could aſſure him of his Fidelity. With this Reſolution he marched from St. *Albans*, and having advanced to *Barnet*, which is but ten Miles from *London*, he met *Edward* who was moving forward with Deſign to fight. There it was that upon the 14th of *April* being *Eaſter-Day*, a terrible Battle was fought, which decided the Fate of the two contending Parties. *Edward* had brought *Henry* along with him, not having dared to truſt any Perſon with the Cuſtody of him. Thus that unfortunate Prince ſeemed to be born only to be the ſport of Fortune. Happy in that the natural Imbecillity of his Mind made him look upon his Misfortunes with leſs Concern than any other Man would have done.

1471.

He makes towards London.

The Battle began early in the Morning, and laſted till Noon. Never perhaps had two Armies been ſeen to fight with more Bravery and Obſtinacy. Each Man conſidering himſelf as a Rebel in Caſe the Enemy was victorious, no one expected any Favour. Every Body was too well acquainted with the Barbarity uſually practiſed in Civil Wars, and more eſpecially in this, wherein the ſundry Revolutions in Favour of both Parties, had carried Rage and Animoſity to the higheſt Degree. This in all likelihood was the true Cauſe of the Battle laſting ſo long. The Earl of *Warwick*'s Troops, though inferior in Number, fought deſperately, being determined by the Example of their Gene-

The Battle of Barnet; Warwick *and* Montague *defeated and ſlain.*

1471. ral, either to conquer or die. They had even ground to flatter themſelves for ſome Time, that Victory was going to declare in their Favour. Some Squadrons of Horſe, which the Earl of *Warwick* detached from the third *Line*, gained ſo much Ground upon their Enemies, that ſeveral of them rode away full ſpeed to *London* with the News of their Defeat. But *Edward* not loſing the Preſence of Mind ſo neceſſary to a General on ſuch perillous Caſes, ordered a Body of Reſerve to move forward, who falling upon the Enemies now victorious in the Flank, put them in extreme Diſorder. The ſmall Number of Troops the Earl of *Warwick* had ſuffered him not to make a Detachment to oppoſe that Body. At the ſame Time the Earl of *Oxford* who had beat back *Edward*'s Troops, conſidering he had left the Line where he was poſted too much expoſed, wheeled about to return to his Poſt. This Precaution, as prudent as it was, proved the Occaſion of the Earl of *Warwick*'s loſing the Day. The Earl of *Oxford*'s Badge upon his Arms and Colours was a *Star with Streams*, and *Edward*'s Deviſe was a *Sun*. A ſmall Miſt which aroſe after the Fight began, having hindered the Earl of *Warwick*'s Troops from diſcerning the Difference, they furiouſly charged theſe Squadrons as they were coming back to their Poſt, and put them to rout before the Earl of *Oxford* had Time to remove their Error. This brought extreme Diſorder upon the Army. Some imagining they were betrayed, becauſe they were attacked by their own Side, ran away in Confuſion towards the Enemies. Others ſeeing them fly that Way, fancied they were attacked in the Rear, and knew not what Courſe to take. Mean while *Edward* making Advantage of this Miſtake, cut in Pieces the Troops that fled towards him. The Earl of *Warwick* perceiving the Diſorder, did his utmoſt to remedy it, but it was to no purpoſe. In fine, willing to animate his Troops by his Example, he ruſhed, on Foot as he was, among the thickeſt of his Enemies, where he quickly fell all covered with Wounds. The Marquiſs of *Montague* his Brother, deſirous to reſcue him, periſhed

Cauſe of Edward's Victory.

in

in the Attempt a few Moments after him. Thus ended the Battle about Noon, by the entire rout of *Warwick*'s Army, ten Thouſand whereof were ſlain on the Spot. It is ſaid that *Edward*, who in all the other Battles, was wont to make Proclamation before the Fight, that the common Soldiers ſhould be ſpared, and the Officers put to the Sword, had ordered now that no Quarter ſhould be given. The Earl of *Oxford* and the Duke of *Somerſet* fled into *Wales* to the Earl of *Pembroke*, who was levying Troops for the Earl of *Warwick*. The Duke of *Exeter* was left for dead among the ſlain; but coming to Life again, he crawled to the next Houſe, from whence he found means to be carried to *London*, where he took *Sanctuary* in *Weſtminſter-Abbey*. 1471.

Oxford *and* Somerſet *eſcape*.

Exeter *is wounded*.

This was the Iſſue of that bloody Day, and ſuch was the End of the famous Earl of *Warwick*, who ſince the beginning of the Quarrel between the *Houſes of Lancaſter* and *York*, had made in *England* ſo great a Figure as no Subject had ever done the like before him. In a Word, he had made and unmade Kings juſt as he pleaſed. This is the moſt glorious Thing that could be ſaid of a private Man, if true Glory conſiſted in Exceſs of Power *.

Edward having thus obtained a complete Victory which ſeemed to aſſure him of the Crown, returned to *London* where he was received in Triumph. The Inhabitants could not expreſs their Joy to ſee themſelves freed from the Danger they would have been expoſed to, if the Earl of *Warwick* had won the Battle. The King's firſt Care was to go and return God Thanks for his Victory at St. *Paul*'s Church, after which he ordered the unfortunate *Henry* to be ſent back to his old Priſon. A few Days after, he granted a Pardon to the Archbiſhop of *York*, apparently not to incenſe the *Clergy* by the puniſhing of one of their principal Members. Beſides, he called to Mind the great Service

Edward *returns to* London.

The Archbiſhop of York *is pardoned*. Act. Pub. XI. 709.

* After being expoſed three Days to all Comers, his Body was conveyed to *Biſham-Abby* in *Berkſhire*.

1471. vice that Prelate had done him, though it may be more out of Negligence than Affection, in letting him eſcape out of his Confinement at *Middleham*.

Queen Margaret *arrives with the Prince.*

Whilſt theſe Things were doing, Queen *Margaret* who was juſt arrived from *France* in *Dorſetſhire*, ſaw herſelf in a very woful Condition. She had ſcarce Time to refreſh herſelf two Days, when ſhe received the fatal News of the Defeat and Death of the Earl of *Warwick*. Though ſhe had hitherto bravely withſtood all the Attacks of Fortune, ſhe was ſo affected with this laſt Blow that ſhe fell into a Swoon, out of which ſhe recovered with great Difficulty. She ſaw in an Inſtant all the Conſequences, and perceiving there was no Remedy left, ſhe gave way to her Grief, and loſt upon this Occaſion that wonderful Firmneſs of Mind for which ſhe had all along been ſo glorioufly diſtinguiſhed. So that yielding to her unhappy Lot, and not thinking but to ſave the Prince her Son, ſhe took *Sanctuary* in the Abbey of *Beaulieu* in *Hampſhire*. She was ſtill in the Agonies of Grief which this fatal Accident had thrown her into, when ſhe ſaw arrive the Duke of *Somerſet*, *John Beaufort* his Brother, the Earls of *Pembroke* and *Devonſhire*, and the Lord *Wenlock*. The two laſt had been in *Edward*'s Intereſt, and unluckily for them they had deſerted him. The Queen had alſo with her the *Grand Prior* of St. *John*'s, who was ſent to *France* to Conduct her to *England*. All theſe Lords, and ſeveral other Officers of Diſtinction which attended them, ſtrove to comfort her and revive her Hopes. They repreſented to her, "*That* ſhe had no reaſon "yet to deſpair; *That* indeed *Edward* was victorious, "but then he might be vanquiſhed another Time; "*That* the Kingdom ſtill abounding with Friends to "King *Henry*, it was not ſo hard as ſhe imagined to "form a new Army capable of putting a ſtop to the "Progreſs of the Uſurper; *That* as one Battle won "had reſtored him to the Throne, ſo another loſt "might tumble him down again; *That* the ſundry "Revolutions for and againſt the two *Houſes* ſince "the Quarrel began, were a Leſſon to her that there

She Swoons at the News of the Defeat,

and takes Sanctuary.

Her Friends come to her and exhort her to try her Fortune once more.

"was

" was ſtill Hopes, provided ſhe would not by an un- 1471.
" ſeaſonable Fear, relinquiſh her own Intereſts with
" thoſe of the King and the Prince her Son; *That* her
" Armies had been frequently victorious under her
" Conduct, and it was by no means impoſſible but that
" Victory ſhould once more incline to her Side: Laſtly,
" *That* all the World conſidered the Prince of *Wales*
" as the undoubted Heir of the Crown, and that by
" ſetting him at the Head of the Army, there was
" room to hope for a lucky Turn.

She would put her Son out of Danger.

If *Margaret* was afraid to expoſe herſelf once more to the Viciſſitude of Fortune, it was not upon her own Account. It was the Prince her Son that was the Cauſe of all her Uneaſineſs. Her Tenderneſs for him made her look forward to all the fatal Conſequences of the Undertaking propoſed to her, in Caſe it ſhould not be crowned with Succeſs. She plainly perceived he could not attempt to recover the Crown of his Anceſtors, without hazarding at the ſame Time his own Life, and that Conſideration was ſo grievous to her, that it hindered her from coming to any Reſolution. In this Perplexity, ſhe propoſed the ſending of the Prince into *France*, that in Caſe the Enterprize ſucceeded, he might reap the Fruits of it, and if it miſcarried, he might at leaſt be in ſafety. But the Duke of *Somerſet* repreſented to her, that it was chiefly upon the Preſence of the Prince that he could build his Hopes, which alone would be enough to draw Multitudes into his Service, and would induce his Troops to fight ſtoutly for him. At length the Queen, after having endured a violent Conflict in her Soul between the Fear of loſing her Son, and the Deſire of procuring him a Crown which ſhe believed was his lawful Right, conſented to follow the Advice of her Friends.

The Duke of Somerſet *is againſt it.*

She yields to him.

The Speed wherewith the Lancaſtrians *levy a freſh Army.*

This Reſolution being taken, it was agreed, that the Queen and Prince ſhould retire to *Bath*, and the reſt ſhould go and draw together their Friends, with the Remains of the Earl of *Warwick*'s Army. The Earl of *Pembroke* undertook to levy an Army in *Wales*, where his Intereſt was great, and ſat out immediately, having

1471. having firſt deſired the Duke of *Somerſet* who was to command in Chief under the Prince of *Wales*, to run no hazard till he ſhould be joined by the *Welſh*. The ſuddenneſs wherewith all theſe Lords levied or aſſembled their Troops, would be moſt ſurpriſing, did not a Man conſider in the firſt Place, the aſtoniſhing Effects which *Hatred* and *Revenge* uſually produce, eſpecially in *Civil Wars*. In the next Place it muſt be conſidered, that the Remains of the Earl of *Warwick*'s Army having diſperſed themſelves after the Battle of *Barnet*, wanted only a Leader to head them. Laſtly, as it was but a few Days ſince the Battle, it was not yet known how the Conqueror would behave towards the vanquiſhed. So that the moſt Part having greater Reaſon to expect Severity than Mercy, choſe rather to venture their Lives in a Battle, than run the risk of loſing them on the Gibbet and Scaffold. Be this as it will, it appears by the *Collection of the Publick Acts*, that on the 27th of *April*, that is to ſay, thirteen Days after the Battle of *Barnet*, the *Lancaſtrian* Lords had already drawn an Army together.

Proclamation againſt the Queen. Act. Pub. XI. 709.

Upon the ſame Day, as appears by the Date, *Edward* iſſued out a *Proclamation*, ſetting forth that his Title to the Crown was unqueſtionable: Firſt, as it was founded on Juſtice and Equity: Secondly, as it was confirmed by ſeveral Parliaments. In the third Place, that his Victories, and eſpecially the laſt, wherein the Marquiſs of *Montague*, and the Earl of *Warwick* were ſlain, were ſo many Demonſtrations of his Right: That however, notwithſtanding theſe three Foundations, than which nothing could be more firm, namely, *Juſtice*, *Parliamentary Authority*, and *Victory*, ſundry Perſons had taken up Arms againſt him. But that in order to avoid the Effuſion of more Blood, he had thought proper to give his People a Liſt of the Names of thoſe Perſons which were pronounced *Traitors* and *Rebels*, to the End that they who aſſiſted them might not complain if any Miſchief befell them. The Perſons proſcribed were *Margaret* ſtiling herſelf *Queen of England*, *Edward* her Son, the Duke of *Exeter*, the Duke

Duke of *Somerſet*, *John* Earl of *Oxford*, *John Courtney* Earl of *Devonſhire*, *William* Viſcount *de Beaumont*, *John Beaufort* Brother of the Duke of *Somerſet*, *Hugh Courtney*, with eleven others. 1471.

Mean while *Edward* loſt no Time. As his Troops were in a readineſs to march, he went and put himſelf at their Head. with Deſign to give his Enemies Battle, before the Earl of *Pembroke* ſhould join them with the *Welſh* Succours. How diligent ſoever the Lords confederated with the Queen had been, they were far from being in ſo good a Poſture as the King, it not being poſſible but that they ſhould be in want of Arms and Ammunition. And therefore, knowing that *Edward* was coming in queſt of them, they reſolved to retire into *Wales*, where the Situation of the Country would help them to avoid fighting as long as they pleaſed. Beſides, they expected to be joined very ſoon by the Earl of *Pembroke*, and then ſhould be in a Condition to give Battle. The Buſineſs was to paſs the *Severn* before the King ſhould reach them, and to that Purpoſe they marched to *Glouceſter*. But that City having ſhut her Gates upon them, and there being no likelihood of their taking it at the firſt Aſſault, much leſs of their being able to beſiege it in Form, they reſolved to go and paſs the *Severn* at *Tewkesbury*. Mean Time *Edward* ſo cloſely purſued them, that upon their Arrival at *Tewkesbury* they debated whether they ſhould venture to paſs the River, at the risk of ſeeing their Rear-Guard put to rout, or whether they ſhould intrench themſelves in a Park adjoining to the Town, till the Earl of *Pembroke* ſhould join them. The Queen, who thought of nothing but the Prince's ſafety, was for paſſing. Some others, more out of Complaiſance to her than for any good Reaſon, backed her Opinion. But the Duke of *Somerſet* was utterly againſt it. He repreſented, that the Enemy was ſo near at Hand, that before the Army could have done paſſing, he would certainly have it in his Power to attack them, and would cut in Pieces all thoſe who ſhould have the Misfortune to be left behind: That ſuch an Accident, which ſeemed unavoidable,

Edward marches againſt her.

She would retire into Wales.

He overtakes her at Tewkesbury.

The Queen is for paſſing the Severn.

The Duke of Somerſet *is againſt it.*

1471. avoidable, could not but prove very fatal, and diſcourage all thoſe that were ſtill Friends to *the Houſe of Lancaſter*: In fine, that although their Army was inferiour in Number to the Enemy's, yet that Diſadvantage might be made up by intrenching in the *Park*, and by drawing *Lines* which would counter-ballance the Enemy's Odds. After a mature Debate, this Opinion was thought the moſt adviſeable, conſidering the Circumſtances of Time and Place. The Hiſtorians, of whom there are few that underſtand the Art of War, have taxed the Duke of *Somerſet* with Imprudence and Raſhneſs, purely becauſe they conſidered not the Difficulty of paſſing ſuch a River as the *Severn* with the Enemy cloſe at one's Heels. But if that General had been guilty of no other Fault but that, perhaps the Queen's Affairs would have taken another Turn. At leaſt ſhe might have been able to wait the Coming of the Earl of *Pembroke*, and by fighting upon equal Terms, to cauſe her Enemy to run his Share of the Riſk. This is what will appear by the Sequel.

He intrenches himſelf by Tewkesbury. *Edward reſolves to attack him.*

This Reſolution being taken of expecting *Edward* without ſtirring, they worked all Night in making Intrenchments round the Park, which were finiſhed before Day, ſo eager were they to ſecure themſelves from all Surpriſe. *Edward* having approached in order to view them, judged that it was abſolutely neceſſary to attack them before they had made themſelves more hard to be come at, and before the Arrival of the Earl of *Pembroke*, who was expected every Moment. So, without loſs of Time, he drew up his Army in two Lines. He gave the Command of the firſt to the Duke of *Glouceſter* his younger Brother, and headed the ſecond himſelf with the Duke of *Clarence*. The Duke of *Somerſet* ranged his Army behind the Intrenchments in three Bodies. The foremoſt whereof he would command himſelf, that he might ſuſtain the firſt Shock. *Wenlock* conducted the ſecond, under Prince *Edward*, who was looked upon as the Commander in chief. The Earl of *Devonſhire* was ſet at the Head of the third. *Edward* having taken a cloſer View of the Intrench-

ments,

ments, perceived they had left an open Place to go out at upon Occaſion. This made him think that the Duke of *Somerſet* hoped that he ſhould repel the firſt Charge, and that if he obſerved any Diſorder among the Aſſailants, he had reſolved to ſally out and improve the Advantage. And therefore, the more eaſily to draw him out of his Lines, he ordered the Duke of *Glouceſter* who was to begin the Fight, to fall back with ſome Precipitation, in caſe he ſhould meet with too ſtrong a Reſiſtance, and if he was purſued to face about, and vigorouſly attack thoſe that ſhould be come out againſt him, aſſuring him he ſhould be ſupported by all the reſt of the Army. This Order was grounded upon *Edward*'s Knowledge of the Duke of *Somerſet*'s Intrepidity, and good Opinion of himſelf. 1471.

The Battle of Tewkeſbury.

Every thing being thus diſpoſed, the Duke of *Glouceſter* began the Attack of the Intrenchment with great Vigour. But finding that the Enemies ſtood their Ground, and appeared every where ready to bear his Aſſaults, he retreated toward the ſecond Line ſo haſtily, that the Duke of *Somerſet* verily believed that the whole Body was entirely diſheartned. Then it was that the Duke, not being able to curb the Impetuoſity of his Courage, and thinking he ought to improve the preſent Advantage, ſallied out of his Intrenchments with deſign to preſs the Enemy's Army, which he imagined to be already in Confuſion. At the ſame Time he ſent word to *Wenlock* to come out immediately and aſſiſt him. Mean while, the Duke of *Glouceſter* who had drawn up his Men again at a good Diſtance from the Intrenchments, ſeeing the Duke of *Somerſet* advancing towards him in good Order, ſaved him ſome Part of the Way. As he was ſure of being backed by the King his Brother who was not far off, he ran furiouſly upon the Troops that were coming againſt him, and by ſo vigorous and unexpected a Charge, he aſtoniſhed them to ſuch a Degree, that they ſaw no Remedy but to betake themſelves in Diſorder to their Camp. The Duke of *Somerſet* was in a Fury when he found he was not ſeconded. He had depended upon *Wenlock*, and inſtead

Falſe Step of the Duke of Somerſet.

1471. of finding him without the Intrenchments with the second Line, to oppose the Duke of *Gloucester*, he beheld him idle in the very Place where he had first drawn up his Men. Whereupon not being able to bridle the Rage he was in, he ran furiously at him, and clove his Head in Pieces with his Battle-Axe.

He kills Wenlock.

The Duke of Gloucester enters the Enemy's Camp.

Mean time, the Duke of *Gloucester* having entered the Enemy's Camp together with the Run-a-ways, made there a terrible Slaughter. *Wenlock* being dead, the young Prince knew not what to do, and the Duke of *Somerset* transported with Passion, was incapable of giving Orders, and making himself obeyed. Thus Confusion spread in a Moment in the Army, and the King, who was close upon the Heels of the Duke his Brother, having likewise entered the Camp, the Queen's Troops thought only of saving themselves by Flight, without making any further Resistance. It is said that the Queen was found in a Chariot half dead with Grief to see her forlorn Affairs, without knowing what was become of the Prince her Son, and that she was brought in that Condition to King *Edward*. An Historian however says, that it was not till a Day or two after the Battle that she was taken out of a *Nunnery* where she had fled for Refuge, and conducted to the King who was then at *Worcester*. In this Battle, which entirely secured the Crown to *Edward*, there fell on the Queen's Side but Three Thousand, because the two last Lines ran away without fighting. Among the slain was found the Earl of *Devonshire* and Sir *John Beaufort*, Brother of the Duke of *Somerset*. The Prince of *Wales*, the Duke of *Somerset*, and the grand Prior of St. *John*'s were made Prisoners. But they had better died in fight, since they saved their Lives only to lose them in a less honourable Manner. The young Prince being brought into the King's Presence, appeared before him with an undaunted Countenance, without debasing himself by Submissions unbecoming his Birth. *Edward* was surprised at it, and more so, when, asking him how he came to be so bold to come thus in Arms into his Kingdom, the Prince replied,

The Queen is taken.

That

That he was come to recover his own Inheritance which had been unjustly taken from him. *Edward* full of Indignation at his Boldness, struck him on the Mouth with his Gantlet, and turned his Back upon him. This was as it were the Signal to take away the Life of that unfortunate Prince. 'Tis said, that immediately upon the King's withdrawing, the Dukes of *Clarence* and *Gloucester* his Brothers, the Earl of *Dorset* and the Lord *Hastings*, fell upon the young Prince like wild Beasts, and stabbed him with their Daggers. It is certain that he was murdered that Instant, and in all appearance the King had given Orders beforehand for that barbarous Execution. But I don't know whether the Historians are to be credited that affirm these four Lords stabbed him with their own Hands. This might be an Effect of the Prejudice of those that wrote the History after the Restoration of *the House of Lancaster*, since it is certain, they have omitted nothing to render *the House of York* odious. It is likely however that the Murder was committed in the Presence of the Lords before-mentioned. Some tell us, that the Prince having escaped out of the Battle, the King offered a Pension of five Hundred Pounds *Sterling* to any Person that should bring him alive or dead, promising, if he was alive, not to put him to Death: That upon this Promise Sir *Richard Crofts*, in whose Hands he was fallen, brought him to the King, who was not as good as his word with him. The Prince lost his Life at Eighteen Years of Age *. Next Day the Duke of *Somerset*, and the grand Prior of *the Order of St. John* were beheaded. Queen *Margaret* was shut up in the *Tower*, where she remained a Prisoner till 1475, when *Lewis* XI. ransomed her for fifty Thousand Crowns. Such was the sad Catastrophe of this Princess, who, for having attempted to rule *England* with an absolute Sway, caused a great deal of *English* Blood to be spilt, brought on the Ruin of herself, of the King her Spouse, of the Prince her Son, and of all *the House*

1471.

The Prince is murdered in cold Blood.

Remark upon it.

Somerset beheaded.

* He was buried without any Solemnity, among some mean Persons, in the Church of the *Black-Fryars* in *Tewkesbury*.

1471. *House of Lancaster*, of which there remained only one tender Branch in the Person of the Earl of *Richmond*. One would think there was a sort of Fatality with regard to the Kings of *England* that took Wives of the Blood-Royal of *France*. *Edward* II. *Richard* II. *Henry* VI. and *Charles* I. were the only Persons that did so, and they all four underwent the same Lot, Three of them by the Fault of their Queens.

The Battle of *Tewkesbury* fought on the fourth of *May*, eighteen Days after that of *Barnet*, was the Twelfth since the Beginning of the Quarrel between the *Two Roses*. But it was not the last, though no other happened in the Residue of this Reign.

The Bastard of Falconbridge rises against the King.

Whilst *Edward* was busied in prosecuting the Queen, there arose a fresh Enemy against him. *Thomas Nevil*, known by the Name of *the Bastard of Falconbridge*, because he was natural Son of the Lord *Falconbridge*, had been made Vice-Admiral in *the Channel* during the Earl of *Warwick*'s Administration, to whom he adhered. The Earl being dead, and King *Edward* re-inthroned, *the Bastard* had lost his Place. As he was a Man of ill Morals and without Means, he saw no other Course to take for his Subsistence but to turn Pyrate. When he found the King taken up in the *West* in pursuit of the Queen, he got together some Ships, and a good Number of People of desperate Fortunes, with whom he came upon the Coast of *Kent*, never dreaming that the War newly kindled would end so soon. His Design was to surprize *London*, and enrich himself with the Plunder of the City. With that view he began his March towards *London*, giving out, that he had no other Intent but to free King *Henry* from Captivity. On this Pretence, having drawn in many of the Friends of *the House of Lancaster*, he had formed an Army of Seventeen Thousand Men. He presently became Master of *Southwark*. At the same time, he ordered Part of his Troops to pass over on the other Side of the River, and assault two of the City Gates, whilst he himself attempted to force the Bridge. But the Citizens having had notice of his March, were upon their Guard,

He attempts to surprize London.

He is repulsed;

Guard, and beat him back on all Sides. In the mean while, *the Baſtard* having heard of the Succeſs of the Battle of *Tewkesbury*, and knowing that the King was marching with all ſpeed to *London*, retired in good Order to *Sandwich*, where he fortified himſelf. *Edward* being come to *London*, paſſed through the City without ſtopping, and marched as far as *Canterbury*, where *the Baſtard* ſent him word he was ready to ſubmit, upon certain Terms which were immediately granted him. The King even Knighted him, and made him Vice-Admiral of *the Channel* as he was before. But he did not long enjoy theſe Favours. Shortly after he had his Head cut off, either for new Crimes or on account of his old ones. 1471. *and retires to* Sandwich. *The King pardons him; and afterwards cuts off his Head.*

Edward being come to *London* on the 21ſt of *May*, after having won two Battles in leſs than three Weeks, granted an abſolute Pardon to *William Wainfleet* Biſhop of *Wincheſter*, who had been a zealous Friend of *the Houſe of Lancaſter*. But he had not the ſame Generoſity for King *Henry*, Head of that *Houſe*. The innocent Life of that unhappy Prince, one would have thought ſhould have ſcreened him from the Cruelty of his victorious Enemy. It was doubtleſs upon that Account that *Edward* had already ſpared his Life twice. It is even very likely that he would have ſuffered him to end his Days by a natural Death, had he believed he could have done it with ſafety. But he was afraid he ſhould never enjoy a ſettled Peace, as long as that Prince was alive; and the Conſideration of this made him reſolve to get rid of him. It was properly Queen *Margaret* that haſtened the Death of the King her Husband by her laſt Attempt to re-inthrone him. If ſhe had won the Battle of *Tewkesbury*, and got *Edward* in her Power, it is ſcarce to be doubted but that ſhe would have put him to Death on the Scaffold. She ought not therefore to think it very ſtrange that the ill Succeſs of her Enterprize ſhould fall upon the Heads of her Husband and Son. It is even very probable that ſhe herſelf was beholden to her Sex for her own Life. Be that as it will, *Edward* having reſolved to ſacrifice *Henry* to his Security, *The Biſhop of* Wincheſter *is pardoned.* Act. Pub. XI. 711. *Death of* Henry VI. June.

1471. Security, ordered the Duke of *Glouceſter*, to whom all the Hiſtorians unanimouſly give the Character of a bruti ſh and bloody Prince, to put him to Death in Priſon. It is affirmed, that the Duke would be the Father's Executioner as he had been the Son's, and that coming into his Room he himſelf plunged a Dagger into his Breaſt. But as I obſerved, it is good to receive with ſome Caution what the Hiſtorians ſay of the Princes of *the Houſe of York*.

His Character. Thus died *Henry* VI. in the Fiftieth Year of his Age, after having reigned Thirty-eight Years before he was dethroned, and Seven Months only after his Reſtoration. Never had Prince been the Occaſion, though innocently, of more bloody Tragedies, or cauſed more Blood to be ſpilt in his Quarrel. Though his natural Weakneſs made him unfit to govern his Kingdom, and though for that reaſon he always gave himſelf up to the Guidance of others, yet had he ſome good Qualities, which they would fain have made paſs after his Death for Virtues of the firſt Claſs. This was on purpoſe to render ſo much the more odious the Perſon that had bereaved him of his Crown and Life. All that one can truly ſay of this Prince is this, that to conſider him in his private Capacity, his Life was Innocent, or at leaſt free from the Crimes which are but too common in the World. But if a Man conſiders him as a Sovereign, he finds in his whole Life neither Bad nor Good.

His Foundations. He founded *Eaton-College* near *Windſor*, and *King*'s-*College* in *Cambridge*, for the Benefit of *Eaton-Scholars*. Theſe two Foundations are ſtill in being. As ſoon as he was dead, his Body was brought to St. *Paul*'s Church, where it lay ſome time expoſed to the View of all People, after which it was interred without any Pomp in a Village near *London* *.

The

* In the Abbey of *Chertſey* in *Surry*, but it was afterwards removed by *Edward*'s Order to *Windſor*, and there buried, and a Monument made over him.

1471. *The Remains of the House of* Lancaster.

The twelve Battles that had been fought ſince the Year 1455, and the barbarous Executions they were attended with, had reduced the Houſe of *Lancaſter* to two Perſons only, namely, *Margaret* Daughter of *John* Duke of *Somerſet*, and Wife to *Edmund Tudor* Earl of *Richmond* Half-Brother of *Henry* VI, and *Henry* Earl of *Richmond* her Son. *Margaret* had two other Huſbands, *Henry* Earl of *Stafford* and *Thomas Stanley*; but ſhe had no Children by them. I mention not *Charles Somerſet* from whom the Earls of *Worceſter* were derived, becauſe being only natural Son of the *Beaufort Somerſet* Family, he could have no Title to the Crown.

The Earl of Pembroke *and* Richmond *retire into* Wales.

Jaſper Tudor Earl of *Pembroke*, Uncle of the young Earl of *Richmond*, not having been able to come Time enough to be at the Battle of *Tewkesbury*, was at a great Loſs. As he found himſelf too weak to ſupport alone the Intereſts of the *Houſe of Lancaſter*, he diſmiſſed his Troops and kept with the Earl of *Richmond* his Nephew in *Wales*, where he had many Friends and great Credit. *Edward* vehemently deſired to have in his Power theſe two Lords, the only Perſons left that could give him any farther Trouble. To compaſs his Ends, it was by no means proper to march his Troops againſt them. Beſides, that by ſo doing he would have put it in their Heads to leave the Kingdom, it was no eaſy Matter to ſeize their Perſons in a Country where they had as many Friends as there were Inhabitants. So that believing Cunning to be better than Force, he ſent into thoſe Parts one *Robert Vaughan* with Orders to uſe all ſorts of Means to ſeize or kill them. *Vaughan* not having been ſo ſecret as he ought, the Earl of *Pembroke*, who had notice of his Deſign, made as if he fell into the Snare which the Villain laid for him and ſlew him. Then he went and ſhut himſelf up in *Pembroke* Caſtle, from whence he departed with *Henry* his Nephew, and embarked on Board a Veſſel which was to carry them to *France*. Mean while the Winds happening to drive them upon the Coaſt of *Bretagne*, and they were fain to put into ſome Port of that Country.

Edward *tries to get rid of them, but cannot.*

They embark for France.

1471. *and are detained in* Bretagne.

Their Design was to go to *Paris*; but not having been able to help waiting upon the Duke of *Bretagne*, when they would have taken their Leave of him, they were told, that they were not at Liberty to pursue their Voyage. The Duke judging these two Lords might be of some use to him, appointed them the Town of *Vannes* to live in, with an honourable Allowance. Mean while, though they had outwardly all the Respect paid them that was due to their Birth and Quality, they were however very narrowly watched.

Edward gets the Lords to take the Oath to his Son. Act. Pub. XI. 714.

Edward seeing himself thoroughly settled in the Throne, without any Appearance of any further Disturbance in the Possession of a Crown which he had procured with so much Pains, assembled the Lords Spiritual and Temporal at *Westminster*. There in a set Speech, wherein he endeavoured to display the Title of the *House of York* to the Crown in its best Colours, and wherein he omitted not to speak of his Victories, he gave them to understand that he wished they would take the Oath to Prince *Edward* his Son, as to his apparent Successor, to which he found them all inclined. The two Archbishops, eight Bishops, five Dukes, with all the Earls and Lords patiently took the Oath accordingly on the 3d of *July*. Several former Instances had plainly enough shown such Precaution is of little use, and without going any farther, *Edward* might have called to Mind the Oath of the Duke his Father to *Henry* VI, and his own at *York*. He was perswaded however that People would be more conscientious with regard to him. But after his Death, his Children unhappily experienced how little such Assurances are to be depended upon.

Pardon granted to 7 Bishops p. 715.

Shortly after *Edward* granted a Pardon to seven Bishops that had declared against him in the late Revolution. From the Beginning of his Reign to the End, he always made it his Business to carry it fair with the *Clergy*. The residue of this Year was spent in sundry Negotiations, of which I shall say a Word or two before I close it.

The

The firſt was with the King of *Scotland*. During the Troubles in *England*, the Truce between the *Engliſh* and *Scots* had been frequently broken, contrary to the Intention of the two Kings. After *Edward*'s Reſtoration, the King of *Scotland* having ſent Ambaſſadors to him, it was agreed to hold a Congreſs at *Alnwick* on the 24th of *September*, to make Satisfaction on both Sides, for the Outrages the two Nations had committed upon one another. The two Kings were equally deſirous to keep the Truce, and even to conclude a final Peace. This Negotiation however was not ended till 1473. It appears in the *Collection of the Publick Acts*, that *Edward* had empowered his Ambaſſadors to propoſe a Marriage between the King of *Scotland*, and an *Engliſh* Princeſs. I ſhall ſpeak elſewhere of the Sequel of this Negotiation.

1471. *Negotiations with the King of* Scotland. *p.* 716, 717.

The Truce with Bretagne *ratified. p.* 722.

On the 30th of *September* the Thirty Years Truce with *Bretagne* was ratified. This Ratification was neceſſary, as the Truce during the Earl of *Warwick*'s Adminiſtration had been often violated.

Lewis XI was very ſenſible *Edward* had no reaſon to be pleaſed with him; but however that did not hinder him from offering him a Truce, that which had been made with *Henry* VI being of no Force now *Edward* was reſtored. In the Poſture the Affairs of *England* were in, it was by no means proper that *Edward* ſhould renew the War with *France*. His Kingdom was too much exhauſted to think ſo ſoon of ſuch an Undertaking. And therefore without much intreating, he agreed to continue the Truce from the 1ſt of *September* this Year, to the 1ſt of *May* following. This was only whilſt he ſhould put himſelf in a Condition to be revenged of *Lewis* for his aſſiſting Queen *Margaret*.

Truce of 8 *Months with* France. *p.* 722.

The Year 1472 abounded not with ſo many important and remarkable Events as the laſt. It was almoſt wholly ſpent in divers Negotiations tending to ſecure the Tranquillity of the King and Kingdom, by Truces, or Alliances with foreign Princes.

1472.

1472. p. 733. The Negotiation with *Scotland* ſtill went on though ſlowly, by reaſon of the Obſtacles which occurred in the Reparations each King demanded.

Differences between the Engliſh *and* Flemings. p. 737, 738. It appears by ſeveral Pieces in the *Collection of the Publick Acts*, that ſome Differences had ariſen about the Truce of Commerce for thirty Years, between *England* and the Dominions of the Duke of *Burgundy*. Apparently, during the Earl of *Warwick*'s Adminiſtration, the *Engliſh* had not done well by the Trading Subjects of the Duke. Theſe laſt demanded reparation for ſundry Damages they had ſuſtained, affirming that the Truce was to be conſidered as made with *England*, and not with the Perſon of the *reigning* King. *Edward* on his Part did not think himſelf obliged to make good the Damages done to the *Flemings*, during the Earl of *Warwick*'s Miniſtry. But theſe Differences concerned properly only the Merchants of the two Nations. As for the Princes, it was for both their Intereſts to live in a good Underſtanding. Wherefore in treating about the Outrages committed againſt the Truce, they did not omit to negotiate a final Peace.

Negotiations with the Hanſe-Towns. p. 739. An Affair of much the ſame Nature with the *Hanſe-Towns*, created the King likewiſe ſome Trouble. Theſe Towns, whereof *Lubeck*, *Hamburgh*, and *Dantzick* are the three Principal, had procured of the Kings of *England* ſeveral Privileges for their Merchants, becauſe their Commerce was very beneficial to the *Engliſh*. But ſince the Civil Wars had commenced in *England*, the Government having often changed, the *Engliſh* had injured the Merchants of theſe Towns, and violated their Privileges ſeveral Ways. Whereupon they on their Part had obtained of their Magiſtrates *Letters of Mart*, which had turned their Differences into an open War, deſtructive to both Sides. At length the Troubles in *England* being over, the *Hanſe-Towns* ſent Ambaſſadors to the King, to demand Satisfaction for their Loſſes, and to propoſe the renewing of an Alliance to confirm their Privileges, and ſecure the Trade and Navigation of the *Engliſh* in the *northern* Seas. *Edward* received the Ambaſſadors very civilly, and appointed

pointed Commiſſioners, who after ſeveral Conferences, agreed with them, that a Congreſs ſhould be held at *Utrecht* to ſettle all Things to the Satisfaction of both Parties. But this Affair was ſo full of Difficulties that it could not be ended till 1474. 1472.

Some Time after *Edward* by his Letters Patents confirmed the old Alliance made between *Richard* II and *John* King of *Portugal*, for them and their Succeſſors. *Alphonſo* King of that Country ſent him the like *Letters*, dated the 30th of *Auguſt*. *Alliance with* Portugal. *p.* 741.

Whilſt *Edward* was endeavouring to ſecure his Peace by renewing the Truces or Alliances with foreign Princes, the Return of the Earl of *Oxford* into *England* gave him a freſh Occaſion of Uneaſineſs. That Earl, a great Stickler for the *Houſe of Lancaſter*, had retired into *France* after the Battle of *Tewkesbury*. But as he had found *Lewis* XI not much inclined to countenance him, he was come back to *England* with ſixty-five Men, and had taken by Surprize St. *Michael*'s *Mount* in *Cornwall*. *Edward*, ever apprehenſive that the leaſt Spark might re-kindle the Flames which were juſt extinguiſhed, ordered ſome Troops to march forthwith into the *Weſt*, and inveſt the Earl of *Oxford* in the Mount. But as the Earl had not Time to provide againſt a Siege, he ſurrendered before he was reduced to Extremities. All he could obtain was his Life only; but he loſt his Liberty and Eſtate, which was all confiſcated, and his Counteſs, Siſter of the Earl of *Warwick*, had nothing allowed her for her Subſiſtence. From St. *Michael*'s Mount he was conducted to the Caſtle of *Hammes* near *Calais*, where he was kept twelve Years a Priſoner. *The Earl of* Oxford *taken and impriſoned at* Hammes,

The Archbiſhop of *York* had much the ſame Fate. Though the King had pardoned him, and received his Oath at *London* the Day before the Battle of *Barnet*, he was Brother to the Earl of *Warwick*, and that was enough to render him ſuſpected. So that notwithſtanding the Pardon he had procured, he was ſhut up in the Caſtle of *Guiſnes*, where he died ſoon after. *and the Archbiſhop of* York *at* Guiſnes.

The

1472. *Death of the Duke of* Exeter.

The King had no Enemy of note left in the Kingdom but *John* * *Holland* Duke of *Exeter*, who had taken *Sanctuary* at *Westminster* after the Battle of *Barnet*. Growing weary of his Confinement, he employs his Wife, who was *Edward*'s Sister, to try to get his Pardon. They had lived a-part ever since the Beginning of the Civil Wars, because the Duke, whose Grand-Mother was Sister of *Henry* IV, adhered to the *Lancastrian* Party, and his Dutchess had continued with the King her Brother. This Princess, instead of suing for her Husband's Pardon, demanded on the contrary to be divorced from him, and though she had no lawful Reason, gained her Point. Apparently the King's Sollicitation went a great way in helping her to what she wanted. Thus the Duke of *Exeter* saw himself forced to remain in his *Sanctuary* without any Prospect of Pardon, and without having any Thing to subsist upon but what was privately sent him by his Friends. At length, not being able to live thus immured any longer, he left the Place without any one knowing how or when. It is only known, that in 1474 he was found dead upon the Sea-shore in the County of *Kent*.

Edward *persecutes the* Lancastrians.

Edward having nothing more to fear, since all the chief Friends of the *House of Lancaster* were dead, or in Prison, or banished, gave too great a loose to his Revenge upon Persons of a lower Rank, who were not to be much dreaded by him. Some he put to Death, and others he fined immoderately, as a Punishment for having been in Arms against him. But what vexed him most, was the escape of the Earls of *Pembroke* and *Richmond*. He seemed to forebode the Evil that was to befal his Family from that Quarter. The Earl of *Richmond* was, as I have said, the only remaining Branch of the *House of Lancaster*, or rather, the only Person that could pretend to dispute the Crown with *Edward*, as being Son of a Princess of that *House*. He had with him the Earl of *Pembroke* his Uncle, who was a Lord of

* *Henry.*

of great Merit, and very able to direct him. Though they were both abſent, and as it were Priſoners in *Bretagne*, they made the King very uneaſy, who wiſhed to ſee the Quarrel between the the two *Houſes* entirely decided by the Death of the young Earl, to whom all the Rights of the *Houſe of Lancaſter* were fallen. With this View he ſent Ambaſſadors to the Duke of *Bretagne*, intreating him to deliver up the two *Engliſh* Lords he had in his Power; but the Duke deſired to be excuſed in a civil Manner. He promiſed however to keep them ſo that they ſhould never be able to do him any hurt. Upon this Score *Edward* paid him yearly a large Sum, under colour of a Maintenance for the two Priſoners.

1472. *He demands the Earl of* Richmond *of the Duke of* Bretagne, *who denies him.*

All this while the Negotiation with *Scotlond* was kept on Foot, and as great Difficulties occured, it was agreed between the Plenipotentiaries of the two Kings, that the Truce ſhould ſubſiſt till *May* this Year.

Truce with Scotland Act. Pub. XI. 758.

After *Edward* had ſettled his Affairs much to his Mind, he remembered the honourable and hearty Reception he had met with in *Holland*, from *Lewis de Bruges* Lord of *Gruthuyſe*, and reſolved to make him an Acknowledgment. To that Purpoſe, having ordered it ſo that the Parliament petitioned him to create that foreign Lord a *Peer of England*, he made him *Earl of Wincheſter*. And then by *Letters Patents*, he allowed him to bear the Arms of *England* in his *Scutcheon*.

Gruthuyſe *made Earl of* Wincheſter. *p.* 765.

Before I finiſh what relates to the Events of this Year, it will be neceſſary briefly to mention how Matters ſtood between *Lewis* XI and the Duke of *Burgundy*. The Knowledge of their Differences is very requiſite for the Underſtanding of the Hiſtory of *England*. I have ſaid above, that *Lewis*, at the Inſtance of the Duke of *Bretagne*, and the Conſtable of St. *Paul*, who ſought only to deceive him, had begun the War with the Duke of *Burgundy*, and taken from him *Amiens*, and St. *Quentin*. As he did not want good Spies, he diſcovered at length that they had engaged him in that War purely to bring about the projected Marriage between the Duke of *Guienne* his Brother, and the Duke of

State of Affairs between Lewis *and the Duke of* Burgundy.

1472. of *Burgundy*'s Daughter. In order therefore to free himſelf at once from the Troubles they were endeavouring to create him by means of his Brother, he cauſed him to be poiſoned with a ſlow Poiſon, which was not to carry him off till ſuch a Time, that his Death might be aſcribed to a common Diſtemper. Mean while for fear the Duke of *Burgundy* finding himſelf too hard preſſed, ſhould take new Meaſures with the Duke of *Bretagne* and the *Conſtable*, he ſent to offer him a Truce. The Duke could wiſh for nothing more to his Advantage in the Circumſtances he was in. But as he had reaſon to fear that the offer was deſigned only to amuſe him, *Lewis* gave the Duke of *Bretagne* full Power to conclude a Truce in his Name. The Duke could not refuſe to take upon him the Management of this Affair without diſcovering his Deſigns, ſent the Biſhop of *Lyons* in Quality of Mediator, to *Cambray*, where the Treaty was to be negotiated. Both Parties were ſo willing to agree, that it was not poſſible for the Biſhop to find any way to hinder the ſigning of a Truce for thirteen Months, from the firſt of *April* 1472, to the firſt of *May* 1473. About ſix Weeks after the Concluſion of the Truce the Duke of *Guienne* died, and *Lewis* took Poſſeſſion of that Dutchy without Oppoſition.

The Duke of *Burgundy* perceived then that *Lewis* had granted him a Truce only to gain Time to do his Buſineſs in *Guienne*, and that upon all Occaſions he ſhould be the Cully of that Prince when their Matters ſhould be determined by way of Negotiation. Wherefore being highly provoked to ſee himſelf thus fooled, and finding that with ſuch Enemies the ſureſt way is to act with open Force, that they may at leaſt run an equal ſhare of the Danger, he entered *France* and put all he met in his way to Fire and Sword. The Duke of *Bretagne* ſeeing his Projects vaniſhed into Air by the Death of the Duke of *Guienne*, reſolved to join in good earneſt with the Duke of *Burgundy*, being perſwaded that the Preſervation of both depended upon their ſtrict Union. Mean while *Lewis* plainly perceiving

ing the Duke of *Bretagne* would not fail to take that Courſe, had already ſent Troops into *Anjou* to keep him in Awe. 1472.

Whilſt *Lewis* was taken up in *Guienne*, the Duke of *Burgundy* made ſome Progreſs in *Picardy*, and took *Noſle* and *Roye*. But unluckily for him, he loſt two whole Months before *Beauvais*, and could not take the Place. By which means *Lewis* perceiving he was not in want of his Troops left them in *Anjou*. So that the Duke of *Bretagne* not daring to ſtir, was prevented from going to join his Ally according to Agreement. At length the Duke of *Burgundy* having raiſed the Siege of *Beauvais*, came into *Normandy* and there expected the Duke of *Bretagne*. In the mean Time *Lewis* was ſomewhat at a Loſs. By leaving his Troops in *Anjou*, he expoſed *Picardy* and *Normandy* to the Attacks of the Duke of *Burgundy*, and in Caſe he marched to the Aſſiſtance of theſe two Provinces, he gave the Duke of *Bretagne* an Opportunity to make a powerful Diverſion in his neighbourhood. But he ſoon knew how to extricate himſelf out of this Difficulty. By the help of the Duke of *Bretagne*'s Miniſters, whom he gained over to his Intereſt, he found means to make a Truce with that Prince, and to perſwade him to renounce the Duke of *Burgundy*'s Alliance. This unexpected Defection obliged the Duke of *Burgundy* to accept of a Truce which *Lewis* offered him, and which was frequently prolonged.

Before we enter upon the Events of the Year 1473, it muſt be obſerved, that all the *Engliſh* Hiſtorians are miſtaken in a whole Year, placing in this what happened not till the next. *Biondi* the *Italian* Author I have before quoted ſeveral Times, owns that the *French* place in the Year 1475 what the *Engliſh* fix to the Year 1474, and adds, that he chuſes to follow the *Engliſh*, and ſo is guilty of the ſame Miſtake with them. *The Collection of the Publick Acts* makes this appear ſo plainly that there is no Room to Queſtion it. It is true the Year 1473 was ſo barren of Events, that it is no great Wonder if it was confounded or joined with 1473. *Miſtakes of the* Engliſh *Hiſtorians.*

1473. the next. See in a few Words the Affairs which are to be assigned to the Year 1473. Though they are of little Moment in themselves, yet they serve to distinguish these two Years and rectify the *Chronology*.

Agreement with Portugal. Act. Pub. 767, 766.

The King of *Portugal* having demanded the Restitution of certain *Portuguese* Ships that had been taken by the *English*. Inquiry was made whereby it appeared that these Ships had been plundered by the *Bastard of Falconbridge* during his Revolt against *Edward*. For which reason the King of *Portugal* desisted from his Demands.

Confirmation of the Truce with Scotland. *p.* 788.

The Affairs with *Scotland* took up *Edward* good Part of this Year. At length by a Treaty concluded at *Alnwick* on the 28th of *September*, it was agreed the Truce of *Newcastle* should be inviolably kept by both the Nations.

p. 780, 793.

The Differences *Edward* had with the *Hanse-Towns* were likewise decided at the Congress of *Utretcht* the 19th of *September*.

Negotiations with the Duke of Burgundy.

There were likewise some Negotiations touching the Thirty Years Truce of Commerce between *England* and the Duke of *Burgundy*'s Dominions; but it does not appear that any Thing was done in the Affair, which in all appearance served only for a Blind to more secret and important Negotiations, as we shall see presently.

Alliance with Denmark.

The Alliance between *England* and *Denmark* having been often violated during the Confusion of the Civil Wars in *England*, the two Sovereigns were equally desirous to renew it. To that End they agreed, that without inquiring into the Damages which the *English* and *Danes* might have done one another, the Alliance should remain upon the same Foot it was before the Violation.

This is all that is worth notice in the *Collection of the Publick Acts* for the Year 1473. Let us proceed now to the following Year, which will afford us more plenty of Matter.

The

The Duke of *Burgundy*, as I ſaid, had obtained a Truce which was afterwards prolonged two or three Times till 1475. During this Truce he had employed his Time in conquering the Dutchy of *Gueldres*. *Arnold* Duke of that Name, being diſpleaſed with *Adolphus* his Son, who had kept him a good while in Priſon, had made a Grant of his Dutchy to the Duke of *Burgundy*. Upon which Pretence having entered *Gueldres*, he had defeated and taken *Adolphus* Priſoner and ſeized upon the Dutchy. 1474. *Deſigns of the Duke of* Burgundy.

This Acquiſition having put him upon making new Conqueſts, he conſidered how he might enlarge his Dominions on the Side of *Germany*, and formed Projects too vaſt for him, and too hard to be performed. *Mezerai* ſays, that he promiſed his Daughter in Marriage to *Maximilian* Son of the Emperor *Frederick*, upon Condition that his Dominions ſhould be erected into a Kingdom. He adds, that this Matter miſcarried, becauſe the Duke would have the Condition performed before the Marriage, that he might ſign the Contract as King; but the Emperor would have the Marriage conſummated firſt. Be that as it will, the Duke having formed the Project of extending his Dominions in *Germany*, embraced the firſt Opportunity that offered to carry his Arms into that Country. A Diſpute about the Archbiſhoprick of *Cologn* happening to ariſe between *Robert of Bavaria* and the Brother of the *Landgrave of Heſſe*, furniſhed him with the Pretence he wanted. He immediately took the Prince of *Bavaria*'s Part, and went and laid Siege to *Nuz* a ſtrong Town in the Archbiſhoprick of *Cologn*. He reckoned that the taking of that Place would help him to go thro' with his other Deſigns. *Mezerai.* *Comin.*

The Truce with the King of *France* being to laſt till the Month of *June* 1475, the Duke of *Burgundy* hoped to be Maſter of *Nuz* before it ſhould be expired. But *Lewis* put ſuch Clogs in his Way that he could not execute his Deſigns ſo ſpeedily as he had imagined. *Lewis* managed it ſo by his Intrigues, that the Emperor *Frederick* drew together a ſtrong Army to oblige

1474. the Duke to raiſe the Siege. The Duke of *Lorrain*, the Duke of *Auſtria*, the *Switzers*, entered into a League againſt him; ſo that finding himſelf at a great Loſs to withſtand ſo many Enemies, he continued Ten Months before *Nuz*, without being able to take it. Whilſt he was employed in the Siege, he ſaw no other way to free himſelf ftom the Perſecutions of his Enemy, but by getting the King of *England* to make a powerful Diverſion in *France*. With this view he ſent Ambaſſadors to *Edward* to perſuade him to make War upon the common Enemy. The better to engage him in this Undertaking, he promiſed to join him with all his Forces the Moment he ſhould come into *Picardy*. He made him hope likewiſe that the Conſtable of St. *Paul* would give him up St. *Quentin*, that the Duke of *Bretagne* would join in a League with them, and that by the help of that Prince's Friends in *France*, he would put the Kingdom in ſuch Confuſion, that the Conqueſt of it would be rendered much eaſier than it was in the Reign of *Charles* VI.

He engages Edward *to league with him againſt* France.

This was preciſely the very Opportunity *Edward* had been impatiently waiting for, to be revenged of *Lewis* XI. Every thing ſeemed to conſpire the Downfal of that reſtleſs and turbulent Prince, ſeeing he was going to be attacked by three formidable Powers, not to reckon what he had to fear from his own Subjects. And indeed, if all his Enemies had acted with the ſame Ardour as *Edward*, he would doubtleſs have run the Riſk of ſeeing his Affairs in great Diſorder. But in all appearance, the Duke of *Burgundy* had no other Deſign than to engage *Edward* to made a Diverſion in *France*, that *Lewis* might be prevented from giving him any Diſturbance in *Germany*. Be that as it will, acting as if he really intended to undertake the Conqueſt of *France* jointly with the King of *England*, he gave very ample Powers to his Ambaſſadors to treat with him upon that Head. The Plenipotentiaries of the two Princes having agreed upon all the Articles, ſigned about the End of *July* ſeveral Treaties relating to this important Undertaking.

The

1474. *Several Treaties between* Edward *and the Duke of* Burgundy. Act. Pub. XI. 804, 806.

The firſt was a Treaty of Amity, Alliance and Confederacy between the King of *England* and Duke of *Burgundy*, who promiſed to ſtand by one another to the utmoſt of their Power.

The ſecond contained certain private Agreements concerning the War they were to carry into *France*, which were compriſed in the Eight following Articles:

I. That *Edward* ſhould paſs into *France* at the Head of Ten Thouſand Men at leaſt, all well armed and equipped, before the 1ſt of *July*, 1475, in order to recover the Dutchies of *Guienne* and *Normandy*, and the whole Kingdom of *France*.

II. That the Duke of *Burgundy* ſhould aſſiſt him in Perſon with all his Forces.

III. That the King ſhould hearken to no Propoſal of Peace or Truce without the Duke's Conſent.

IV. The Duke of *Burgundy* bound himſelf likewiſe to do the ſame.

V. That the two Princes ſhould cauſe the War to be proclaimed, each in his reſpective Dominions, againſt *Lewis* as their common Enemy.

VI. That in caſe one of the two Princes ſhould happen to lay Siege to ſome Town, or be forced to give Battle, the other ſhould be obliged to come and join him with all his Forces, and at his own Charges, that both might run the ſame Hazard. That their Lieutenants ſhould be bound to the ſame Thing.

VII. That immediately after the War ſhould be begun or proclaimed, the two Allies ſhould attack the common Enemy in the moſt convenient Places, ſo as they ſhould not however be out of reach to ſuccour one another.

VIII. That when the War ſhould once be commenced, neither of them ſhould deſiſt as long as the other ſhould have a mind to go on. That if one of them ſhould be abſent, his Lieutenant ſhould be obliged to obey him that ſhould be preſent, in all Things that concerned the common Good of the two Allies.

The

1474. P. 808. The third Treaty contained an Explanation of one of the Articles of the firſt, wherein it was ſaid that each of the two Allies ſhould aſſiſt one another with all his Forces. As this Expreſſion was too general, they agreed upon the Number, and the Payment of the Troops they were to ſupply one another with.

P. 810. The fourth was a Grant from *Edward* to the Duke of *Burgundy* of ſeveral Provinces of *France*, in conſideration of the Services that Prince was to do him in aiding him to recover the whole Kingdom. This Grant excluded the Dutchy of *Bar*, the Earldoms of *Champagne*, *Nevers*, *Retel*, *Eu*, *Guiſe*, the Barony of *Douſy*, with all the Towns on both Sides the *Somme*; and laſtly, all the Lands held by the Earl of St. *Paul*, of *Guienne*, *Normandy*, or the Crown of *France*. Moreover, he gave up the Homage of all theſe Provinces, as well as of *Burgundy*, the Earldoms of *Charolois* and *Mâcon*, of *Flanders*, *Artois*, and in general of all the Territories the Duke was actually poſſeſſed of, or acquired by this Grant. Finally, he added, that his Intent was that the Grant or Conveyance ſhould be as valid as if the *Eſtates* had conſented to it, promiſing to get the whole ratified by the ſaid *Eſtates*, as ſoon as he ſhould be in Poſſeſſion of the Crown of *France*.

P. 812. The fifth was an Agreement whereby the Duke of *Burgundy* engaged to furniſh for the War an Army which ſhould be above Ten Thouſand Men, and under Twenty Thouſand. The King promiſed on his Part to aſſign him yearly the Pay of theſe Troops upon the Provinces included in the foregoing Grant, in caſe they ſhould be conqueted, and if not, upon other *Demeſns* of the Crown, in proportion to what ſhould be wanting: That if the Aſſignment of the Pay was not made before the End of every Year, he agreed that the Duke ſhould not be obliged to find any Troops the Year following.

P. 813. The ſixth and laſt *Act* was in Form of *Letters Patents*, whereby the Duke of *Burgundy* agreed that *Edward* and his Succeſſors Kings of *France* ſhould have free liberty to enter into *Rheims* in order to be crowned, and

and to go out without any hindrance. This *Act* was neceſſary, becauſe *Champagne* was included in the Grant. 1474.

This is properly to ſell the Bear's Skin before he was killed. However, it is no very hard Matter to dive into the Motives of the Conduct of theſe two Princes, ſince it is certain they both intended to cheat one another. They were both too wiſe to expect to conquer *France* with the Forces they agreed to ſet on Foot. But the Duke of *Burgundy* had a mind to engage *Edward* to make a powerful Diverſion in that Kingdom, by perſuading him it would be very eaſy to conquer it. *Edward* feigned on his Part to be allured with theſe Hopes, the better to engage the Duke of *Burgundy* to lend him an Aid ſufficient to enable him to recover *Guienne* and *Normandy*. This here is neither the firſt nor the laſt Time that Princes have played ſuch Parts in their Treaties. *The King's and Duke's Motives in this Treaty.*

Edward having ſigned all theſe Treaties, began in good earneſt to make Preparations for the War he was about to undertake. His firſt Care was to aſſemble a Parliament, which readily granted him a *Subſidy*. Ever ſince the Reign of *Edward* III. the Parliaments ſeldom wanted much Sollicitation when the Point was to grant Money for a War with *France*. As ſoon as *Edward* ſaw himſelf backed by his Parliament, he iſſued out Commiſſions to levy Troops, in far greater Numbers than what he had engaged to furniſh by his Treaty with the Duke of *Burgundy*. The Truth is, as the War was upon his Account, it was his Part to exert himſelf in Proportion to the Greatneſs of the Undertaking. Whilſt he was haſtning his Preparations he ſent Ambaſſadors to divers Courts, as well to make Alliances with ſeveral Princes, as to endeavour to hinder their uniting with his Enemy. We find in *the Collection of the Publick Acts* that he ſent to the Emperor *Frederick*, to *Ferdinand* King of *Sicily*, to the King of *Hungary*, and ſome others, to engage them to enter into the League. *Subſidy granted the King.* *He prepares for the War.* *Several Embaſſies*, p. 816 — 836. *He concludes the Marriage of* Cicely *his Daughter with the Prince of* Scotland, p. 824, 836.

At the ſame Time he ſecured himſelf againſt the Diverſions he might fear from the *Scots*, by concluding a Marriage between *Cicely* his ſecond Daughter, and the King of *Scotland*'s eldeſt Son. The firſt Overture concerning

1474. cerning this Match was made in the Beginning of the Year, and it was negotiated afterwards in divers Conferences between the Plenipotentiaries of the two Kings. At length, it was concluded on the 30th of *July*, and *October* the 18th, the young Prince and Princeſs were contracted by Proxies. Some Days after the Truce of *Newcaſtle*, which was to laſt till 1509, was again ratified at *Edinburgh*. As the betrothed Couple were very young, it was agreed that the Marriage ſhould be accompliſhed as ſoon as they were of Age, and that in the mean while *Edward* ſhould pay at Times his Daughter's Dowry conſiſting of Twenty Thouſand Marks *Sterling*.

He pays her Dowry beforehand.

1475. *Edward* having thus ſecured himſelf againſt the Diverſions that his Enemy might have brought upon him, continued his Preparations with great Hopes of ſucceeding in his Deſigns. The *Subſidy* granted by the Parliament not ſeeming to him ſufficient, or it may be part of it having been applied to other uſes, he borrowed Money of all his Subjects that were reputed rich. Some contributed chearfully; others ſuffered themſelves to be prevailed upon by the King's Flatteries: and ſome were afraid of incurring his Diſpleaſure, and perhaps ſome Violence in caſe they complied not. In general, there were but few who dared to ſtand out. This ſort of *Aid* levied after this Manner was called by the new Name of *Benevolence*, intimating that private Perſons had granted it freely and of their own accord. Mean while, theſe Loans made without Authority of Parliament were of a very dangerous Conſequence: but as it was to carry on the War with *France*, no body ſaid any thing againſt it. 'Tis reported, that the King himſelf having aſked a rich Widow what ſhe would lend him, ſhe replied, that *ſhe could not refuſe Twenty Pound Sterling to a Prince who borrowed with ſo good a Grace.* The King, as much pleaſed with the Lady's Politeneſs as with her Preſent, very courtiouſly gave her a Kiſs, which ſhe took as ſuch a Favour that ſhe doubled the Sum ſhe had promiſed.

He raiſes Money by way of Benevolence. Biond. Babing.

Amongſt

Amongſt the new-raiſed Troops there were Three Thouſand Men deſigned for the Duke of *Bretagne*, purſuant to a ſecret Treaty *Edward* had made with him. That Prince however had lately changed into a perpetual Peace the Truce he had made with *Lewis*. Nevertheleſs, when he was informed of the League between *Edward* and the Duke of *Burgundy*, he demanded to be included in it, but privately, for fear he ſhould be oppreſſed before his Allies were ready. The Lord *Audley* and the Lord *Duras* were to command the Succours deſigned for *Bretagne*. 1475. *He deſigns 3000 Men for* Bretagne Act. Pub. XII. 12.

Every thing being ready for the Departure of the Army, *Edward* went and embarked at *Sandwich* on the 20th of *June*, having appointed the Prince of *Wales* his Son, then but five Years old, *Guardian* of the Realm in his Abſence. An Hiſtorian affirms, that he found at *Dover* five Hundred Tranſport-Veſſels which the Duke of *Burgundy* had ſent thither, the which is not very likely. *Mezerai* ſays on the contrary, that all the *Engliſh* Troops took up three Weeks in paſſing, which is a Sign either that there were few Veſſels or a vaſt Number of Troops. *Philip de Comines* aſſures us, that never any King of *England* had led into *France* ſo ſtrong an Army. But this is ſpeaking hyperbolically, or not exactly according to Truth. It is certain this Army was not near ſo numerous as that which *Edward* III. had led thither a little before the Treaty of *Bretigny* (*a*). Be that as it will, it is no eaſy Matter to know the exact Number of the Troops this Army conſiſted of, ſince Hiſtorians have told us only the Number of *the Horſe*, without ſaying any thing of *the Foot*. But if we judge by the uſual Proportion in thoſe Days, when they relied much more on the *Cavalry* than on the *Infantry*, this Army was not ſo numerous as is pretended, ſince there were but Fifteen Hundred *Lances*, and Fifteen Thouſand Archers on Horſeback. Beſides, by the Treaty *Edward* had made with the Duke of *Burgundy*, he was obliged to find but Ten Thouſand Men. In fine, we *He paſſes over to* Calais, p. 13.

(*a*) *Edward* the Third's Army was 100,000 Men.

1475. ſhall ſee in the Sequel that he made Peace with *Lewis* without ſo much as opening a Campaign, as ſoon as he found he could not depend upon the Duke of *Burgundy*'s Succours. This doubtleſs he would not have done, before he had rendered himſelf formidable by ſome Exploit, had he been ſo ſtrong as ſome make him.

He proclaims War by a Herald. Comin. Biond. Babing.

Upon *Edward*'s Arrival at *Calais* he ſent a Herald to *Lewis* to ſummon him to reſtore the whole Kingdom of *France*, and in caſe of Refuſal, to proclaim War againſt him. *Lewis* having heard the Herald in private, told him, that he was very well informed that it was not of his own Inclination that *Edward* was come to make War, but by the Inſtigation of the Duke of *Burgundy* and the Conſtable of St. *Paul*, and that he could aſſure his Maſter they would both deceive him. Then having aſked him ſome Queſtions, which gave the Herald occaſion to tell him, that when he ſhould want to make any Offers of Peace he might apply to the Lords *Howard* and *Stanley*; he preſented him with three Hundred Crowns, and Thirty Yards of Velvet to make him a Robe. He did not expect without doubt to reap any great Benefit from the Herald by this Preſent, ſince the Man was not one of his Maſter's Council: But he had a mind to let *Edward*'s Courtiers ſee what they might expect from him for more important Services. The Herald failed not to make a Show of his Preſent, and to relate to the Lord *Howard*, who held the chief Place in the King's Favour, what had paſſed between the King of *France* and him.

Lewis's Anſwer, and Preſent to the Herald.

Edward hears no News of the Duke of Burgundy.

Mean while, *Edward* having advanced into *Picardy*, where he hoped to meet the Duke of *Burgundy*, found not ſo much as a ſingle Man from him. Surpriſed at a Proceeding which to him appeared ſo ſtrange, he ſent to the Duke who was ſtill before *Nuz*, to know the Reaſon of it. But before I go any farther, it will be neceſſary to ſay a Word of the Duke of *Burgundy*'s Affairs.

State of the Duke of Burgundy's *Affairs.* Mezerai.

The Duke had ſtuck to the Siege of *Nuz*, in hopes to become Maſter of that Place and of *Cologn* itſelf before *Edward* ſhould arrive in *France*. But the Emperor having

having approached him with an Army four Times as strong as his, without however offering him Battle, the Besiegers were so harrassed, that the Siege rather went backwards than forwards. And yet the Duke, from a Motive of Vain-Glory, was obstinately bent to continue it, to let the World see that the Emperor with all his Forces was not able to make him raise it. Nothing could be more advantagious to the King of *France*, or more prejudicial to the Duke's Affairs, than this unseasonable Obstinacy. In the first Place it hindered him from being able to go and join the King of *England*. 2. In the mean time, *Sigismund* Duke of *Austria* took from him the Earldom of *Ferette*, and the Duke of *Lorrain* ravaged *Luxemburgh*. 3. As soon as his Truce with *France* was expired, *Lewis* made himself Master of *Roye*, *Corbie*, and *Montdidier*. In fine, when it was too late, and when he wanted but eight Days to be Master of the Place, pressed by the Instances made him from *Edward*, he agreed it should be put into the Hands of a Legate to be disposed of according to the Pope's Pleasure. After the raising of the Siege, the Duke's Army was so little able to march, that instead of hastning to join the *English*, he put his Men into Summer Quarters. Then he sat out himself with a few Attendants, to go and make his Excuses to *Edward*. It was a difficult Matter for the King to be able to brook such a Neglect in so important an Affair. He began from that time to open his Eyes, and to perceive that he had engaged in the War for another's Interest, whereas he had imagined it was for his own. On the other Hand, the Precautions which the Duke of *Burgundy* took, not to let but few *English* at a time go into *Peronne*, confirmed the King more and more in his Suspicions. At length he was quite undeceived by the Behaviour of the Constable of St. *Paul*, who commanded in St. *Quentin*. The *Constable*, who had been one of the chief Promoters of the War, by reason he founded his Greatness wholly upon the Dissention between the King of *France* and the Duke of *Burgundy*, had positively promised to deliver up St. *Quentin* to the King of *England*. Upon this Assurance,

1475.

He is bent to pursue the Siege of Nuz.

He quits the Siege.

He goes to Edward *without Troops.*

He is deceived by the Constable of St. Paul.

1475. ſurance, the Duke of *Burgundy* would have conducted *Edward* into that Place, that having ſo good a Pledge in his Hands, he might have a little Patience. But upon their Approach, they were fired upon from the Town. At the ſame Time a Body of Horſe ſallying out, killed ſome *Engliſh* Soldiers who were moſt forward to go in, expecting to be admitted without any Difficulty. It is very probable that the Duke of *Burgundy* himſelf was deceived upon this Occaſion by the *Conſtable*. And indeed, it is by no means likely that he ſhould for the Purpoſe cauſe ſuch an Affront to be put upon a Prince whom he ſtood in need of, and who had him in his Power. He did all he could however to excuſe the *Conſtable*, and feed the King's Hopes. But finding *Edward* gave no Credit to his Words, but on the contrary reproached him bitterly, he left him next Day, under Colour of going to haſten his Troops. It may be he was not without ſome Apprehenſion that *Edward* might carry his Reſentment further.

He leaves Edward,

who is at a great Loſs.

Edward ſeeing himſelf thus deſerted by the Duke of *Burgundy* and the *Conſtable*, and not hearing that the Duke of *Bretagne* ſtirred at all, or that there was any appearance of the Inſurrections in *France*, which they had made him expect, found himſelf at a very great Loſs. In the mean Time a *French* Priſoner, the only one that was taken ſince the Arrival of the *Engliſh* Army, having been releaſed by the King's Order, the Lords *Howard* and *Stanly* charged him to preſent their Reſpects to the King his Maſter. The Priſoner having done as deſired, *Lewis* began to think it was not for nothing that they had made him this Compliment, remembering what the *Engliſh* Herald had told him concerning theſe Lords. He perceived that the Court of *England* wanted to enter upon a Treaty, but would not make the firſt Advances. For his Part, who ſtood not ſo much upon Punctilio's, he reſolved to improve this ſort of Overture. *Philip de Comines* ſays, he cauſed a certain Perſon of little note, but of good Senſe, to be dreſſed like a *Herald*, and having fully inſtructed him, gave him Orders to go to the *Engliſh* Army

Lewis XI. *offers a Peace.* Comin.

and

and demand a *Safe-Conduct* for Ambaſſadors, and to apply himſelf for that Purpoſe to the Lords *Howard* and *Stanly*. The counterfeit *Herald* being admitted into the King's Preſence, told him, "That he was ordered by the King his Maſter to repreſent to him that the War between their two Kingdoms could not but be deſtructive to both, and that the mutual Trade of the two Nations was on the contrary a manifeſt Advantage which they ought to cheriſh. Then he excuſed the King his Maſter's countenancing the Earl of *Warwick*, aſſuring that it was not out of any Ill-Will to *Edward*, but on the Account of the Duke of *Burgundy* his irreconcilable Enemy. He added, that the Duke of *Burgundy*'s and the *Conſtable*'s Inſincerity was ſo evident, that it was needleſs to acquaint him with it, ſeeing he felt the Effects of it ſufficiently: That he was come in Arms into a Country where he had neither ſtrong Holds nor Friends, and he left it to him to judge himſelf, whether the Conqueſt of *France* was ſo eaſy a Task as he had been made to believe: That however the King his Maſter, being ſenſible that ſo great an Armament could not have been made without a vaſt Expence, was very willing to make him Amends in ſuch manner as he ſhould have reaſon to be ſatisfied: That therefore he demanded a *Safe-Conduct* for Ambaſſadors, with a Retinue of a hundred *Horſe*, that they might treat in a proper Place, with thoſe of *England*, about a firm and laſting Peace between the two Kings and their reſpective Subjects." 1475.

The Herald's ſpeech to Edward.

In the Circumſtances *Edward* was under, the King of *France*'s Propoſal was very acceptable. And therefore the *Herald* was ſent back with a Preſent, and the *Safe-Conduct* he had demanded. The ſame Day, or the next, *Edward* called a Council, whereat were preſent all the Lords that had attended him in the Army, to the Number of eighteen. It was reſolved, almoſt unanimouſly, that the Lord *Howard* and two others ſhould go and confer with the King of *France*'s Ambaſſadors, and a full Power was given them to conclude a Peace upon

Edward calls a Council. Aug. 13. Act. Pub. XII. 14, 15.

1475. *Conditions offered to the King of* France.

upon these Terms: 1. That *Lewis* should pay the King, within fifteen Days, the Sum of threescore and fifteen Thousand Crowns, and from thence forward fifty Thousand Crowns Yearly at two Payments during the Life of the two Kings. 2. That the King of *France* should be obliged to marry the *Dauphin* his Son with the King's eldest or second Daughter, and to allow his Daughter-in-law sixty Thousand *Livres* a Year. Upon these two Conditions, the Ambassadors were empowered to promise in the King's Name, that he would return to *England* with his Troops, immediately after the Receipt of the threescore and fifteen Thousand Crowns: To conclude a Treaty of Amity and Alliance between the two Kings, with promise of mutual Assistance against their rebellious Subjects. And lastly, To sign a Truce for seven Years.

The Plenipotentiaries of the two Kings being met near *Amiens*, at almost an equal Distance from the two Armies, the Treaty was concluded on the 28th or 29th of *August*, upon the Foot *Edward* desired it, without any considerable alteration. Every Thing being thus settled, separate Writings were drawn up, on each particular Article of the Treaty.

Treaty of Amiens *or* Pequigny. *p.* 15.

By the first, the two Kings were bound to decide all their Differences by Arbitrators, namely, the Archbishop of *Canterbury*, and the Duke of *Clarence* for the King of *England*, and for the King of *France*, the Archbishop of *Lyons*, and the Earl of *Dunois*. Moreover, *Edward* promised to go out of the *French* Territories upon the Receipt of the seventy five Thousand Crowns, without doing any Damage, and to leave Hostages for the Performance of his Word.

p. 17.

The second concerned the Truce for seven Years, wherein were included all the Allies of both the Kings, and expresly the Dukes of *Burgundy* and *Bretagne*, if they desired it.

p. 19.

The Third contained a mutual Engagement to brotherly Friendship and Amity between the two Kings, and particular Agreements touching the *Dauphin*'s Marriage with *Elizabeth* Daughter of *Edward*.

The

The Fourth was in Form of *Letters Patents*, whereby *Lewis* bound himſelf to pay Annually to *Edward* during their Lives, the Sum of fifteen Thouſand Crowns. This the *Engliſh* Authors call a *Tribute*, though the *Letters Patents* expreſs not under what Title this yearly Penſion was to be paid. Some ſay that it was limited to nine Years. But it does not appear that it was to ceaſe as long as the two Kings lived. 1475. p. 20.

Laſtly, *Edward* promiſed to ſet Queen *Margaret* at Liberty, for a Ranſom of fifty Thouſand Crowns, which the King of *France* was to pay for her within five Years. We find in the *Collection of the Publick Acts*, that *Margaret* was indeed freed out of her Confinement in the Beginning of *November* this Year, and that *Lewis* XI punctually paid the Sum promiſed. p. 21.

The Duke of *Burgundy* having notice that the two Kings were beginning to treat, departed forthwith from his Army, to which he was returned, and made all poſſible ſpeed, hoping he ſhould be able to ſtop Proceedings; but he found that the Truce was already ſigned. He fell foul upon *Edward* with bitter Reproaches; to which *Edward* returned a ſuitable Anſwer, telling him however that he had taken Care to include him in the Truce. But the Duke fiercely replied, that he wanted not his Mediation, and valued it ſo little, that if he ſhould have a Mind to treat for himſelf it ſhould not be till a Month after he had heard of his Arrival in *England*. Thus parting extremely diſſatisfied with one another, the Duke retired into his own Country. The Conſtable of St. *Paul* did all that lay in his Power to perſwade *Edward* to break the Truce, offering to deliver up to him St. *Quentin*, and lend him fifty Thouſand Crowns. But *Edward* took Care how he renewed the War upon his Account, and how he truſted to his Promiſes after having been ſo manifeſtly deceived. *The Duke of Burgundy falls out with Edward.*

Before *Edward* ſat out for *England*, it was thought proper that the two Kings ſhould have a Conference together upon the Bridge of *Pequigny*, with a Bar [or Grate] between them. *Lewis* came to the Place firſt, attended

1475. *Conference of the two Kings at* Pequigny.

attended with the Cardinal of *Bourbon*, and five other Lords. Then came *Edward* accompanied likewiſe with a ſmall Number of Lords. After they had both ſworn to keep the late Treaty, *Lewis* told *Edward* that if he would come to *Paris*, he would try to divert him with the agreeable Company of the fair Ladies of that City, and if he chanced to make any falſe Steps with them, he would aſſign the Cardinal of *Bourbon* for his Confeſſor, who would be none of the Rigideſt. After this and ſome other Joakes, *Lewis* made ſign to thoſe that were with him to retire, and the *Engliſh* drew back likewiſe on their Side. When the two Kings were alone, they talked a pretty while together, and it was known afterwards that the *Conſtable*, and the Dukes of *Burgundy* and *Bretagne* were the Subject of their Converſation. As to the *Conſtable*, *Edward* would not concern himſelf about him. With regard to the Duke of *Burgundy*, *Lewis* having aſked what he ſhould do in Caſe that Prince refuſed to be included in the Truce: *Edward* replied, that he might do as he pleaſed, if the Duke refuſed, after having had another Offer. But as to the Duke of *Bretagne* he plainly told him, that he would aſſiſt him to the utmoſt of his Power if he was attacked. *Lewis* thought proper to inſiſt no longer upon that Head, and in fine, they parted very well ſatisfied with each other.

Lewis *civilly refuſed* Edward's *Viſit.*

The Interview being over, *Lewis* went to *Amiens*, where the Lord *Howard* followed him as Hoſtage. Whilſt *Lewis* was waſhing his Hands in order to ſit down at Table, *Howard* told him in his Ear, that he took upon him to perſwade the King his Maſter to take a turn to *Paris*; to which *Lewis* made no Anſwer. *Howard* often harped upon the ſame String during Dinner, but the King made as if he underſtood him not. However he cauſed him to be told afterwards, that the War he was going to wage with the Duke of *Burgundy* not permitting him to go to *Paris*, he was very ſorry he ſhould not be able to enjoy the Benefit of the Honour the King intended to do him. *Philip de Comines* remarks upon this Occaſion, that there was nothing

thing *Lewis* feared ſo much as to ſee *Edward* take a liking to *France*, nor any Thing he longed for more eagerly, than to behold his back turned in order for *England*. He was under ſuch Apprehenſions that *Edward* would repent of making the Truce, that he privately beſtowed Penſions upon his principal Counſellors, to induce them to keep him in a Temper to obſerve it. *Comines* could ſpeak of theſe Things with certainty, ſince he was then in *Lewis*'s Service and Secrets. He adds moreover that the Duke of *Glouceſter*, who was againſt the Truce, being come to wait upon the King of *France*, was received with extraordinary Reſpect, and that the King omitted nothing to gain over to his Intereſts ſuch of *Edward*'s Courtiers as were in any Favour. The *Engliſh* Army being come near *Amiens*, *Lewis* cauſed the Gates to be kept open, and ſent orders to the publick *Inns*, that they ſhould entertain at free Coſt all the *Engliſh* that ſhould come thither. Moreover, he ſent to the King of *England* a Preſent of three Hundred Waggon-Loads of Wine, for the uſe of his Army, ſo deſirous was he to gain the Good-Will of the *Engliſh*, for fear ſome one of them ſhould let *Edward* ſee the Error he had committed. This Preſent gave Occaſion to ſome to ſay, that he found means to ſend the *Engliſh* Home, by the Help of ſome Cart-loads of Wine. At length all *Lewis*'s Fears vaniſhed upon the Departure of the *Engliſh*, who went away, ſays an Hiſtorian, extremely well pleaſed with the *French* Gold and Wine: And adds, the Penſions aſſigned to *Edward*'s principal Courtiers, amounted to ſixteen Thouſand Crowns a Year *. 1475.

He gives Penſions to the Engliſh.

The Duke of *Burgundy* not being able to think of deſiring to be excluded in the Treaty *Edward* had made without his Knowledge, ſtood out for ſome Time, and at laſt accepted of a ſeparate Truce offered him by *Lewis*. As to the *Conſtable*, who had deceived the

The Duke of Burgundy *accepts of a Truce.*

* The chief Men of Name who were in Penſion, were the Lord *Haſtings* the King's Chamberlain, and the Lord *Howard*, Sir *John Cheney*, Sir *Anthony St. Leger*, and Sir *Thomas Montgomery*.

1475. *The Conſtable is beheaded.* three Princes, and been the principal Author of their Diviſion, he ſaw himſelf in the end forſaken by all, and forced to retire into the Duke of *Burgundy*'s Dominions, upon the Faith of a *Safe-Conduct*. But notwithſtanding that Security, the Duke delivered him up to the King of *France*, who commanded his Head to be ſtruck off. A fair Warning to ſuch as labour to ſow Diſcord among Princes.

The Reaſon of Edward's ſtanding by the Duke of Bretagne. *Lewis* would have been very glad that the Duke of *Bretagne* had been ſacrificed to him in the ſame manner. But that Prince had in his Hands a Pledge which obliged *Edward* to ſtand by him, otherwiſe he would have had no more regard for him than for the Duke of *Burgundy*. This was the Earl of *Richmond*, who though abſent, made the *Engliſh* Monarch extremely uneaſy. If the Duke of *Bretagne* had ſuffered that Prince, with the Earl of *Pembroke* his Uncle to get away, they might in Time ſet the *Lancaſtrian* Party on Foot again, and by that means *Edward* would perhaps ſee himſelf expoſed to the hazard of a thirteenth Battle, to ſupport himſelf in the Throne. This was in Truth the Reaſon which induced *Edward* to ſtand by the Duke of *Bretagne*, and to let *Lewis* know, who was very urgent with him ſeveral Times to deſert that Prince, that on the contrary he would defend him to the utmoſt of his Power.

1476. Edward *demands the Earl of* Richmond *of the Duke of* Bretagne. Biond. Baring. Argent. This open Demonſtration of Friendſhip for the Duke of *Bretagne*, making *Edward* imagine the Duke would be very glad of an Opportunity to ſhow his Acknowledgment, he ſent Ambaſſadors to him, under Colour of renewing their Truce. There were but few Rubbs in this Negotiation. The Duke readily agreed to confirm the Truce, though it had been often violated on the Part of the *Engliſh*. He even dropped the Demand of fifty Thouſand Crowns, which he made the Damages his Subjects had ſuſtained to amount to. The King on his Side quitted the Claims he had upon him for the Armament he had made in his Favour. Every Thing being thus upon the Foot of a perfect good Underſtanding between the two Princes, the Ambaſſadors acquainted

acquainted the Duke with the main Buſineſs of their Ambaſſy. They told him, that the King their Maſter was extremely deſirous entirely to extinguiſh the Flames of the two Factions which had been ſo long kindled in *England*; that the Earl of *Richmond* who was in *Bretagne*, being the only Relict of the *Houſe of Lancaſter*, his Deſign was to marry him to one of his Daughters, in order to unite the two *Houſes*; that therefore he deſired him to ſend him the Earl, that he might give him Marks of his Good-Will, and let his whole Kingdom ſee his earneſt Deſire of procuring them a ſweet and happy Tranquillity. 1476.

The Duke gives up the Earl, and repents of it.

The Duke of *Bretagne* was a good Prince, who judging of others by himſelf, and not dreaming that *Edward* concealed ill Deſigns under the Appearance of Moderation, ordered the Earl of *Richmond* to be put into the Hands of the Ambaſſadors to be conducted to *England*. Some however have affirmed, that a large Sum of Money preſented to the Duke by the *Engliſh* Ambaſſadors, made their Inſtances the more effectual. Be that as it will, they departed with their Prey in order to go and embark at St. *Malo*'s. But whilſt they were upon the Road, one of the Duke's Counſellors repreſented to him, that by the Step he had taken, he would render himſelf infamous to all Poſterity; that beſides, he could not in Conſcience deliver up a Prince who thought himſelf *ſafe* under his Protection, to his moſt mortal Enemy, who demanded him purely to deſtroy him, under Colour of being deſirous to match him with his Daughter; that he would be accountable to God for this Deed, what varniſh ſoever he might put upon it in the Eyes of Men, and conjured him to reflect upon what Honour, Juſtice and Religion required of him upon this Occaſion. Whether this Remonſtrance made the Duke perceive what he had not well conſidered before, or whether it ſtung his Conſcience with Remorſe for the ill Thing he had done, he immediately diſpatched away *Peter Landais* his Favourite, to St. *Malo*'s, with Orders to get the Earl of *Richmond* out of the Hands of the Ambaſſadors, if they

1476. were not yet embarked. *Landais* arrived just as they were going on Board the Vessel that was to carry them to *England*. He presently gave private Orders to help the two Prisoners to make their Escape, whilst he should be himself conferring with the Ambassadors. The Conference being over, the two Earls were found to have taken *Sanctuary* in a Church, from whence *Landais* pretended no one durst take them. The Ambassadors complained of this Fraud; but after some slight Excuses, he told them plainly that the Duke his Master upon second Thoughts had considered that he could not give up the Earl to the King, without an indeliable Stain to his Honour; That however, he would promise to keep him so safe, that he should never be able to do *Edward* any hurt. The Ambassadors finding themselves the weakest, were fain to take up with that Promise, which eased in some Measure their Vexation at having missed their Aim. Thus by a sort of Miracle, the Earl of *Richmond* escaped the Danger he saw himself in, Providence having preserved him upon this Occasion, in order to place him one Day on the Throne of *England*.

He gets him again from the Ambassadors.

Alliance with Denmark. Act. Pub. XII. 25.

The rest of the Year 1476. has nothing remarkable as to the Affairs of *England*, but a Negotiation to renew the Alliance with *Denmark*; the Death of the Archbishop of *York* at *Guisnes* where he was Prisoner, and some other Matters of little Moment. But it will be necessary to speak of the Affairs of the Duke of *Burgundy*, which became of very great Consequence both to *France* and *England*.

Affairs of the Duke of Burgundy. Comin.

The Duke had accepted of the Truce offered him by *Lewis*, not so much out of fear of his Arms, as out of a Desire to carry the War into *Germany*. He wanted to be revenged of the Duke of *Lorrain*, the *Swiss*, and the Duke of *Austria*: but that would have been impossible, if he should have continued the War with *France*. Ever since the Month of *October* 1475, presently after he had signed the Truce with *Lewis* XI. he attacked the Duke of *Lorrain*, and took his whole Dutchy from him without meeting any Resistance except at *Nanci*, which held

held out a two Months Siege. *Lorrain* being conquered, 1476.
he formed the Project to humble the *Swiſs*, who had dared to declare againſt him, whilſt he was taken up at the Siege of *Nuz*. He uſed for Pretence the Injury they had done to *James of Savoy* Earl of *Romont*, in ſeizing his Territories. The *Swiſs* who made yet no great Figure in *Europe*, ſeeing the Storm approaching, humbly ſued for Peace: but the Duke was inexorable. And therefore leaving *Lorrain* in the Month of *March* 1476, he marched through *Burgundy*, and went and threw himſelf into the Country of *Vaux*, where he took three or four Towns. Then he laid Siege to *Granſon*, where there were ſeven or eight Hundred *Swiſs* reſolved to ſtand bravely upon their Defenſe. The Town having at length capitulated, the Duke broke the Capitulation, and put the Garriſon to the Sword. Mean while, a Body of *Swiſs* was advancing to relieve the Beſieged: but they came too late. The Duke, contrary to the Opinion of his Council, reſolved to go and meet that Body which was ſtill in the narrow Paſſages of the Mountains. With this view he detached a Hundred Archers on Horſeback, to go and ſeize a certain Paſs; and preſently after he himſelf marched to ſupport them. The Archers having met the *Swiſs* as they were coming out of the Mountains, haſtily retreated towards the Body which were marching after them. Upon which, the Duke's Army imagining the Archers were beat back by the Enemy, were ſeized with a panick Fear, which made them take to their Heels, and it was impoſſible for the Duke to rally them. He loſt in this Action but ſeven Men at Arms, but all his Baggage became a Prey to the Enemy.

His Defeat at Morat.

This ill Succeſs not being capable of diſheartning him, he drew together his ſcattered Troops, and brought them to themſelves again. About fifteen Days after he took the Field, and went and laid Siege to *Morat*, a ſmall Town within a few Leagues of *Bern*. Mean time, the *Swiſs* having received Succours from ſome neighbouring Princes, marched to the Number of Thirty Thouſand Men to fight him. The Battle was fought three

1476. three Weeks after the Rout of *Granſon*, and the Duke was entirely defeated with Loſs of Eight Thouſand Men.

His Concern at it. This deadly Blow ſtruck the Duke in ſuch a Manner that he ſickened with Grief. *Philip de Comines* even affirms, that he was ſomewhat diſordered in Mind. He abode ſix Weeks at a Town called *la Riviere*, where he kept himſelf as it were hid, and no one durſt venture to ſpeak to him to comfort him. In the mean time, ſeveral of the Princes who before were his Friends declared againſt him. Then the Duke of *Lorrain*, finding it a fair Opportunity, came and appeared before *Nancy*, and took the Place upon Capitulation, without the Duke of *Burgundy*'s ſtirring to its Relief. At length, when it was too late, and the Town gone, the Duke of *Burgundy* approached, and his Enemy being retired, he undertook the Siege, wherein he met with Difficulties which made him loſe a great deal of Time, and proved the Occaſion of his Ruin.

1477. *His Defeat and Death at* Nancy. Mean while the Duke of *Lorrain* drew together Forces from all Quarters, *Lewis* XI. finding him Money for their Subſiſtence. When he thought himſelf ſtrong enough, he approached *Nancy*, and went and incamped at St. *Nicholas*'s, waiting for Intelligence from one *Campobache* a *Neopolitan* Captain, who was in the Enemy's Army, and in whom the Duke of *Burgundy* had an entire Confidence. The City being reduced to Extremity, the Duke of *Lorrain* moved forward in order to join Battle. Then *Campobache* deſerted his Maſter on a ſudden with about Two Hundred Lances, and went over to his Enemy. He left behind in the Army Fourteen Men whom he had bribed, who were to try to alarm the Troops during the Fight, and to kill the Duke of *Burgundy* if they had an Opporiunity. The Battle being fought the 5th of *January* 1477, the Duke of *Burgundy*'s Army was put to rout, and he himſelf ſlain in the Forty-ſixth Year of his Age. He had reigned Nine Years and a half amidſt continual Troubles, taken up one while with defending himſelf againſt the open or ſecret Attacks of *Lewis* XI. another while with

with executing Projects beyond his Strength, which argued more of Ambition and Raſhneſs, than of Prudence and Counſel. 1487.

Alterations cauſed by the Death of the Duke of Burgundy.

The Death of the Duke of *Burgundy* made a very great Alteration, not only in the Affairs of the *Low-Countries*, but alſo in thoſe of the neighbouring Princes. One may venture to ſay, that it was the firſt and principal Source of moſt of the Wars wherewith *Europe* has been troubled ever ſince that Time. The Duke of *Burgundy* left Iſſue but one Daughter called *Maria*, who was Heireſs to his large Dominions, and whom he had entered into ſome Engagement to marry to *Maximilian* of *Auſtria*, Son of the Emperor *Frederick*. That Princeſs about Nineteen Years old ſaw herſelf immediately not only forſaken by all the late Duke her Father's Friends, but moreover expoſed a Prey to *Lewis* XI. who took from her forthwith *Burgundy*, with the Towns upon the *Somme*, and even formed the Project to ſtrip her of all the reſt of her Dominions. In this preſſing Neceſſity ſhe had no other Remedy but the Aſſiſtance of the King of *England*, whoſe Intereſt it was to oppoſe the Growth of *Lewis*'s Power. But *Edward*'s whole *Council* being bribed and corrupted by the King of *France*'s Bounties, *Maria* got nothing from that quarter but empty Wiſhes for her Proſperity, and good Words, which ended in nothing. To complete her Misfortune, the young Princeſs ſaw herſelf alſo expoſed to the Tyranny of the People of *Gant*, who ſeizing her Perſon, removed all her Counſellors, beheaded two of them, and gave her a new Set entirely made up of their Creatures.

Lewis *takes from* Maria *part of her Dominions.* Mezerai.

Maria *is tyrannized over by the Men of* Gant.

Several Matches are propoſed for her.

In the mean time, they began to think of marrying the Princeſs. Some were for her having the *Dauphin* of *France*. But *Lewis* having already entered into Engagements with *Edward*, durſt not diſoblige him at ſuch a Juncture. Others would have her married to the Duke of *Gueldres*, and others to a *German* Prince. There was ſcarce any body except herſelf but what was conſulted about the Choice of a Husband. Mean while *Lewis*

1477. Act. Pub. XII. 42.

Lewis continued his Conquests. In the Month of *May* 1477, the Emperor *Frederick* having sent Ambassadors to *Gant*, to renew the Treaty about the Marriage of *Maximilian* his Son with *Maria* the Dutchess Dowager of *Burgundy*, Mother-in-law of the Princess, desired *Edward* her Brother to send Ambassadors into *Flanders* to assist her in that Affair. *Edward* agreed to it: But he would not promise to aid *Maria* against the King of *France*, though the *Flemings* and the Duke of *Bretagne* were very urgent with him. On the contrary, he agreed to prolong the seven Years Truce concluded at *Amiens*, till a Year after the Death of one of the two Kings. Thus *Edward* ran counter to the Interests of *England*, in suffering *France* to grow more powerful, and *the House of Burgundy* to fall to ruin. Three main Reasons hindered him from quarrelling with *France*. The first, that being grown corpulent and heavy, he found himself scarce fit to undergo the Hardships of War. The second, that his chief *Counsellors* were *Pensioners* to *France*. The third, that having promised the Princess *Elizabeth* his Daughter to the *Dauphin*, he was unwilling to do any thing that might obstruct the Match. Mean while, *Lewis* was extremely careful to keep him in this Temper, by punctually paying him the Pension of Fifty Thousand Crowns, and Ten Thousand yearly for the Ransom of Queen *Margaret*.

Edward *refuses to aid her.*

His Reasons for it.

Thus *Maria* of *Burgundy* seeing herself forsaken by all those whose Interest it was to stand by her, had no other Remedy left but to marry Prince *Maximilian*, from whom however she could expect no great Matter of Assistance. The Nuptials being celebrated in the Month of *July*, *Lewis* XI. out of Regard to the Emperor, granted the new Duke of *Burgundy* a Truce for a Year, and restored him some Towns in *Haynault* which he had seized. Shortly after he received Ambassadors from *England*, who were come to endeavour to settle the Arbitration agreed upon, touching the Difference between the two Crowns. But he had then other Business which hindered him from thinking of this, and obliged him to put it off to a more proper Season.

Maria *espouses* Maximilian *of* Austria. Mezerai.

Lewis *grants him a Truce.*

The

1478. *Death of the Duke of Clarence.* Biondi. Babing. Tyrrel. Echard.

The Beginning of the Year 1478 was pretty Calm as to the general Affairs I have been ſpeaking of. But at the ſame Time there paſſed at the Court of *England* Things which wholly ingroſſed the Attention of the Publick. This was the tragical Death of the Duke of *Clarence*, which it will be neceſſary to inſiſt upon a Moment. That Prince was Haughty and Ambitious, of a fickle Temper, had no command of his Paſſions, took no Care to conceal his Sentiments, and in a Word, was of a very narrow Genius. Whilſt the King his Brother lived unmarried, he could not help entertaining the Hopes of ſitting one Day in the Throne, though there was little likelihood that *Edward* would always remain a Batchelor. The King's Marriage having deſtroyed this Project, he took a Diſguſt at the King himſelf, and eſpecially at the Queen and her whole Family. As he took no Care to diſſemble his Diſcontent, he brought on himſelf the Averſion of the Queen and her Creatures, who were not backward to do him ill-Offices. So that *Edward* began by degrees to ſlight him, and never troubled himſelf to help him to ſuch Advantages as it is in the Power of a King to procure his Brothers. This Slight put the Duke ſo out of Humour, that he made no ſcruple to join with the Earl of *Warwick*, in order to dethrone his own Brother. He repented of it afterwards, and his Repentance proved *Edward*'s Preſervation, as hath been ſeen. He was in hopes he ſhould quickly be rewarded for ſo ſignal a Service, reflecting only upon what he had done for the King, without conſidering the Danger he had brought him into. But *Edward* prejudiced againſt him, thought on the contrary, that the bare Pardon of the Injury was a Reward ſufficient for the Service he had received. This Opinion was inſtilled into him by his Queen, who having loſt the Earl of *Rivers* her Father during the Rebellion, could not forbear looking upon the Authors of it as the Objects of her Vengeance. On the other Hand, the Duke of *Glouceſter* privately blew the Coals of Diſſenſion between his Brothers as much as poſſible. He was a Prince of as great or greater Ambition than

1477. his Brother, but of a quite different Character; he always proceeded to his Ends by Turnings and Windings which rendered his Ways imperceptible. Never did he ſay any Thing before he had well conſidered it; whereas the Duke of *Clarence* loſt himſelf by too freely ſpeaking his Thoughts. It was a difficult Matter for two Brothers of ſo different a Make to love one another. But in their Diſcord, the Duke of *Clarence* took no Care to keep fair with his Brother, whereas *Glouceſter* ſtrove never to give him publickly any Advantage upon him. Mean while he privately did him ill Turns, which were ſo much the harder to be parryed as he ſuſpected not from what Hand they came. All the Hiſtorians agree, that from this Time forward the Duke of *Glouceſter* had thoughts of ſecuring the Crown after the Death of the King, and that therefore the Duke of *Clarence* could not but be an Eye-ſore to him. This was however an Attempt, the Execution whereof ſeemed very difficult, ſeeing his two elder Brothers had Children. But his Ambition made him think it practicable, by proceeding by Degrees. The firſt Step was to get rid of the Duke of *Clarence*. To that End, he endeavoured to render him odious to the King, and to cauſe him to look upon him as a ſecret Enemy who was privately labouring to ſupplant his Children. The Duke of *Clarence*'s raſh Expreſſions ſerved wonderfully to help forward this Deſign. On the other Hand, the Queen who had a great Influence over the King, failed not to confirm his Suſpicions.

Matters ſtanding thus, it happened that the King, as he was hunting in a Park belonging to *Thomas Burdet* an intimate Friend of the Duke of *Clarence*, killed a white Deer which that Gentleman was extremely fond of. *Burdet* was ſo grieved at the Death of his beloved Deer, that in the firſt Tranſports of his Paſſion, he ſwore he wiſhed the Horns were in the Belly of him that killed it. This was enough to get him accuſed of High-Treaſon, ſentenced to dye, and executed within the ſpace of two Days. Some ſay that his *Wiſh* concerned only the Perſon that adviſed the King to hunt

hunt in his Park. Be that as it will, there is no queſtion but the Deſign of thoſe that ſo hotly proſecuted that unfortunate Gentleman, was to induce the Duke of *Clarence* to do ſome raſh Thing which might expoſe him. They knew too well his inconſiderate, impetuous and haughty Temper, not to be ſure of that. Accordingly the Duke, who was then in *Ireland*, being returned to Court, talked very boldly to the King about the Death of his Friend, and bitterly complained of the little Regard he had for a Brother to whom he was beholden for his Reſtoration to the Throne. In fine, he was ſo far tranſported with Anger, that he threatened to be revenged. Neither was that all. After he had left the King, he no leſs indiſcreetly dropped ſome Words, intimating that his Brother was a *Baſtard*, and conſequently had no Right to the Crown. Nothing being more agreeable to the Deſire of his Enemies, than to ſee him thus ruſh headlong into the Snare they had laid for him, they exaſperated the King againſt him to ſuch a Degree, that he reſolved to deſtroy him. To that Purpoſe he held a Council, wholly conſiſting of the Duke of *Clarence*'s Enemies, wherein it was reſolved to apprehend him, to impeach him of High-Treaſon, and to bring the Impeachment before the Parliament, which was then aſſembled. All this was done immediately, that the Duke might not have Time to repent and beg the King's Pardon. The Truth is, had he had Time to come to himſelf, and had gone and thrown himſelf at the King's Feet and begged Pardon, his raſh Expreſſions could not but have been conſidered as the Effect of a ſudden Paſſion, which deſerved not the ſevere Puniſhment they deſigned him. His Buſineſs being brought before the Parliament, he was accuſed of ſeveral Crimes under the eight following Articles. I. That by his ſeditious Diſcourſes, he had endeavoured to draw upon the King the Hatred of his Subjects, by accuſing him of having unjuſtly put *Burdet* to Death. II. That he had bribed ſome of his Domeſticks and others to ſpread ſuch a Report. III. That he had ſaid the King made uſe of *Necromancy* to

1478.

1478. know the Future. IV. That he had taxed the King with having poiſoned innocent Perſons, whom he thought he could not put to Death in a legal Way. V. That he had affirmed, the King was not Son of the Duke of *York*, but of one the Dutcheſs their Mother had admitted to her Bed. VI. That inferring from thence, that the Crown was fallen to him, he had diſcovered his Deſign to ſeize it, by requiring many to ſwear to ſerve him againſt all Perſons living, not excepting the King himſelf. VII. That he had accuſed the King of uſing *Magick* to take away his Life, by cauſing him to conſume away like a Taper. VIII. Laſtly, That he had openly ſhown his Deſign to dethrone the King, by procuring an authentick Copy of the Act of Parliament paſſed during the Earl of *Warwick*'s Uſurpation, whereby the Crown was adjudged to him, after the Death of *Henry* VI, and his Heirs-Male.

All the Hiſtorians agree, that it would have been a very difficult Matter to prove all theſe Articles of Impeachment, if the King himſelf had not declared himſelf a Party, and if the Queen and the Duke of *Glouceſter* had not acted underhand to have him found guilty. Be that as it will, he was condemned to die. But there is in this Sentence one Thing very remarkable. One of the chief Reaſons of his Condemnation was, his having affirmed that the King was not Son of the Duke of *York*, and that very Thing ſerved afterwards for Foundation to the Duke of *Glouceſter* to mount the Throne, to the Prejudice of *Edward*'s Children. One cannot help admiring in this the Blindneſs of Men, and the Juſtice of God. *Edward* makes uſe of a falſe Accuſation to put his Brother to Death, and thereby opens a Door to Suſpicions, which are one Day to ſerve to ruin his own Children. The Duke of *Clarence* being condemned, all the Favour he could get of the King his Brother, was to chuſe what Death he would die. To avoid appearing on a Scaffold, he deſired to be ſuffocated in a But of *Malmſey* Wine. He left one Son named *Edward*, who inherited from his Grandfather

He is ſuffocated in a Butt of Malmſey.

His Iſſue.

by

by the Mother's Side, the Title of *Earl of Warwick*, and a Daughter called *Margaret*, who was Counteſs of *Salisbury*. As the Death of the Duke of *Clarence* raiſed among the People a general Indignation and Murmurings againſt the King, they thought they ſhould be able to put a ſtop to them, by expoſing his Body in St. *Paul*'s Church, and giving out, that he died with exceſs of Grief. But this Artifice was not capable to blind the Eyes of the People, who ſaw too plainly in the Condemnation of that Prince, the terrible Effects of the Malice of his Enemies *. 1478.

Edward *creates his eldeſt Son* Prince of Wales, *and his youngeſt* Duke of York.

About three Months before, the King had created *Edward* his eldeſt Son *Prince of Wales*, and his ſecond Son *Richard, Duke of York*. The Rejoycings at Court upon this Occaſion, expreſſed not ſo much the Joy of the Favourites upon the Promotion of the two Princes, as their Satisfaction to ſee the Project of the Duke of *Clarence*'s Ruin ſo near accompliſhed. *Edward* foreſaw not that the unjuſt Plot he was contriving againſt his Brother, was the firſt Step towards the Deſtruction of his own Sons. Had the Duke of *Clarence* lived, never would the Duke of *Glouceſter* have had the Thoughts of ſacrificing them to his Ambition, as he did afterwards.

Act. Pub. XII. 52.—61.

Shortly after the Death of the Duke of *Clarence*, the Term *Lewis* XI and *Edward* had taken to decide their Differences by Arbitration, was farther prolonged, and the Duke of *Glouceſter* appointed by *Edward* one of the Arbitrators, in the room of the Duke of *Clarence*.

Embaſſy from Lewis XI *to* Edward. *p.* 86.

Whilſt theſe Things were in Agitation in *England*, the Truce between *Lewis* and *Maximilian* being expired, *Maximilian* entered *Burgundy* and took ſeveral Places with a great deal of Eaſe; by Reaſon of the People's Affection for the Houſe of *Burgundy*. In all Appearance he would have taken Poſſeſſion of the two *Burgundies*, if he had received from the Emperor his Father

* His Body was buried at *Tewkesbury* in *Glouceſterſhire* by that of his Dutcheſs, *Iſabella* Daughter and Coheir of *Richard Nevil* the great Earl of *Warwick*. She being with Child is ſaid to dye of Poiſon a little before.

1478. Father Succours proportionable to his Wants. This was what *Lewis* feared very much, and as he was ſenſible it was *Edward*'s Intereſt to join Forces with *Maximilian*, he omitted nothing that could help to divert him from it. In the Month of *July* this Year, he ſent a full Power to prolong the Truce till a hundred Years after the Death of the two Kings, and to oblige him to the Payment of the yearly Penſion of fifty Thouſand Crowns, ſo long as the Truce ſhould laſt. Moreover the Ambaſſador was empowered to prolong for three Years the Term agreed upon, to decide the Difference by Arbitrators, and to promiſe for *Lewis* and his Succeſſors, to prolong it every third Year, till all Things were ended. The Ambaſſador being come to *London*, *Edward* appointed Commiſſioners to treat with him; and at length the Treaty was concluded upon the Foot *Lewis* propoſed. But this was not till *February* 15th, 1479.

Lewis *ſhifts off the* Dauphin's *Marriage with* Elizabeth. *p.* 89.

What delayed a little this Negotiation was *Edward*'s Deſire, firſt to make ſure of his Daughter *Elizabeth*'s Marriage with the *Dauphin*. To that End he ſent two Ambaſſadors into *France*, with Power to make the Contract of Marriage. But apparently *Lewis* found ſome Excuſe to put it off. Mean while he made the ſecond Payment of ten Thouſand Crowns for Queen *Margaret*'s Ranſom.

Lewis's Offer to Edward. Babing. Biondi.

Thus *Edward*, contrary to his own Intereſts and thoſe of the Kingdom, ſuffered himſelf to be managed by the King of *France*, or rather by his own *Miniſters*, whom that Prince had bribed. *Lewis* not content with taking him off by his Intrigues from aſſiſting the Dutcheſs of *Burgundy*, ſent him a Propoſal to divide betwixt them that Princeſs's Dominions, offering him for his ſhare *Flanders* and *Brabant*. *Edward* cloſed with the Propoſal, but upon this Condition; that in Exchange for the Towns which ſhould be conquered in *Flanders*, *Lewis* ſhould give him others in *Picardy*, and particularly *Bulloin*. But *Lewis* was too much afraid of the neighbourhood of the *Engliſh*, to accept of that Condition. If he propoſed to him the Conqueſt of *Flanders*,

ders, it was only with a view to engage him in a War with *Maximilian* and *Maria*, for fear he ſhould one time or other repent of having deſerted them. 1478.

But *Edward* was far from any ſuch Thoughts; inſtead of thinking of War, he wholly addicted himſelf to his Pleaſures, having no other Deſign than to paſs the Reſidue of his Days in effeminate Sloth. Mean while, the Pleaſures which he purſued with ſo much Eagerneſs were more chargeable to him than the moſt burdenſome War. And therefore his Coffers being empty, he uſed divers illegal Methods to extort Money from his Subjects. That which occaſioned the greateſt Terror was his procuring the Rich to be accuſed of High-Treaſon, in order to confiſcate their Eſtates to his own Uſe, or to ſqueeze out of them large Sums for their Pardon. In the mean time, he kept on foot with ſeveral Princes, Negotiations which tended to ſecure him the Countenance of that Eaſe he was ſo very fond of. 1479. Edward *gives himſelf up to Pleaſures.* *He raiſes Money by ill Means.*

The firſt of theſe Negotiations was with the King of *Denmark*, the Alliance they had made not having been well kept on either Side. At laſt, that Prince having ſent Ambaſſadors to *London*, the Alliance was confirmed and renewed, and a Congreſs appointed at *Hamburgh*, to decide all their Differences. One of the Conditions of the Treaty was, that the *Engliſh* ſhould not ſet Foot in the Iſle of *Iſeland*, without a Paſs from the King of *Denmark*. *Negotiation with* Denmark. Act. Pub. XII. 100.

Two Days after the Concluſion of this Treaty, the *French* Ambaſſador and the King's Commiſſioners ſigned that ſpoken of before, whereby *Lewis* XI. bound himſelf and his Succeſſors to pay to the King of *England* Fifty Thouſand Crowns every Year, as well during the Life of the two Kings, as a Hundred Years after, to commence at the Death of the longeſt liver. Next Day they ſigned alſo another Treaty, whereby the Truce, Friendſhip and good Underſtanding between the two Kings was to laſt during their Life, and between their Succeſſors, during the Space of a Hundred Years, with Promiſe of aſſiſting one another againſt their rebellious Subjects. The other Articles were, *that* *Treaty between* Lewis *and* Edward, *p.* 101.

1479. *that* if either of the two Princes ſhould come to be driven out of his Kingdom, the other ſhould be obliged to receive him, and aſſiſt him with all his Forces: *That* they ſhould make no Alliance without each other's Conſent: *That* the King of *France* ſhould ratify this Treaty, and cauſe it to be confirmed and ratified by the *States:* And that *Edward* ſhould get it likewiſe confirmed by the Parliament. Laſtly, *That* the *Dauphin*'s Marriage with the Princeſs *Elizabeth* ſhould be compleated, according to the Agreement at *Amiens*, and that this new Treaty ſhould not be derogatory to the former. It does not appear that *Lewis* XI. ever ratified this Treaty, which in all appearance was made only to amuſe *Edward*. *Lewis* knew very well that he was bound to nothing without a formal Ratification, which doubtleſs he had reſolved not to grant, though the Treaty contained only ſuch Articles as he himſelf had propoſed. This was one of *Lewis*'s Artifices, againſt which it is a very hard Matter to be provided. With Princes of this Character the ſhorteſt and ſureſt way would be never to enter into a Negotiation.

Project of a Marriage between Philip *of* Auſtria, *and* Anne Edward's *Daughter*, p. 110.

As *Lewis* amuſed *Edward* with the Marriage of *Elizabeth* with the *Dauphin*, *Maximilian* uſed the ſame Means to gain him to his Intereſts. Though *Philip* his Son was but a Year old, he offered *Edward* to marry him with *Anne* his third Daughter. *Edward* accepted the Offer; and in the mean time till they could agree upon Marriage-Articles, the two Princes ſent one another *Letters Patents*, promiſing not to marry their Children without each other's Conſent, during the Space of three Years.

and of his Daughter Catharine *with the* Infanto *of* Spain, *p.* 110.

About the ſame time *Edward* had thoughts of marrying *Catherine* his fourth Daughter to *John*, *Infanto* of *Caſtile* and *Arragon*, Son of King *Ferdinand*, and *Iſabella* of *Caſtile*. It even appears by *the Collection of the Publick Acts*, that he ſent Ambaſſadors into *Spain* to forward the Buſineſs, which however came to nothing.

Lewis *duly pays the Penſion.*

Mean while *Lewis* duly paid the Penſion of Fifty Thouſand Crowns, as appears by ſeveral *Acquittances* in *the Collection of the Publick Acts*. We find there likewiſe,

likewiſe, that in the Month of *May* 1480. he compleated the Payment of *Margaret*'s Ranſom. 1479.

He amuſes Edward,

Lewis readily performed all the Articles of the Treaty of *Amiens*, except that of the *Dauphin*'s Marriage, which he ſtill found ſome freſh Excuſe to ſhift off, though he perſiſted in his Promiſe to fulfil that Engagement. *Edward*, ſurprized at all theſe Delays, called a Council upon that Occaſion, wherein it was reſolved that he ſhould ſend Ambaſſadors to *Lewis*, peremptorily to demand the Performance of his Promiſe, and the Ratification of the late Treaty at *London*. The Lord *Howard* and *Thomas Langton* Treaſurer of the Church of *Exeter*, were pitched upon for this Embaſſy. *Howard*, who was one of *Edward*'s Confidents, was in all appearance the chief of thoſe that had ſuffered themſelves to be won by the King of *France*'s Favours.

who ſends him Ambaſſadors.

Lewis *continues to amuſe him.*

In the mean time *Lewis* was in no ſmall Trouble. He had given his Word for the Marriage, and had even bound himſelf by a Treaty, though he had never any thoughts of concluding it. On the other Hand, his Ambaſſadors at *London* had ſigned another Treaty upon the Foot he himſelf had propoſed it, and yet he was bent not to ratify it. His ſole Aim had been to amuſe *Edward*, for fear he ſhould join with the Arch-Duke. To get out of this Perplexity, he reſolved to diſſemble and to continue to promiſe the compleating of the Match, whilſt, by Ambaſſadors whom he had ſent to *Scotland*, he tried to perſuade *James* III. to break the Truce with *England*. This Negotiation ſucceeded to his Wiſh. King *James* ſuffered himſelf to be guided by three Favourites whom he had raiſed from the Duſt, and took Advice of no Lord of his Realm. It was no hard Matter for the King of *France* to bribe theſe mercenary Souls, who promiſed to induce their Maſter to break the Truce with the *Engliſh*. And indeed, very ſoon after *James* made Preparations which plainly diſcovered his Deſign. *Edward*, ſurprized at the Rupture like to be between the King of *Scotland* and him, was at no great Loſs to gueſs the Author of it. He diſſembled however his Reſentment, and con-

He ſtirs up the King of Scotland *againſt him.*

1479. tented himself with ordering an Army to be raised, the Command whereof he resolved to confer on the Duke of *Gloucester* his Brother. Then it was, and not before, that he began to open his Eyes, and perceive the Treachery of the King of *France*, who had fooled him with false Promises ever since the Death of the Duke of *Burgundy*. Mean while, though he had let slip the fair Opportunities that had offered, yet he turned his Thoughts, 1480. though too late, to Revenge. This is what appears by several Pieces of *the Collection of the Publick Acts*, all bearing date in the Year 1480, before the *Scots* had actually broke the Truce.

Edward *begins to open his Eyes*, p. 117.

Embassy to Castile, *p.* 119.

First, He sent Ambassadors to *Castile* to make Reparation for certain Outrages committed by the *English* during the Earl of *Warwick*'s Administration, contrary to the Alliance between *Castile* and *England*. When a Prince offers of his own accord to repair the Damage his Subjects have done to another Nation, there is room to presume it is done with a View to some other Design. *Edward*'s was to engage the King of *Castile* to make War with *France*, or at least to hinder him from assisting *Lewis*.

Treaty with Denmark, *p.* 119.

In the second Place, he ratified the Treaty his Ambassadors had concluded at *Hamburgh*, with the King of *Denmark*.

Edward promises to aid Maximilian, *p.* 123, 124.

Thirdly, He confirmed the Treaty of Alliance he had made with the late Duke of *Burgundy*, and promised to send *Maximilian* and *Maria* an Aid of Six Thousand Men, pursuant to the Treaty. The Archduke obliged himself on his Part to pay him Fifty Thousand Crowns yearly, in case the King of *France* should discontinue his Pension, and a War should ensue between them upon that Score.

He concludes the Marriage of his Daughter with Philip. *p.* 128.

Lastly, The Marriage of *Philip* Earl of *Charolois* Son of *Maximilian* and *Maria*, with *Ann* Daughter of *Edward* was concluded, with Promise on both Sides to have it consummated as soon as the Parties should be of Age. By this Treaty *Edward* gave with his Daughter a Hundred Thousand Crowns. But by a subsequent Treaty, the Dowry was set against the yearly Pension

of

of Fifty Thouſand Crowns, which the Archduke was obliged to pay inſtead of the King of *France*, and they gave one another a Diſcharge. 1480.

By another Treaty, *Edward* promiſed to uſe his Endeavours to procure *Maximilian* a Truce with the King of *France*, to offer to become Arbitrator between *Lewis* and him, to try to be accepted of as ſuch, and if *Lewis* refuſed, he paſſed his Word to declare againſt him. This Proceeding was none of the faireſt; but apparently, he did not think himſelf obliged to act more ſincerely than *Lewis* had done with reſpect to him. *He promiſes to declare againſt* Lewis *if he is not made Umpire*, p. 133.

Edward having thus ſettled his Matters with *Maximilian* and *Maria*, ſent again Ambaſſadors to *France*, to preſs the Marriage of his Daughter *Elizabeth* with the *Dauphin*. If *Lewis* had complied, it is very likely he would have made no ſcruple to drop the Archduke. But *Lewis* having put him off as uſual, with ſome poor Excuſe, he fitted out a Fleet, and gave the Command of it to *John Middleton*, to go to the Aſſiſtance of his new Allies. *Embaſſy to* France. *A Fleet to aid* Maximilian, p. 137.

In the mean time the King of *Scotland* continued his Preparations with a Deſign to break with *England*. But before I ſpeak of the Iſſue of this War which *Edward* ſo little expected, it will be proper briefly to relate what was doing then in *Scotland*, and how Matters ſtood in that Kingdom. 1481. *The King of* Scotland *prepares for War.*

James III. who came to the Crown at ſeven Years of Age, being out of his Minority, had ſuffered himſelf to be ſo corrupted by Flatterers, that he made his Will the ſole Meaſure of his Actions. Without giving a particular Account of the Outrages he committed againſt his Subjects, it will be ſufficient to ſay in a Word, that he was looked upon as a real Tyrant. He had three *Miniſters* or Favourites, Men of mean Birth, who ruled him with an abſolute Sway, and had no other view but to render him Independent of the Laws, that they themſelves might govern in his Name with an arbitrary Power. The King had two Brothers, namely, *Alexander* Duke of *Albany*, and *John*. *John* having ſpoken too freely of the King his Brother's Conduct, was *Affairs of* Scotland. Buchan. James *oppreſſes his Subjects.* *He gives himſelf up to his Favourites.* *Puts one Brother to Death, and impriſons another.*

1481. was thrown into Priſon, where they took away his Life, by cauſing his Veins to be opened. As the Favourites were afraid that *Alexander* would revenge his Death, they got the King to ſhut him up in a Caſtle.

Edward *prepares for his Defenſe.*

At this Juncture it was that *James*, hated by his People, and eſpecially by the Nobility, took in Hand to break the Truce with the *Engliſh*, without having the leaſt Pretenee. *Edward* beheld with Grief a Rupture approaching, which would take him off from the War with *France*, upon which he was very much bent. In the mean while, not to omit all neceſſary Precautions, he gave Orders for the Defenſe of the Borders, and at the ſame Time, committed to certain Perſons in *Ireland*, the Care of making an Alliance in his Name, with the Earl of *Roſs* Lord of the *Iſles*, that he might give all his Enemies a Diverſion from that Quarter.

Act. Pub. XII. 140.

James *enters* England, *and carries off ſome Booty.*

In the Month of *June* 1481, the *Scots* made an Irruption into the Borders before *Edward*'s Army was ready. They carried off ſome Booty, and that was all that mighty Expedition came to. *Edward* was not over-haſty to ſend an Army againſt *Scotland*, as well becauſe he hoped ſtill to make up Matters amicably, as becauſe he was very ſenſible that King *James*'s Circumſtances were ſuch, that he could not do him much hurt. His grand Deſign was to be revenged of *Lewis* XI. For although that Prince, with his uſual Diſſimulation, ſtill put him in hopes that he would perform his Promiſe as to the Marriage, and though he punctually paid Twenty-five Thouſand Crowns every ſix Months, *Edward* plainly perceived, that he intended not to be as good as his Word with regard to the firſt Article, and that a Rupture would be unavoidable.

Edward *thinks more of* France *than* Scotland.

Project of Marriage between the Prince of Wales *and* Ann *of* Bretagne.

Upon this Account it was that he renewed his Alliance with the Duke of *Bretagne*, and concluded the Marriage of the Prince of *Wales* his Son, with *Ann* eldeſt Daughter of that Duke, or in caſe ſhe ſhould happen to die before Conſummation, with *Iſabella* her younger Siſter, upon theſe Conditions; That if there ſhould be ſeveral Sons, the ſecond, or he that was next to him that ſhould ſucceed to the Crown of *England*,

Act. Pub. XII. 142.

land, ſhould be Duke of *Bretagne*, and reſide in the Country; *That* if the Duke ſhould hereafter have a Son born in Wedlock, he ſhould eſpouſe her of *Edward*'s Daughters that ſhould be moſt ſuitable to his Age; *That* if *Edward* had no Daughter to give him, the Duke ſhould not marry his Son without the King's Conſent. Laſtly, it was agreed betwixt them, that if the King of *France* ſhould make War upon the Duke of *Bretagne*, *Edward* ſhould ſend the Duke an Aid of three Thouſand Men at his own Charge. The Duke was obliged to do the ſame in Caſe of a War between *England* and *France*. 1481.

In the Beginning of the Year 1482, *Edward* renewed his Alliance with *Portugal*. Shortly after he ſent Ambaſſadors to *Caſtile*, to conclude the Marriage of his Daughter *Catherine* with the *Infanto*. But that Buſineſs ſuceeeded not to his Wiſh. All theſe Treaties, theſe Renewings of Alliances, theſe Projects of Marriages, ſhow that *Edward* intended to wage War with *France*. 1482. *Alliance with* Portugal. *p.* 145. *Negotiation for a Marriage.*

Whilſt *Edward* was intent upon every Thing that could contribute to the good Succeſs of his Undertaking, *Alexander* Duke of *Albany* Brother of the King of *Scotland*, made his Eſcape out of his Confinement, and came by Sea into *England*, to implore the King's Protection. Beſides the general Reaſons which all the *Scots* had to complain of their Sovereign, *Alexander* had very great ones in particular. The Death of the Duke his Brother, and his own Impriſonment, put him upon eagerly ſeeking the means to be revenged, and without doubt, Ambition was no ſmall Spur to his Paſſion. The *Engliſh* and *Scotch* Hiſtorians have limited his deſire of Revenge to ſome general Views of bringing the King his Brother into the Right Way, and procuring to himſelf the Reſtitution of his Eſtate. But the *Collection of the Publick Acts* furniſhes authentick Evidences that *Alexander*'s Deſign was to get Poſſeſſion of the Throne. We find there a Treaty he made with *Edward*, wherein he aſſumes the Title of King of *Scotland*, and promiſes to do Homage for that Kingdom to the Crown of *England*. He binds himſelf likewiſe to break *The Duke of* Albany *eſcapes into* England. Buchan. *Treaty of the Duke of* Albany *with* Edward. June 10. *p.* 156.

1482. break the antient Alliance of *France* with *Scotland*, and to make one with *Edward* againſt *Lewis* XI, to yield up *Berwick* to *England*, and to marry *Cicely Edward*'s Daughter, betrothed to Prince *James* his Nephew, provided that by the Decree of the *Church*, he could be divorced from his Wife. That in Caſe he could not, he promiſes not to marry his Son but to a Princeſs of the Royal Family of *England*. *Edward* obliges himſelf on his Part, to Aid him with all his Power to take Poſſeſſion of the Throne of *Scotland*. This Treaty being ſigned, *Edward* ſent an Army againſt *Scotland*, under the Command of the Duke of *Glouceſter* his Brother, whom the Duke of *Albany* would accompany, but without taking however the Title of King. Apparently the Treaty I have been ſpeaking of, was a ſecret known but to few Perſons. At the ſame Time *Edward* gave the Command of a Fleet to *Robert Ratcliff*, to act againſt *Scotland*. The Duke of *Glouceſter* having advanced to the Borders of the two Kingdoms, took the Town of *Berwick*, and not being willing to loſe Time in beſieging the Caſtle, left it inveſted and marched directly to *Edinburgh*.

The Duke of Glouceſter *marches into* Scotland. *p.* 157. *and takes* Berwick.

Troubles in Scotland. Buchan. Biond. Babing.

Whilſt the Duke of *Glouceſter* was moving forward at the Head of his Army, King *James* who had entered upon this War without any Manner of Reaſon, and without having taken Meaſures for the vigorous Proſecution of it, was at a great Loſs what to do. The only means he had to withſtand the *Engliſh* was to aſſemble the Nobility; but he durſt not undertake it, knowing how much diſſatisfied they were with him and his *Miniſters*. There was a Neceſſity however to reſolve upon it, or to caſt himſelf upon the Mercy of the *Engliſh*. Wherefore having ſummoned the Lords, they came with their Troops to *Louther*, where the King expected them. But to what Streights ſoever that Prince was drove, he altered not his Conduct. His three Favourites were his ſole Council, and not a Man hardly dared to come near him but themſelves or their Creatures. The Nobles, full of Indignation at this Management, were reſolved to embrace ſo fair

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an Opportunity to get rid of thoſe that beſet the King. 1482.
After having conſulted together about what was to be done, ſome of them came to the King's Apartment well attended, and having carried off the three Favourites who had ſheltered themſelves in his Room, they brought them to the Army, where they cauſed them to be hanged out of hand. *James* in a great Fright, dreading they would make an Attempt upon his Life, promiſed to reform his Conduct for the future. But a few Days after he withdrew to the Caſtle of *Edinburgh*. So that the Army being without a Leader, diſbanded themſelves, and the Lords returned to their own Homes.

The Duke of Glouceſter becomes Maſter of Edinburgh

The Duke of *Glouceſter* having had Intelligence of this Confuſion, haſtened his march to *Edinburgh*, and entered the City without Oppoſition. He would fain have had a Conference with the King, but it was not poſſible ſo much as to get it propoſed to him. This Obſtinacy not to hearken to any Thing, obliged the Duke of *Glouceſter* to publiſh, by ſound of Trumpet, in all the Quarters of *Edinburgh*, that if before the Month of *September*, the King of *Scotland* would not obſerve the Treaties made with the King of *England*, he would put the whole Kingdom to Fire and Sword. King *James*'s Engagements were chiefly to keep the Truce, and pay back the Money he had received for the Dower of the Princeſs *Ciceley*, betrothed to the Prince his Son. To which the Duke of *Glouceſter* added, that he ſhould recall the Duke of *Albany* and reſtore him to his Eſtate and Honours. *James*'s equally unable to reſiſt his Enemies and to perform his Engagements, made no Anſwer. Mean while the Nobles being aſſembled at *Hadington*, ſent Deputies to the Duke of *Glouceſter*, to acquaint him that it was their earneſt Deſire that the intended Marriage ſhould be conſummated, and that it ſhould not be their Fault if the Truce were not particularly obſerved. The Duke of *Glouceſter* replied, that the Marriage not having been projected but purely to keep up a good Underſtanding between the two Nations, and King *James* having deſignedly

The Nobility ſend Deputies to him.

1482. ſignedly broke it without any Provocation, he did not know whether the King his Brother deſired the Match ſhould be conſummated: That however he had orders to receive the Sums that had been payed in part of the Princeſs's Dower: That as to the Truce, they might be ſure it would be kept by *England*, provided the King his Brother was put in Poſſeſſion of the Caſtle of *Berwick*, or at leaſt, the *Scots* would promiſe not to give any Aſſiſtance to the beſieged.

The Duke of Albany procures a Peace. Act. Pub. XII. 160.

Matters ſtanding thus, the Duke of *Albany* demanded of the *Scotch* Lords a Safe-Conduct, and having obtained it, he went and talked with them in Perſon. In the Conference it was agreed, *That* the Duke of *Albany* ſhould be made Regent of *Scotland*: *That* the Citizens of *Edinburgh* ſhould be obliged to pay the King of *England* the Money *James* had received, in Caſe the Marriage intended ſhould not take Effect: Laſtly, *That* the Caſtle of *Berwick* ſhould be ſurrendered to the Duke of *Glouceſter*. For the Duke of *Albany*'s private Security, the Archbiſhop of St. *Andrews*, the Biſhop of *Dunkald*, the High-Chancellor, the Earl of *Argyle*, bound themſelves to procure him a general Pardon for all Crimes whatever, even for attempting to dethrone the King, and to get him reſtored to his whole Eſtate. On the other Hand, the Duke promiſed to acknowledge the King his Brother for his lawful Sovereign, and to ſwear Allegiance to him. This gives Ground to preſume that the Treaty he had made with *Edward* was known in *Scotland*, or that the Duke thought proper to diſcover it, that it might be included in the Pardon. This Agreement being made, the Duke of *Albany* gave over his Project of mounting the Throne, either out of pure Generoſity, or becauſe he believed he ſhould find it too difficult a Task. On the other Side, the Duke of *Glouceſter* went and paſſed ſome Time at *Newcaſtle*, till the King his Brother ſhould let him know his Pleaſure touching his Daughter's Marriage.

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The Duke of *Albany* seeing himself thus Master of the Kingdom, restored the King his Brother to his former State, without reserving to himself any thing but his own Estate, and the Glory of his Generosity. *James* pleased, as one may believe, to have got off thus for a little Fear, seemed at first to behave in a very different Manner from what he had done before: Presently after, he resolved to go to *Amiens* and visit the *Relicks* of St. *John*, or perhaps to take new Measures with *Lewis* XI. But I do not know whether he put his Design in Execution, though one finds in *the Collection of the Publick Acts* a Safe-Conduct for him and a Thousand Attendants. Be that as it will, his Dissimulation lasted not long. He fell to his old Course of Life, and resumed his Enmity to his Brother, with a Resolution to dispatch him out of the Way. His Design was kept so private, that when the Duke was told of it, he had but just time to throw himself into a Fishing-boat, and escape to the Castle of *Dunbar* with a few Friends. From thence it was that he sent into *England* the Earl of *Angus* and some others to renew with *Edward* the Treaty they had made last Year, and which was set aside by the Accommodation which intervened. This Treaty was in effect confirmed *February* 11. 1483, with an addition of some Articles. But *Edward*'s Death, which happened presently after, prevented it from being put in Execution. Mean while, the Duke of *Albany* having, pursuant to the Treaty, put the Fortress of *Dunbar* into the Hands of the *English*, and seeing no appearance of being succoured, withdrew into *France*, where he was unfortunately killed with the Splinter of a Lance, at a Tournament by the Duke of *Orleans*, who was afterwards King of *France* under the Name of *Lewis* XII.

1482. James *being restored dissembles his Resentment.* Buchan.

Ibid. p. 170.

He attempts his Brother's Life, who escapes to Dunbar.

1483. *He renews his Treaty with* Edward, *p.* 173.

He is killed in France. Biondi.

The War with *Scotland* being ended, *Edward* turned all his Thoughts to the War he intended to carry into *France*. But he was far from having so fair an Opportunity to be revenged of *Lewis* XI. as he had before the Rupture with *Scotland*. *Maria* Dutchess of *Burgundy*, being killed by a Fall from her Horse in the Month of *March*

Edward's Affairs are in an ill way upon the Death of the Dutchess of Burgundy. Mezerai.

1483. *March* 1481, the Archduke her Spouſe had ſo little Authority among the *Flemings*, that he ſaw himſelf conſtrained to ſuffer his Children by that Princeſs to remain in the Hands of the *Gantois*. Then *Lewis* XI. uſing all his Cunning to make the *Flemings* dread the Power of *the Houſe of Auſtria*, ordered Matters ſo dextrouſly with the *Gantois*, that he got their Conſent to give in Marriage to the *Dauphin* his Son, *Margaret* Daughter of their deceaſed Dutcheſs, with the Earldoms of *Artois*, *Burgundy*, *Maconnois*, *Auxerre* and *Charolois*. This Negotiation was carried on with that Secrecy that *Edward* had no Intelligence of it; inſomuch that *Lewis* ſtill continued to amuſe the *Engliſh* Ambaſſadors, even after it was ended to his Wiſh. The firſt News they had of it was the Arrival of the young *Dauphineſs*, two Years old, who was brought to *Paris* in the Month of *April* 1482. The Nuptials were ſolemnized in *July*. This was a very great Vexation, and deadly Affront to *Edward*, who had cauſed the Princeſs his Daughter to be ſtiled *Madam the Dauphineſs*. He had perhaps forgot the Affront he himſelf had put upon *Lewis* with regard to his own Marriage, or elſe he imagined that *Love* would excuſe him: but *Lewis* thought himſelf no leſs excuſed by *Politicks*, and what Kings call *Reaſons of State*. Be that as it will, *Edward* full of Indignation and Rage, bent all his Thoughts to Revenge. But it was too late, the Opportunities he had let ſlip were loſt paſt recovery. He could no longer rely upon the Aſſiſtance of the *Flemings*, who had juſt ſhown ſo openly their Attachment to the Intereſts of *France*. The Duke of *Bretagne* was ſeized with a *Melancholy* which rendered him incapable of any conſiderable Undertaking. The King of *Scotland* had no reaſon to be pleaſed, and all that *Edward* could expect from the Alliance he had made with the Kings of *Spain* and *Portugal*, was, that they would not give any Aſſiſtance to *Lewis*. So that to be revenged, *Edward* muſt, like *Henry* V, attack *France* with the Forces of *England* alone. But *France* was very far from being in the ſame Circumſtances as when *Henry* V. began the War. Nevertheleſs, in

The Dauphin's *Marriage with* Margaret.

An ill Juncture for Edward. Argentre. Biond.

in ſpite of the little likelihood of ſucceeding in ſuch an Undertaking, *Edward* was bent upon it. To that Purpoſe, he aſſembled all the Lords that were at Court or about *London*, and in a very moving Speech repreſented to them how great Reaſon the *Engliſh* Nation, and he himſelf in particular, had to reſent the deadly Affronts put upon them by the King of *France*. He forgot not to diſplay the Claim which the Kings of *England* had to the Crown of *France*. That was the chief Thing which would touch the Hearts of the *Engliſh*. In fine, he added whatever he thought capable to perſuade them not only that it was neceſſary to go to War with *France*, but alſo that there was reaſon to expect good Succeſs. There is no need of much Eloquence to induce the *Engliſh* to wage War with *France*. All the Lords, with one accord, declared that they thought the War juſt and neceſſary, and aſſured the King they were ready to ſtand by him with their Lives and Fortunes. The Report being ſpread over the Kingdom that the War with *France* was reſolved upon, an extraordinary Joy appeared in Peoples Faces, as if they had received News of ſome great Victory.

1483. *He prepares however for War.*

But whilſt the Preparations were making for this important War, which was quickly to begin, *Edward* was ſeized with a mortal Diſtemper, which diſcovered to him the Vanity of all his Projects. As ſoon as he found he ſhould die, he beheld with another Eye than he had done before, all that had wholly taken up his Thoughts during his paſt Life; and it is pretended that he ſhewed Marks of a ſincere Repentance. But in the laſt Moments, none but the great Searcher of Hearts can judge of the Sincerity of what the Tongue expreſſes. *Edward* died the 9th of *April*, in the Forty-ſecond Year of his Age, after a Reign of Two and Twenty Years and one Month. The Cauſe of his Death is variouſly reported. Some accuſe the Duke of *Glouceſter* of poiſoning him. But this Accuſation being grounded upon no Proof, ought not to be too haſtily credited. *Philip de Comines* pretends, that *Edward* died with Grief and Vexation, to ſee himſelf fooled and deceived by *Lewis*

Death of Edward IV.

1485. XI. But we are to consider what he says only as a bare Conjecture, especially seeing *Edward*, as has been observed, was convinced of *Lewis*'s Insincerity two Years before. The most probable Opinion is, that he died of a Surfeit, having used to try to divert his Cares with excessive eating and drinking.

Character of Edward IV.

I have spoken hitherto only of such of *Edward the* IV's Actions as have been the most noted, by reason of their Connexion with the Affairs of the Publick. It will be necessary now to say something of his Person, and to take a fuller View of the good and bad Qualities of his Mind and Body. But first, I cannot forbear to remark once more, that a Man must be upon his Guard with respect to the Historians that have spoken of this Prince as well as of *Richard* III. his Brother. The greatest Part wrote at a Time when the Throne was filled with the Princes of *the House of Lancaster*, who were extremely jealous of their Rights, and would not willingly bear that they should be touched upon, or that the Kings of *the House of York* should be well-spoken of. Those that wrote afterwards, when the *Civil Wars* were forgotten, have transcribed what they found in these first Historians, and have frequently given for Truth what was only the Effect of the Prejudice or Policy of the former Historians. For my Part, as I have no Motive to blacken the Reputation of this Prince, I have endeavoured to avoid this Fault, without concealing however either his Failings or his bad Qualities.

When *Edward* ascended the Throne, he was one of the handsomest Men in *England*, and perhaps in *Europe*. This is what all the World are agreed in. His noble Mien, his free and easy Way, his affable Carriage, won the Hearts of all at first Sight. These Qualities joined to an undaunted Courage, gained him among the People an Esteem and Affection, which stood him in great stead in several Circumstances of his Life. *Philip de Comines* affirms, that he owed his Restoration to the Throne to the Inclination which the *London*-Ladies had for him. But that would have been of little Moment, had

had he not likewiſe had the Affections of their Huſbands, and in general, of the major Part of the Kingdom. If he had not depended upon the Hearts of the People, he would never have ventured to attempt to recover the Throne with the Help of Two Thouſand Men, who were moſt of them Foreigners. For ſome time he was exceeding liberal; but at length he grew covetous, not ſo much from his natural Temper, as out of a Neceſſity to bear the immoderate Expences which his Pleaſures ran him into. Though he had a great deal of Wit, and a ſound Judgment, he committed however ſeveral Overſights. The firſt was when he ſuffered himſelf to be ſurprized by the Earl of *Warwick*. But that Fault was in great Meaſure repaired by the Dexterity and Readineſs wherewith he got out of the Hands of the Archbiſhop of *York*. The ſecond was to truſt ſuch Perſons as betrayed him, and were ſold to *France*. The third was to ſuffer himſelf to be ſo long impoſed upon by *Lewis* XI. who was univerſally cried down for his ill Faith. Moſt of the Hiſtorians have mightily aggravated this Matter, as being ignorant that from the Year 1480. he began to take Meaſures to wage War with *Lewis*, as appears from what has been quoted out of *the Collection of the Publick Acts*. He is blamed likewiſe upon two other Accounts, wherein it is more eaſy to juſtify him. Firſt, for having broke off the War already begun with *France* for an inconſiderable Sum of Money, at a time when he might have flattered himſelf with a Proſpect of Succeſs. But if a Man fully examines the Circumſtances of that Affair, he will eaſily perceive that being forſaken by the Dukes of *Burgundy* and *Bretagne* his Allies, he would have acted a very raſh Part to purſue with his own Forces alone the Execution of ſo great an Enterprize, wherein he would not, in all appearance, have come off with Honour. The other thing he is blamed for, is, his not joining with the Heireſs of *Burgundy*, to ſtop the Progreſs of the King of *France*. I own that was really a Fault. But however, it may be conſiderably leſſened, by reflecting on the Examples of ſeveral Princes eminent for their

1783.

Faults aſcribed to Edward.

1483. their Abilities, who have behaved in the ſame Manner on the like Occaſions. Uncertain of the Event, Princes often imagine they ſhall be great Gainers by ſetting their Neighbours at Variance, in hopes they will weaken one another. But it falls out ſometimes, that the Iſſue anſwers not their Expectations. It is certain, that if *Maria* of *Burgundy*, and afterwards the Archduke her Huſband had more vigorouſly withſtood the Attacks of *Lewis* XI. nothing was more capable to render *Edward* the Umpire of *Europe*, than the mutual weakning of theſe two Powers. By this Conduct it was that he made himſelf courted by the King of *France* and the Duke of *Burgundy*, becauſe he kept himſelf always in a Condition to make the Balance incline to one ſide. It may be he was in hopes it would be always the ſame: but he had to do with a Prince of more Cunning than himſelf.

Inſtances of his Cruelty. Theſe are properly *political* Faults, which are often conſidered as ſuch, only becauſe of the Events which are not in the Power of Man. But the Crimes *Edward* is more juſtly charged with, are his Cruelty, Perjury and Incontinence. The firſt appears in the great Number of Princes and Lords that he put to Death on the Scaffold, after he had taken them in Battle. If ever there was room to ſhow Mercy in caſe of Rebellion, it was at that fatal Time when it was almoſt impoſſible to ſtand Neuter, and ſo difficult to chuſe the juſteſt Side between the *Two Houſes* that were contending for the Crown. And yet we don't ſee that *Edward* had ever any regard to that Conſideration. The Death of the Prince of *Wales*, Son of *Henry* VI. murdered almoſt in his Preſence; and that of *Henry* himſelf, innocent as he was, will perhaps be juſtified in ſome meaſure by thoſe who think nothing unlawful when the ſecuring a Throne is in queſtion; but they will never be excuſed by thoſe who have any Tincture of Religion. As to the Death of the Duke of *Glouceſter*, I don't know whether it would be poſſible to find the leaſt Excuſe, if it be true, as it ſeems to be, that the Duke was innocent.

Edward's

Edward's Breach of Faith was viſible in the unjuſt Puniſhment of the Lord *Wells* and his Brother-in-law, after he had enticed them out of *Sanctuary* by a Safe-Conduct, in puniſhing the *Baſtard of Falconbridge* whom he had pardoned: And laſtly, in the Oath he took at *York*, even when he was determined to break it. All theſe Actions are to be reckoned among thoſe that cannot be juſtified but by political Reaſons, a poor Excuſe in all Matters where *Honour* and *Religion* are concerned. 1483. *His Breach of Faith.*

As for *Edward*'s Incontinence, one may ſay that his whole Life was one continued Scene of Exceſs that way. He had abundance of Miſtreſſes, but eſpecially Three of whom he ſaid, *One was the merrieſt* *, *the other the wittieſt, and the third the holieſt in the World, ſince ſhe would not ſtir from the Church but when he ſent for her.* He had however but two natural Children both by *Elizabeth Lucy*, to whom it was ſaid he was contracted before his Marriage, *Arthur* ſirnamed *Plantagenet*, who was created Viſcount *L'Iſle* by *Henry* VIII. and *Elizabeth*, who was Wife of *Thomas Lumley*. I ſhall ſay nothing of *Edward*'s Religion, ſince Hiſtorians have made no mention of it, but in relating his laſt Words upon his Death-bed. *His Incontinence.* Baker. Biondi.

What is moſt aſtoniſhing in the Life of this Prince, is his good Fortune, which ſeemed to be prodigious. He was raiſed to the Throne after the Loſs of two Battles, one by the Duke his Father, the other by the Earl of *Warwick*, who was then devoted to the *Houſe of York*. The Head of the Father was ſtill upon the Walls of *York* when the Son was proclaimed at *London*. *Edward* eſcaped as it were by Miracle out of his Confinement at *Middleham*. He was reſtored to the Throne, or at leaſt received into *London* at his Return from *Holland*, before he had overcome, and whilſt his Fortune yet depended upon the Iſſue of a Battle, which the Earl of *Warwick* was ready to give him. In a Word, he was ever victorious in all the Battles wherein he fought in Perſon. *His good Fortune.*

Elizabeth

* *Jane Shore* Wife to a Citizen of *London*.

1483. His Iſſue.

Elizabeth his Queen brought him a numerous Iſſue, namely, three Princes and eight Princeſſes, of whom one Son and two Daughters died in their Infancy. We ſhall ſoon ſee the Fate of his eldeſt Son *Edward* who ſucceeded him, and of *Richard* Duke of *York* his Brother.

Elizabeth the eldeſt of his Daughters had been contracted to the *Dauphin* Son of *Lewis* XI. who was afterwards King of *France* by the Name of *Charles* VIII. In proceſs of Time ſhe was married to *Henry* VII. King of *England*.

Ciceley, who had been betrothed to the Prince of *Scotland*, eſpouſed the Lord *Wells*; and afterwards, upon his Death, another whoſe Name I know not. She died without Iſſue.

Ann had been contracted to *Philip* Son of *Maximilian* of *Auſtria*, and *Maria* of *Burgundy*. But that Match not taking Effect, ſhe married *Thomas Howard* Duke of *Norfolk*, by whom ſhe had two Sons, who died without Iſſue.

Bridget was a Nun.

Mary, who had been promiſed to the King of *Denmark*, died at *Greenwich* before her Marriage was ſolemnized.

Catherine, whom the King her Father would have given to the *Infanto* of *Spain*, had for Husband *William Courtney* Earl of *Devonſhire*, by whom ſhe had a Son who was created *Marquiſs of Exeter*, in the Reign of *Henry* VIII.

It muſt be remarked, that in the *Engliſh* Hiſtories there is a continual *Anachroniſm* of a Year, and ſometimes of two, from 1474 to the End of this Reign *.

* *Edward* IV. was buried at *Windſor*. In this Reign flouriſhed ſeveral eminent Men, particularly *Thomas Littleton* Judge of the *Common Pleas*, and *John Forteſcue* Judge and Chancellor of *England*. In the Year 1483, the laſt of this Reign, was born *Thomas Parr* a *Shropſhire* Man, noted for his extraordinary great Age. He lived to the Year 1635. being then brought up to *London* by the Earl of *Arundel* as a great Rarity, where he died, after having lived in the Reigns of Ten Kings and Queens, aged 152 Years.

The End of the Reign of EDWARD IV.

THE

BRITISH MUSEUM

K. EDWARD V.
G. Virtue Sc.

THE HISTORY of *ENGLAND*.

SECT. II.

17. EDWARD V.

AFTER the Death of *Edward* IV, the Prince his eldeſt Son, between twelve and thirteen Years of Age, was proclaimed King by the Name of *Edward* V. The Reign of this Prince was ſhort and unfortunate; if the two Months and twelve Days that he bore the Title of King, and which were wholly ſpent in depriving him of the Crown even before he had ſolemnly received it, may be called a Reign, and not rather be looked upon as an *Inter-regnum*. But however as during that ſhort Space he was generally acknowledged for Sovereign of *England*, Hiſtorians have made no ſcruple to rank him among the Kings. The whole Matter of this Reign conſiſts only of the Means made uſe of by the Duke of *Glouceſter* to ſet aſide the young King his Nephew, and to place himſelf in the Throne. But before I enter upon the Particulars of theſe deteſtable Practices, it will be neceſſary to ſhow how Mat-

1483. EDWARD V. *is proclaimed* April.

1483. ters ſtood at the Court of *England* before the Death of *Edward* IV.

State of the Court before Edward's Death.

Elizabeth Woodville who from a *Subject* was become *Queen*, by her Marriage with *Edward*, held the firſt Rank at Court, as well by her Privileges as Queen, as by her Power and Intereſt. Ever ſince her Marriage ſhe had gained over the King a great Aſcendant, which ſhe kept to the Day of his Death. Her Birth by her Father's Side was not very conſiderable. But her Mother, who had been Wife of the famous Duke of *Bedford*, was of the *Houſe of Luxemburgh*, Illuſtrious for the Princes, Kings and Emperors that had ſprung from it. So that conſidering *Elizabeth* as derived from thence, it is not at all ſtrange that ſhe ſhould have a great Soul, and think herſelf as worthy to command as the nobleſt Lords of *England*. Mean time, as her being Queen gave her no manner of Title to meddle with the Affairs of the Publick, ſhe knew how to manage that Matter another way, namely, by the Influence ſhe had over the King. Though *Edward* often proved falſe to her, ſhe bore it very patiently, and never ſhowed her Uneaſineſs at. *Edward* charmed to find himſelf at Liberty to purſue his Inclinations without danger of continual Reproaches, repayed her Moderation with the moſt obliging and condeſcending Behaviour, of which ſhe knew how to make a good uſe. The raiſing of Sir *Richard Woodville* her Father to the Honour of *Earl of Rivers*, and the Marriage of her Brother with the richeſt Heireſs of the Kingdom, were the firſt Proofs ſhe gave of her Power. After that *Edward* heaped Honours and Riches upon her Family, even to the deſiring to marry *Anthony* her Brother to a Siſter of the King of *Scotland*, as may be ſeen in the *Collection of the Publick Acts*. When the Prince of *Wales* was of Age to have a Governour, it was this ſame Lord become Earl of *Rivers*, that was entruſted with that High-Office. The Queen forgot not her own Children by her former Huſband Sir *John Grey* [of *Groby*.] *Thomas Grey* her eldeſt Son was made Marquiſs of *Dorſet*, Governour of the *Tower*, and Keeper of the King's Treaſures.

Treaſures. *Richard Grey* his Brother, was created a *Baron*, and had a conſiderable Poſt about the Prince of *Wales*. 1483.

If the Queen had confined her Favours to her Sons, her Father and her Brother, there would have been no Reaſon to wonder at it. But it cannot be denied that ſhe made an ill uſe of their Power, by cauſing to be created *Peers*, many Perſon who would have had no manner of Pretenſion to that Honour, if they had not been backed by her Favour. This gave occaſion to the Diſtinction in thoſe Days, between the *antient* and the *new* Nobility. But if that Diſtinction redounded not to the Honour of the laſt, that Diſadvantage was amply made up by the Places of Honour and Profit which the Queen helped them to. By degrees ſhe had as it were baniſhed the antient Nobility from the Court, where ſcarce any were to be ſeen but Lords of the *new Creation*, all firmly attached to the Queen. It was much the ſame in all the reſt of the Kingdom, where the moſt conſiderable Poſts were filled by ſuch as the Queen knew to be her Creatures. Her Aim was to ſecure her Power during the King's Life, and in Caſe ſhe ſurvived him, to make ſure of the Government of the Kingdom in the Name of the Prince her Son, when he ſhould come to be on the Throne. But by a Fatality not unuſual to the beſt-laid Projects, this very Thing proved the Occaſion of her own and her Family's Ruin. *Two Parties at Court, the old and the new Nobility.*

The Queen having thus openly declared againſt the antient Families, it is eaſy to gueſs that ſhe was not beloved. And therefore ſhe took all poſſible Care to hinder the Lords whom ſhe affected not, from having the King's Ear. Mean while it was not in her Power to expel the Court Three Lords of the antient Nobility whom the King had a great Affection for, becauſe they had done him ſignal Services. Theſe were *Henry Stafford* Duke of *Buckingham*, *William Haſtings*, and *Thomas Stanley*. *The King protects the new Nobility.* *Heads of the Nobility.*

1483. *The Duke of* Buckingham.

The first, who was of a very antient Family, had moreover the Advantage of being descended from a Daughter of *Thomas of Woodstock* Duke of *Glouceſter*, one of *Edward the Third*'s Sons, and enjoyed the Office of *High-Conſtable*.

The Lord Haſtings.

The Lord *Haſtings* was *High-Chamberlain*. The King had a particular Kindneſs for him, on the ſcore of his firm Loyalty, of which he had given Proofs in the Time of his Adverſity, eſpecially when he was forced to fly into *Holland*. This Lord was a hearty Friend to the King, but he loved not the Queen; if he paid her any Reſpect, it was againſt the Grain, and purely out of Complaiſance to the King his Maſter.

The Lord Stanley.

The Lord *Stanley* of an antient Family, was in the ſame Caſe: He was devoted to the King without making much Court to the Queen.

Jane Shore *King* Edward's *Miſtreſs.*

The King's Miſtreſſes held likewiſe a conſiderable Rank at Court, on account of the Influence they had over him. There were three principal ones, among whom *Jane Shore* is the only one that was concerned in the Events of this new Reign. She was Wife to a Citizen of *London*, whom *Edward* had debauched and taken from her Huſband. She was ſurpriſingly beautiful, and withal of a Generoſity very uncommon in Perſons of her Character. The King was as much in love with her Temper as with her Beauty. He never heard her ſpeak ill of any Body; neither did he ever find that ſhe endeavoured to ſet him againſt any Perſon whatever. If ſhe importuned him ſometimes it was in Behalf of thoſe that had unhappily fallen into ſome Diſgrace. When ſhe had done any Body a Kindneſs, ſhe ſcorned to take a Reward, being unwilling to give Occaſion to think that ſhe acted out of Intereſt. And for that Reaſon ſhe had laid up but few Riches, in Compariſon of others in her Caſe, whoſe Greedineſs can never be ſatisfied.

Diſſimulation of the Duke of Glouceſter

The Duke of *Glouceſter* Brother of the King, was ſomewhat at a Loſs how to behave with reſpect to the two Parties that were forming at Court, and in the Kingdom. The only way to pleaſe the King, was to make

make Court to the Queen. But on the other Hand, the Duke perceiving that the Queen's Drift was to engroſs the Government in Caſe the King ſhould happen to die, could not adhere to her, without forfeiting the Good-Will of the antient Nobility, of which he might one Day ſtand in need. As he was naturally a great Maſter in the Art of Diſſimulation, he reſolved to make his Court publickly to the Queen, but in private he joined with the Duke of *Buckingham*, the Lord *Haſtings*, and the Lord *Stanley*. 1483.

Edward IV *ſends his eldeſt Son into* Wales.

It is needleſs to ſay much of the two young Princes the Kings Sons, the eldeſt of whom was but a little above twelve Years old, and the Duke of *York* his Brother but nine, when the King their Father died. It will ſuffice to ſay, that before *Edward* IV was ſeized with the Diſtemper that laid him in his Grave, he had ſent the Prince his eldeſt Son, with the Earl of *Rivers* his Governour, into *Wales* to appeaſe ſome Commotions which had been raiſed there. The young Duke of *York* remained at Court with the Queen his Mother.

Reconciliation of the two Parties before Edward's *Death.*

Edward ſaw with ſome Concern the two Parties that were formed in his Court. But his Affection for the Queen not ſuffering him to hold the Balance even, he took no Care to prevent the Conſequences. As long as he enjoyed his Health, he imagined, that during his Life he ſhould be always Maſter of both, and that by ſtrengthening the *new* Nobility he ſhould hinder the *old* from being able to do any Thing to the Prejudice of the Queen and her Children after his Death. But when he came to die, he beheld this Diviſion with another Eye. He conſidered that he left for ſupport to his *Houſe* new raiſed Families only, which had not had Time to be well eſtabliſhed, but derived all their Authority and Credit purely from his Favour, which they were juſt going to be deprived of. The thoughts of this grieving him very much, he ſought in himſelf the Means to repair the Fault he had committed, and in the Condition he was in, he could find no better way than to perſwade the two Parties to become Friends for his ſake. A poor Expedient! which could not eaſily produce

1483. produce the Effect he expected. The Regard for a dying King, whom the antient Nobility had never loved, was hardly capable of extinguiſhing the Hatred and Jealouſy they had entertained againſt the Queen's Relations, and which unhappily had been but too much fomented. However, before he died, *Edward* had at leaſt the Satisfaction to ſee a Reconciliation which to him appeared to be ſincere, by reaſon of the ſeeming Readineſs and Chearfulneſs wherewith both Parties conſented to his Requeſt. The Earl of *Rivers* being abſent, the Queen his Siſter paſſed her Word for him, and the Marquiſs of *Dorſet* her eldeſt Son, as repreſenting the Family of the *Grey*'s embraced the Duke of *Buckingham* and the Lord *Haſtings*, who were the Heads of the oppoſite Party. The Duke of *Glouceſter* being then at *York* about the King's Affairs, had it not in his Power to obſtruct this Reconciliation, which indeed would have been very much to his Prejudice had it been ſincere.

Meaſures of both Parties to ſeize the Government.

As ſoon as *Edward*'s Eyes were cloſed, the two Parties forgetting their late mutual Proteſtations of Friendſhip, thought of nothing but how to get the better one of another. Mean while they agreed with one Conſent, to cauſe the deceaſed King's eldeſt Son to be proclaimed by the Name of *Edward* V. That done, each Party took ſuch Meaſures as they thought moſt proper to attain their reſpective Ends. The main Thing was to become Maſter of the King's Perſon, in order to govern in his Name. The Queen hoped to maintain and even to increaſe her Authority, during the Minority of the King her Son, and the other Party ſaw themſelves undone to all Intents and Purpoſes, if the young Prince was once in the Hands of his Mother. However, thus far the Advantage was entirely on the Queen's Side. Immediately after the Death of the King her Huſband, ſhe had diſpatched a Courier to the Earl of *Rivers* her Brother to carry him the News. At the ſame time ſhe writ him Word that ſhe believed it abſolutely neceſſary that he ſhould raiſe Forces in and about

bout *Wales*, to enable him to conduct the new King safely to *London*, in order to have him crowned. 1483.

Buckingham and Haſtings ſtir up Glouceſter to ſeize the King's Perſon.

On the other Side, the Duke of *Buckingham* and the Lord *Haſtings* ſent an Expreſs to the Duke of *Glouceſter* acquainting him with the King's Death and the Queen's Meaſures. And withal repreſented to him, that being Uncle by the Father's Side to the King, the Government of the Realm belonged to him, during the *Minority*; but that in Caſe he was not beforehand with the Queen, it would be in vain to expect afterwards to obtain what of Right was his Due. In fine, that let what would happen, they offered him a Body of a Thouſand Men well armed and ready to March at the Word of Command.

They Deſign only to remove the Queen from the Government.

It is pretty difficult to judge, whether before the Death of *Edward* IV, the Duke of *Glouceſter* had any Thoughts of mounting the Throne to the Prejudice of his Nephews. But there is little room to queſtion that he formed that Deſign the Moment he heard that the King his Brother was dead. All the Steps he made from thenceforward too plainly appear to be Conſequences of a Scheme laid to compaſs that End. As for the Lord *Haſtings*, it is certain his ſole Intention was to take the Adminiſtration out of the Hands of the Queen and her Relations. The Affection he had all along ſhown for *Edward* IV would never ſuffer him to have any Hand in a Plot to dethrone the Prince his Son. As for the Duke of *Buckingham*, his Conduct is more doubtful. Beſides his Hatred of the Queen and her Family, he had always had a particular Reſpect for the Duke of *Glouceſter*, which affords room to ſuſpect that he had joined with him from the very firſt, in the Deſign of placing him on the Throne. However the Hiſtorians aſcribe to him only, at leaſt in the Beginning of this Reign, the ſame Intention with the Lord *Haſtings*, namely, to remove the Queen from the Government of the King's Perſon and of the Realm. Be that as it will, the Duke of *Glouceſter* upon News of the King's Death ſent back the Expreſs immediately, with Orders

Conference at Northampton.

to

1483. to desire the Duke of *Buckingham* and the Lord *Hastings* to come and confer with him at *Northampton.*

The Duke of Gloucester's Speech to his Friends.

These two Lords with some others of their Party being come to the Place appointed, the Duke of *Gloucester* made them a long Speech tending to show them the Danger that hung over their Heads, if the Queen should have the Government in her Hands. He told them, they would see themselves exposed to the Mercy of an imperious Woman, and of the two Families of the *Rivers*'s and *Grey*'s newly raised by the King his Brother, who would never think themselves throughly safe but by the Destruction of those whom they considered as their Rivals and Enemies. *That* the late King had kept them by his Authority, within some Bounds, but as soon as they should be possessed of the Supreme Power, in the Name of the young King, nothing would be able to curb their Insolence. He added, that no Person had more Right or was more concerned than he to take Care of the Affairs of the Kingdom, during the Minority of the King his Nephew. *That* all the World knew the great Affection he had always had for the King his Brother, and that therefore the tender Love he had for his Children suffered him not to leave them to the Mercy of those who had never appeared to have any other View but their own Promotion and Grandeur. *That* for these Reasons he was determined zealously to apply himself to promote with all his Might, the good of the Nation, and the Honour of his Nephew, principally by causing him to be Educated so as to enable him to tread in the Steps of his illustrious Ancestors. But *that* he could not hope to succeed in such an Undertaking, without the Assistance of all honest Men, especially of those to whom he was speaking, who without doubt had not as well as he, any other View but the Welfare and Glory of the Nation. *That* he had assembled them to consult with them about what was to be done in the present Emergency, being resolved to make no Step without their Advice.

This

This Speech having met with Applauſe, all the Lords entered into a ſerious Debate about what Means ſhould be uſed to become Maſter of the King's Perſon. To bring it about by Force was hardly practicable. The Earl of *Rivers* had not only drawn together a good Number of Troops, but alſo it would have been very eaſy for him to conduct the King to *London*, before they ſhould be in a Condition to hinder him. Beſides, they would have given their Enemies too great an Advantage, if without any apparent Neceſſity, they had begun ſo ſoon to take up Arms. Such a Step would not have failed to cauſe the People to ſide with the oppoſite Party, and would have been looked upon as tending to obſtruct the King's Coronation. Theſe Conſiderations made the Lords reſolve to uſe Policy. To that End, they agreed that they ſhould continue to ſhow a great Zeal for the King, to take from the Queen all pretence of raiſing Forces, or of keeping on Foot thoſe which the Earl of *Rivers* had drawn together. That the Duke of *Glouceſter* ſhould try to perſwade her to diſband theſe Troops as uſeleſs. That in Caſe he ſucceeded, they ſhould endeavour to get the King in their Power before he ſhould come to *London*. But if on the contrary, the Queen was bent to keep theſe Forces, they ſhould try to amuſe her with Negotiations, till they were able openly to oppoſe her Deſigns. 1483. *Reſult of the Conference.*

The Conference being ended, the Lord *Haſtings* poſted to *London*, where his Preſence was neceſſary, by reaſon of his great Intereſt in the City. Preſently after the Duke of *Glouceſter* ſent the Queen a Letter of Condolance upon the King's Death, expreſſing an extreme Affection for the young Prince that ſucceeded him, and an extraordinary Reſpect for her. After this Beginning he told her, " That he beheld with great Joy " all Hearts united in the ſame Sentiments, the which " afforded him a good Proſpect that the King his " Nephew would paſs his Minority in a profound " Tranquillity. That for his Part he would do all " that lay in his Power to keep the People in the Obe- " dience due to their Sovereign, by giving them him- " ſelf *Haſtings returns to* London. *The Duke of* Glouceſter's *Letter to the Queen.*

1483. " ſelf an Example of unlimited Submiſſion. That he " did not queſtion but ſhe would likewiſe do her beſt " that all the King's Subjects, of what Order or De- " gree ſoever, might enjoy the Peace and Quiet they " had reaſon to expect. That in order to that he " took the Freedom to adviſe her to exert her utmoſt " to diſpel the old Animoſities among the Great Men, " and confirm by her Prudence the Reconciliation " lately made before the King her Huſband's Death. " That his Advice was, that without Affection or Pre- " judice, Care ſhould be taken to reward Merit where- " ever it ſhould be found, to the End no Man might " juſtly complain of having been neglected purely on " the Score of Party. That this was the principal " Point to be aimed at, leaſt by acting otherwiſe Di- " viſions ſhould ariſe again, which ought to be buried " in eternal Oblivion. That therefore he could not " forbear telling her, that having been informed that " the Earl of *Rivers* was drawing ſome Forces toge- " ther to conduct the King to *London*, he was ſurpriſed " at it, conſidering there did not ſeem to be the leaſt " Occaſion for them. That he was really convinced " that her Intention was good; nevertheleſs it was to " be feared that People would put another Conſtruc- " tion upon that Proceeding. That the raiſing of " Troops upon the ſlight Pretence of providing for " the King's Safety, at a Time when no Body appear- " ed to give him any Diſturbance, could not but cauſe " Suſpicions in the oppoſite Party lately reconciled. " That the Precautions ſeveral Lords would take " without doubt, to ſcreen themſelves from the Miſ- " chiefs they would have reaſon to dread, were the " natural and infallible Fruits of theſe Suſpicions. That " therefore to avoid a Danger which had no Founda- " tion, and by a needleſs Precaution, the Peace of the " whole Kingdom would lye at Stake. That when " once theſe Suſpicions ſhould take root, and two " Armies ſhould be on foot in the Kingdom, God a- " lone knew what might be the Iſſue. That for theſe " Reaſons, of which doubtleſs ſhe plainly perceived

" the

" the Strength, he adviſed her to cauſe her Troops to 1483.
" be diſbanded, that all the Nobles of the Realm
" might come, without Fear and Suſpicion, to pay
" their Reſpects to their young Sovereign, and con-
" tribute every one according to his Power, to the
" Preſervation of Peace and Union in the *State*.

The Queen falls into the Snare.

The Queen was ſo imprudent as to follow this Advice, not perceiving the Poiſon that lurked under it. She thought ſhe ſhould the rather comply with it, as it came from a Brother-in-law, who had always been firm to the Intereſts of the late King, and ſtill ſhowed himſelf very zealous for her and her Children. During *Edward* IV's Life, the Duke of *Glouceſter* had all along conſtantly paid his Reſpects to the Queen, ſo that ſhe had no reaſon to ſuſpect him. Beſides, there was not in his Letter one Syllable that might induce her to think he intended to diſpute the Government with her. In fine, ſhe conſidered that the Duke could not aſpire to the Crown without ſupplanting two Nephews and five Nieces, who were not in his Power. This alone would have been enough to remove her Suſpicions, ſuppoſing ſhe could have entertained any againſt them. And therefore, believing herſelf ſufficiently backed, ſince the Duke of *Glouceſter* ſhowed himſelf ſo faſt a Friend to her Intereſts, ſhe wrote to the Earl of *Rivers* her Brother, that ſhe thought proper he ſhould diſmiſs his Troops for fear of raiſing Jealouſies without Occaſion. The Earl obeyed her Otders without delay, and keeping none but the King's Domeſticks, he began his Journey to *London*.

Rivers carries the King to London *without a Guard.*

The Duke of Glouceſter *and his Friends go and meet the King.*

The young King being come near *Northampton*, the Dukes of *Glouceſter* and *Buckingham*, who had brought into the Town Nine Hundred armed Men, went out to meet him, and ſaluted him with a great deal of Reſpect. In diſcourſing with the Earl of *Rivers*, they gave him to underſtand that the Town of *Northampton* was ſo full of Strangers, and ſo ill-provided with Proviſions and other Conveniencies, that it would be very incommodious for theirs and the King's Retinue to lodge in that Place. Then they adviſed him to carry the King

1483. to *Stony-Stratford*, which is but Twelve Miles further in the Road to *London*. They added, that for their Part they would go back to *Northampton*, and come and wait upon the King next Morning before he ſat out.

They perſuade Rivers *to go with them to* Northampton. Upon parting, one of them propoſed to the Earl in a free and eaſy Manner, as if the Thought had juſt then came into his Head, to go and divert himſelf with them that Night at *Northampton*, whilſt the King reſted at *Stony-Stratford*. The Earl not ſuſpecting their Deſign, complied with this kind Invitation. He was even glad to have an Opportunity to cement their mutual Reconciliation, by this Proof of Truſt and Confidence.

They careſs him very much; The three Lords being come to *Northampton*, ſpent part of the Night at Supper in perfect Harmony, making one another Proteſtations of Friendſhip and Offers of Service. Bed-time being come, the Earl of *Rivers* withdrew to his Lodging. But the other two paſſed the reſt of the Night in conſulting what was to be done, ſince the Earl of *Rivers* had indiſcretely put himſelf in their Power. Their Conſultation being ended, they cauſed the Keys of the Inn where they lodged to be brought to them, under Colour that they would be the firſt that ſhould go to the King in the Morning. For the greater Precaution, they had ordered a good Number of their Men to go out of the Town and ſecure the Way to *Stony-Stratford* from all Paſſengers whatever. At break of Day they were ready to mount their Horſes, whilſt the Earl of *Rivers* was ſtill in Bed. Mean time, one of his People having waked him, and told him that the Dukes of *Glouceſter* and *Buckingham* were ready to go, and that no body was ſuffered to go out of the Inn; he immediately put on his Cloaths in order to go and know the Reaſon of this Proceeding. But he found them in a Temper very different from that he had left them in ſome Hours before. Upon his Approach they began to quarrel with him, taxing him with having alienated the King's Affection from his moſt faithful Subjects, adding, that they knew how to prevent the like Practice for the future. The Earl was going to return a ſoft Anſwer to this Accuſation, but refuſing

and afterwards arreſt him;

to

to hear him, they left him in Cuſtody with ſome of their People, and mounting on Horſeback rid away to the King. 1483.

They found the young Prince ready to ſet out, and having paid their Reſpects to him, they re-mounted their Horſes in order to attend him. Before they were out of the Town, they picked a Quarrel with the Lord *Gray*, Half-Brother to the King, and charged him, that jointly with the Marquiſs of *Dorſet* his Brother, and the Earl of *Rivers* his Uncle, he had formed the Project to get the King's Perſon into their Hands: And that the Marquiſs of *Dorſet* had taken out of the *Tower* the Treaſure which the late King had committed to his Cuſtody. To which the King made anſwer, that for what concerned the Marquiſs of *Dorſet* he could ſay nothing, but that he would anſwer for the Conduct of the Earl of *Rivers* and the Lord *Grey*, ſince they had always been in his Company without ever leaving him. To this the Duke of *Buckingham* replied, that they had taken care to conceal their Plots from his Highneſs, but that they were no leſs certain for all that. At the ſame time he ordered his People to arreſt the Lord *Grey*, with Sir *Thomas Vaughan* and Sir *Richard Hawſe*, and inſtead of going on towards *London*, he carried the King back to *Northampton*. The ſame or the next Day the two Lords and the Knights Priſoners were conducted to *Pontfract* Caſtle, the Governour whereof was a Creature of the Duke of *Glouceſter*'s. The King appeared very much concerned for the Diſgrace of his Brother and Uncle, as well as for the Violence done to his own Perſon. But he had no means to get out of the Hands of his new Governours, but his Tears which trickled down his Cheeks, and which were little regarded. Mean while, they omitted not to pay him outwardly all the Reverence uſually paid to a Sovereign, in order to blind the Eyes of the People by this ſhow of Reſpect and Submiſſion.

and likewiſe the Lord Grey *and* 2 *Knights.*

They ſend them to Pontfract.

They ſeize upon the King.

The News of theſe Things being brought to the Queen, ſhe perceived her Error in truſting to the Duke of *Glouceſter*, and ſuſpected immediately that he would not

The Queen takes Sanctuary in Weſtmin-

1483. *Her with her Children.*

not ſtop there, but that he had formed Deſigns ſtill more deſtructive to the royal Family. So that finding herſelf deprived of the Aſſiſtance of her Brother and Sons as well as of their Counſels, ſhe had no other remedy left, but with the Duke of *York* her Son and the reſt of her Family to take Sanctuary in *Weſtminſter*.

The Lord *Haſtings* who was then at *London* hated the Queen, as was obſerved, but he loved the King and all *Edward* IV's Family. It is true, he was engaged in *Glouceſter*'s and *Buckingham*'s Plot, but it was becauſe he believed it tended only to hinder the Queen from holding the Reins of the Government, the which he thought juſt and reaſonable. He had Intelligence in the Night of what had paſſed at *Northampton*, and inſtantly ſent the News to the Archbiſhop of *York* who was High-Chancellor, aſſuring him withal that he had no reaſon to be alarmed; that the King's Perſon was in no danger, and that very ſhortly what had happened would turn to the Welfare of the Kingdom. The Archbiſhop getting out of Bed that Moment, went to the Queen, and carried the *Great Seal* along with him. He found her in a diſconſolate Condition ſitting upon the Ground, lamenting her own and her Children's Fate, whilſt her Domeſticks were buſy in carrying in ſuch Goods as were neceſſary into the *Sanctuary*. He uſed his utmoſt Endeavour to comfort her, telling her what the Lord *Haſtings* had acquainted him with. But he found her very backward to believe that any good could come from ſuch an Enemy. Then the Prelate deſirous to give her ſome Hopes, told her, that the King's Perſon was ſafe, ſince the Duke of *York* his Brother was not in the Power of thoſe whom ſhe looked upon as her Enemies. He added, that if they ſhould be ſo audacious as to put the King to Death, or give the Crown to another, he aſſured her he would immediately crown the Duke of *York*. In fine, to give her all poſſible Aſſurances of his Fidelity, he left the *Great Seal* with her. But reflecting afterwards upon his Error in delivering up ſo precious a Pledge which the late King had intruſted him with, he ſent for it again as ſoon as he came home.

The Archbiſhop of York gives her Marks of his Fidelity.

In

In the mean while the whole City of *London* was in Commotion. Several of the Citizens had even taken up Arms, not knowing what the End might be of the News they had juſt received, which, in all appearance was very much aggravated. The Lord *Haſtings* being ſenſible that an Inſurrection at *London* might break the Meaſures of his Friends at *Northampton*, inſtantly came into the City, and as his Credit was great among the Citizens, he aſſured them *that* the King was in no danger: *That* indeed the Earl of *Rivers*, the Lord *Grey*, and ſome others, were arreſted for having conſpired againſt the Duke of *Glouceſter* and the Duke of *Buckingham*, but that they would be brought to a legal Trial: *That* as for the reſt, they had no reaſon to take up Arms upon that ſcore, and it was to be feared that they would be called to an account for the Tumult, if they did not lay them down as readily as they had taken them up. The Citizens knowing that the Lord *Haſtings* might have perfect Information of Matters, by reaſon he was of the Duke of *Buckingham*'s Party, retired to their Houſes, not being willing to concern themſelves with the Quarrels of the great Men. 1483. *Tumult at* London *appeaſed by* Haſtings.

Shortly after, the Dukes of *Glouceſter* and *Buckingham* conducted the King to *London*, paying him all the Reſpect due to his Dignity. As they travelled along, they cauſed a Report to be ſpread, that the Earl of *Rivers* and the reſt of the Priſoners at *Pontfract* had determined to kill them; and their Servants ſhowed the People Barrels full of Arms, which they ſaid were found among the Baggage of the Conſpirators. The News of the extraordinary Reſpect with which the King was treated having flown to *London* before their Arrival, the City grew the more quiet, becauſe they had reaſon to believe that there had been an Attempt made upon the King's Life or his Dignity. Upon his Approach the People went out in Crowds to receive him, and the young King entered the City, attended by a great Number of Lords, and particularly by the Duke of *Glouceſter*, who followed him bare-headed. He was lodged in the Biſhop's *The King is brought to* London.

1483. Bishop's Palace, to let the Citizens see the great Confidence that was placed in them, and to show that nothing was consulted but his Safety. This Management entirely removed the Suspicions which the *Northampton* Affair had raised in the Minds of the People against the Duke of *Gloucester*.

The Duke of Gloucester *calls a great Council.*

The Rejoicings for the King's safe Arrival being over, it was necessary to think of settling the Government during his Minority, which was to last seven Years. The most natural way would have been to call a Parliament. That was the Method which was taken upon the Death of *Henry* V. But as during the Session of the Parliament all other Authority would have ceased, till the Government was regulated, the Duke of *Gloucester* did not think fit to part with that he had acquired by having the King's Person in his Power. Indeed he might have expected that the Parliament would have conferred upon him the Dignity of *Protector of the Realm*, since he was the only Prince of the Blood capable of holding the Reins of the Government. But at the same time they would not have failed to intrust some others with the Care of the young King's Person and Education. It is a constant and very just Rule not to commit a *Minor* King to the Hands of those that may be Gainers by his Ruin. But this was what the Duke of *Gloucester* feared of all things. He was resolved to continue Master of the King's Person, otherwise it would have been a very difficult Matter for him to accomplish his Designs. These Considerations made him think that it was more agreeable to his Interests to call a great Council, and not to summon a Parliament till he had made sure of the Crown. This Council being, for the most Part, made up of the antient Nobility and the Duke of *Gloucester*'s Friends, declares that Prince *Protector of the King and Kingdom*, usurping a Privilege which belonged only to the Parliament. But as I have observed more than once, it is easier to get the Parliament to confirm what is done, than to bring them to do what one desires.

He is declared Protector.

The

The seizing the King's Person, and the getting himself declared *Protector* were the two first Steps by which the Duke of *Glouceſter* intended to mount the Throne. Each had its fair and foul Side. In the first Place, after the Death of *Edward* IV, the Queen and her Relations having no manner of Right to take upon them the Government of the Realm, no body could think it strange that the Duke of *Glouceſter* should assume near the King the Rank which his Birth entitled him to. But the Fraud and Violence he had practised against the Queen's Relations, gave ground to suspect that he had formed deeper Designs. In the next Place, nothing was more natural than to see the King's Uncle Protector of the Realm. But at the same time, his affecting to obtain that Dignity without vouchsafing to call a Parliament, and his causing to be annexed to the Office of *Protector of the Realm*, that of *Protector of the King*, which should have been separated from it, was an extraordinary Step which might justly raise Suspicion. And yet the Consequence was not perceived till it was too late to prevent it. But for fear these irregular Proceedings might open Peoples Eyes, the Duke took care to conceal himself under the Mask of an extraordinary Zeal for the Interests of the King his Nephew, and of a great Respect for his Person. 1483. *Doubtful Behaviour of the Protector.*

As soon as the Duke was declared *Protector*, he took the *Great Seal* from the Archbishop of *York*, who had given him a very plausible Pretence, and delivered it to the Bishop of *Lincoln*. The Duke of *Buckingham* and the Lord *Hastings* were confirmed in their Places; but there were great Alterations in all the rest of the Posts, the new Protector putting in his own Creatures in the room of the Queen's, who filled them before. Though the Lord *Hastings* was not in his Secrets as to what concerned the principal Design, he did not despair of winning him when Matters were in great Forwardness. Besides, *Hastings* was a mortal Enemy to the Queen and her Family, and had a great Interest in the *Londoners*. This was sufficient at that Time, since, without knowing it, he could be serviceable to the *Alterations at Court.* *Reason for retaining the Lord Hastings.*

1483. Protector in executing his Projects, which it was not yet proper to discover.

The Protector moves in Council to take the Duke of York *from the Queen.*

To be able to proceed with any Prospect of Success in his Design, it was absolutely necessary for the Duke of *Glouceſter* to get the young Duke of *York* into his Hands, as well as the King his Brother. To dethrone the King or send him out of the World, would have been to no Purpose, as long as the Duke of *York* was out of Reach. He would still have had the same Game to play over again. In order therefore to compass his Ends, he moved in Council, whether it would not be requisite to get the Duke of *York* out of the Hands of the Queen, that he might bear the King his Brother Company. He made upon that Occasion a pretty long Speech, wherein, having first testified an extraornary Zeal for the Royal Family, and confirmed what he said with a great Oath, he set forth the Reasons which required that the young Prince should be removed from the Queen. The first was, "That the Queen's "flying to *Sanctuary* could not but be construed as "an Affront to the Government, since it did not ap- "pear that she had any just Cause to fear either upon "her own or her Family's Account. In the second "Place, that her Drift could only be to stir up the "People, by making them believe the King was in "Danger, since no other Consequence could be inferred "from her Conduct. That therefore it was necessary "to undeceive the People by getting the Duke of "*York*, and causing him to be educated according to "his Quality. That the more visible the Queen's "Malice was, the more one should endeavour to pre- "vent its Effects. That it was manifest she was striv- "ing to form in the Kingdom a Party capable of set- "ing her at the Head of Affairs, as she had been in the "late Reign. That it was with great Difficulty and "by very good Luck that they were freed from the "imperious Rule of that Princess and her Family; "but in Case the King should happen to dye, they "would be plunged again into the same wretched Con- "dition, since she had the lawful Heir in her Power.

"On

" On the other Hand, it was neceſſary to conſider 1483.
" what Foreigners would be apt to think when they
" ſhould hear, that at the very Time when one of *Ed-*
" *ward the Fourth*'s Sons were crowned, the other
" thought himſelf obliged to keep in a *Sanctuary*.
" That it would be diſhonourable to the Government,
" to ſuffer themſelves to be thus braved by a Woman
" who had attempted to cauſe the King's *Council* to
" be looked upon as Enemies to the Royal Family.
" That beſides, the King being young and wanting
" ſome Diverſion, he could not have a more agreeable
" Companion than his own Brother, and that there
" was no Reaſon to keep them aſunder. In fine, he
" added, that it would be indecent to proceed to the
" Coronation in the Abſence of the Duke of *York*
" who was the ſecond Perſon in the *State*, and having
" an evident Right to be preſent, could not be debarred
" of it without Injuſtice. Upon all theſe Accounts
" he concluded that Deputies ſhould be ſent to the
" Queen, to deſire her to deliver up the Duke of *York*
" to the King his Brother. He added, that, in his O-
" pinion, the *Cardinal* Archbiſhop of *Canterbury* was
" the propereſt Perſon for this Deputation. That if
" in ſpite of all the Arguments the Archbiſhop ſhould
" alledge, ſhe ſhould be obſtinately bent to keep the
" young Prince with her, and perſiſt in her ill-
" grounded Suſpicions, he ſaw no Reaſon why the
" *Council* ſhould not take him away by Force. That
" this was his Opinion, and he deſired every Member
" of the *Council* to ſpeak his own with Freedom.

The Archbiſhop of Canterbury is ſent to the Queen. He is againſt violating the Sanctuary.

The *Cardinal* readily took upon him to go and acquaint the Queen with the Council's Pleaſure; but he by no means approved of the Motion of violating the Privilege of *Sanctuary*. He ſaid, that the Church of *Weſtminſter* was conſecrated five Hundred Years ago by St. *Peter* himſelf, who deſcended from Heaven attended by Multitudes of Angels. That ever ſince that Time no King of *England* had dared to violate that *Sanctuary*, and that ſuch an Attempt would certainly

1483. draw down the just Vengeance of God upon the whole Kingdom.

Buckingham's Reasons for it. The Duke of *Buckingham* replied with a great deal of Warmth to this Part of the *Cardinal*'s Speech. He made appear that *Sanctuaries* were intended only to protect such as had reason to fear Oppression and Violence, and not to countenance frivolous and malicious Suspicions, detrimental to the King and Kingdom. After abundance of bitter Reflections against the Queen, he discoursed largely of the Abuse of *Sanctuaries*, particularly as they helped those that fled thither to make their Escapes. He added, that although the Duke of *York* was neither Guilty nor Oppressed, yet there was room to fear that the Queen his Mother would carry him out of the Kingdom, the which might one Day afford the Queen an Opportunity to invade *England*, by the help of some foreign Prince, upon some shallow Pretences which would never be wanting. In fine, having alledged sundry other Reasons, he agreed with the Protector to take the Duke of *York* by Force from his *Sanctuary*, in Case the Queen refused to give him up freely. This Matter being put to the Debate, the Opinion of the Protector and the Duke of *Buckingham* prevailed, notwithstanding the Opposition of most of the *Ecclesiasticks* there present.

Conference between the Queen and the Archbishop The *Cardinal* being come to the Queen, used all the Arguments possible to induce her to comply, and to perswade her that neither the King, nor she, nor the Duke of *York* had any Thing to fear. He spoke with the greater Assurance, as he was satisfied of the Truth of what he said, having never suspected the Duke of *Glouceſter* of any ill Designs. For as to the Violence used towards the Queen's Relations, he considered it not as any great hurt. Besides that he was ignorant whether they were altogether Innocent, he did not think it any great Injustice to detain them some Time in Prison, in order to hinder them from disturbing the Kingdom by their immoderate Ambition. But all his Eloquence was not capable to perswade the Queen, who plainly saw in the Duke of *Glouceſter*'s Management

ment

ment too much reaſon to ſtrengthen her Fears. At 1483.
laſt the *Cardinal* perceiving that his Arguments were fruitleſs, told her, that the Council, apprehenſive of her carrying the Prince her Son out of the Kingdom, had determined to take him by Force out of his *Sanctuary*, if ſhe was obſtinately bent to keep him there. The Queen hearing this Reſolve, talked much of the Privileges of *Sanctuaries*, the which was not much to her Purpoſe, ſince ſhe ſpoke to one who was of the ſame Mind: At length ſeeing herſelf preſſed to obey the *Council*'s Order, ſhe freely declared to the *Cardinal* the real Cauſe of her Fears. She told him, ſhe could not help ſuſpecting the Duke of *Glouceſter* of having Deſigns deſtructive to the Royal Family, which he could not accompliſh without he had both the Brothers in his Power, and that the only means to preſerve the King, was to keep the Duke of *York* out of their Uncle's Reach. The *Cardinal* growing warm at hearing her talk thus, replied, that ſince ſhe was obſtinately bent to terrify herſelf with vain and groundleſs Suſpicions, he would ſay no more upon that Head. That being only Deputy from the Council, and the Buſineſs nothing to him in particular, he would preſs her no farther, leaſt he ſhould give her occaſion to think that he himſelf was concerned in the Plot ſhe was apprehenſive of. That however he ſaw with Grief the Ill-Opinion ſhe had of the Members of the Council. That ſhe muſt needs take them to be either void of Underſtanding, not to perceive what ſhe fancied ſhe ſaw ſo plainly, or elſe wicked enough to lend a helping Hand to the Duke of *Glouceſter*. That for his Part, he believed he could confidently affirm, that ſuch a Thought had never entered into the Duke's Head, and that the Council would be very ſorry to ſee themſelves taxed with Treachery or extreme Imprudence. The good *Cardinal*, in trying to remove the Queen's Fears, ſaid nothing but what he really thought, becauſe he was not in the Protector's Secrets. Therefore the Queen felt herſelf very much ſtaggered by the Aſſurances given her by a Perſon of his Character. It was apparent,

that

1483. that in Case the Council had intended to circumvent her, they would not have made him their Instrument: Nevertheless she could not lay aside her Fears. Mean while she saw the *Cardinal* ready to go back, and that she was upon the Point of being exposed to the Violence of her Enemies, and obliged to do by Force, what was demanded of her in a civil Manner. So resolving on a sudden to give up the young Prince, she caught him in her Arms, tenderly took her leave of him, and with a Shower of Tears delivered him to the *Cardinal*, who brought him to the Protector. As soon as he saw his young Nephew, he ran to him with open Arms, to embrace him and give him Marks of a feigned Affection, telling him he would always be a Father to him. Then he carried him to the King, who without knowing how he came there, was overjoyed to have him with him. A few Days after the Protector found some Excuse to convey them both to the *Tower*, whereas before the lodged in the Heart of the City at the Bishop's Palace.

The Queen delivers up the Duke of York.

The Protector lodges the King and his Brother in the Tower.

It is generally believed, that hitherto the Duke of *Gloucester* had not communicated his most secret Thoughts to the Duke of *Buckingham*, and that he did not impart them to him till after he had the two Princes in his Power. *Buckingham* hated the Queen and her Family mortally, because it was through their means that the late King had refused to put him in Possession of certain Lands in *Herefordshire*, to which he laid Claim. His Hatred had even passed to the King's Person, though he had not dared to show it. He had joined with the Duke of *Gloucester* with Design to deprive the Queen and her Relations of the Government of the Realm, during the King's *Minority*; but it is not believed that his Thoughts had gone any further. And indeed as he wanted only to preserve or increase his Credit, it seems that a *Minority* was more for his Purpose than the Government of a grown King, such as the Duke of *Gloucester*. But however, as he was a Man of ill Principles, it was no very hard Matter for the Protector to ingage him in his Plot, by the Prospect

He imparts his Designs to the Duke of Buckingham,

Proſpect of a Reward. It is ſaid that he promiſed him not only to help him to the Lands he wanted, but alſo to give him part of the late King's *Wardrobe* wherewith to furniſh his Houſe in a ſtately manner, and to ſecure to his Heirs the Office of *High-Conſtable*, which he was in Poſſeſſion of. Be that as it will, the Duke of *Buckingham* ingaged ſo heartily in the Project to ſet the Protector on the Throne, that from thenceforward he appeared no leſs eager than the Protector himſelf to bring it about. The Thing being reſolved, the queſtion was only how to put it in Execution. 1483. *who comes in to them.*

From that Time the Conferences between the Duke of *Glouceſter* and his truſty Friends became more frequent than before. They debated the main Difficulties that might occur in the way of their Deſign, and how to ſurmount or prevent them. In fine, they came to the following Reſolutions, which were conſidered as the Plan they were gradually to proceed upon. Firſt, As they were in all likelihood to expect the ſtrongeſt Oppoſition from the Queen, it was reſolved to diſpatch the Priſoners at *Pontfract*, in order to bereave the Royal Family of their chiefeſt Support. The Lord *Haſtings*, to whom their Deſign was imparted, readily conſented to it, though he knew not the Motive that induced the Protector to put theſe Lords to Death. 2. It was agreed that they ſhould endeavour to engage in the Plot the propereſt Perſons to carry it on, that is to ſay in other Words, Villians capable of doing any Thing, without any manner of Regard to Honour, Juſtice, or Conſcience. 3. It was judged neceſſary to find out ſome Foundation to ſupport the Duke of *Glouceſter*'s Pretenſions, that the People might be amuſed with ſome Appearance of Reaſon. 4. As it was no leſs requiſite to keep the Plot ſecret till Matters were ripe for Execution, it was reſolved that they ſhould make ſhow in publick of a ſettled Deſign to cauſe the King to be crowned, till it was no longer neceſſary to diſſemble. 5. Laſtly, It was agreed, that the Lord *Haſtings* ſhould either be won or diſpatched out of the way. One of the two ſeemed abſolutely neceſſary, conſidering *Reſult of their Projects.*

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1483. ing the great Interest that Lord had with the People of *London*.

Orders to behead the Prisoners at Pontfract. This Plan being laid, the Protector wrote to Sir *Richard Ratcliff* Governour of *Pontfract* and his Creature, to cause the four Lords that were under his Custody to be beheaded upon such a Day.

The Protector gains Shaw *and* Catesby. After that, he set himself particularly to win Sir *Edmund Shaw* then Mayor of *London*, and succeeded to his Wish. The *Mayor* ingaged in the Plot his Brother *John Shaw* a famous Preacher, and one *Pinker* Monk and *Provincial* of the *Augustine Fryars*, who were much esteemed by the People. To these the Protector joined one *Catesby*, a particular Friend and Confident of the Lord *Hastings*.

A Report is spread against the Legitimacy of Edward IV *and* V's *Children.* By the help of these Men it was that the Protector's Privy-Council resolved to cause the Reasons which might strengthen his Claim to be spread among the People. This seemed to be a pretty difficult Thing, seeing there were three Princes and six Princess's before him, namely, the King, the Duke of *York* his Brother, *Edward the Fourth*'s five Daughters, the Earl of *Warwick* Son to the late Duke of *Clarence*, and *Margaret* his Sister. One single Expedient seemed proper and sufficient to destroy the Right and Title of these Princes and Princesses; and that was, to give out that *Edward* IV's Children were all *Bastards*, and that *Edward* himself and the Duke of *Clarence* his Brother were not Sons of the late Duke of *York*. To exclude *Edward*'s Children it was resolved to assert the Validity of his pretended Marriage-Contract with *Elizabeth Lucy* before he espoused *Elizabeth Woodvile*, from whence it would be inferred, that the Children by the last Marriage were Illegitimate. They thought they should be able to make good their Assertion by the Testimony of the Dutchess of *York*, who had used that Argument to hinder the King her Son from marrying Sir *Richard Woodvile*'s Daughter. *Philip de Comines* says, that all that Time the Bishop of *Bath and Wells* affirmed that he had married *Edward* IV to a Lady called *Eleanor Talbot*, before he had espoused the Queen; that it was done

Remark upon a Fact advanced by Comines.

done privately without any Witneſs, and that the King ſtrictly charged him never to ſay a Word of it to any Perſon whatever. But we don't find in the *Engliſh* Hiſtorians, that the Duke of *Glouceſter* at the time we are ſpeaking of, made uſe of that Reaſon, which however would have been more plauſible than that taken from *Edward*'s Marriage with *Elizabeth Lucy*. For *Edward* had taken ſome care with regard to this laſt, as we have ſeen in the Hiſtory of his Reign, whereas nothing could be ſaid againſt the other, being ſupported by the Evidence of the very Biſhop that pretended to marry them. It is very unlikely that the Duke of *Glouceſter* ſhould neglect ſo great an Advantage. But it may very eaſily be that *Philip de Comines* was wrong informed, or at leaſt miſtaken in the Name of the King's Miſtreſs. 1482.

The Protectors Emiſſaries ſpread Reports againſt Edward IV.

Mean while, as it was a hard Matter to prove *Edward*'s IV's pretended Marriage with *Elizabeth Lucy*, and as on the contrary the Biſhops had declared that there was no mutual Contract, the Protector's Council judged it proper chiefly to inſiſt upon the other Point, namely, that *Edward* IV. and the Duke of *Clarence* were not Sons of the late Duke of *York*. By that they excluded at once the Heirs of theſe two Princes, and then the Duke of *Glouceſter* was the next in order. To ſupport this Aſſertion, they reſolved to plead the Duke of *Clarence*'s own Teſtimony, who, as was pretended, had maintained that *Edward* IV. was Illegitimate. They had moreover ſuborned ſome of the late Duke of *York*'s Domeſticks, who took care to ſpread divers Reports which confirmed what they intended to let the People know. Theſe People gave out that the Dutcheſs of *York* had taken to her Bed certain Perſons whom *Edward* IV. and the Duke of *Clarence* were extremely like, and that the Duke of *Glouceſter* was the only one that was Son to the Duke of *York*.

Pretence to exclude the Duke of Clarence's *Heirs.*

As to the Earl of *Warwick* and his Siſter, they had another way to exclude them, the Attainder of the Duke of *Clarence* their Father, which, as they pretended, rendered them incapable of inheriting at all. Thus the Duke of *Glouceſter* made no ſcruple to cauſe her that had

1483. brought him into the World to be accuſed of Adultery. But this was one of the leaſt Crimes which cleared his way to the Throne, ſo much was he blinded by his Ambition.

Two Councils erected. Every thing being thus prepared, the Protector made as if he would haſten the King's Coronation. To that Purpoſe he erected a new Council, which was to meet every Day, and regulate the Matters belonging to that Solemnity. He took care that this Council ſhould conſiſt of ſuch Lords as were moſt addicted to *Edward* IV's Family, among whom the two Archbiſhops, the Biſhop of *Ely*, the Lord *Haſtings*, and the Lord *Stanley* were the principal. At the ſame time, he had another Council made up of his Creatures, which alſo met regularly, but whoſe Conſultations ran ſolely upon the Means how to put off the Coronation, and bring the Protector to the Throne.

The Lords appointed to haſten the Preparations for the Coronation, quickly perceived that all their Orders were retarded by Obſtacles which came from another Place. They were ſomewhat ſurprized beſides, that the Protector hardly ever ſuffered the King to be ſeen; that the young Prince had but very few Attendants, whilſt the Protector's Houſe ſwarmed with unneceſſary People, and with a Crowd of Courtiers, who were always well received and careſſed. Theſe things joined to the affected Delays of the Coronation, began to breed Suſpicion in thoſe that were really Friends to the King's Perſon. The Lord *Stanley*, a Man of a deep Penetration, was the firſt to diſcloſe his Fears that the Protector had ill Deſigns. He freely declared his Mind to his Fellow-Counſellors, and gave them to underſtand that he did not like the Duke of *Glouceſter*'s Proceedings: That the other Council which met ſo often, and whoſe Reſolves could not be dived into, was to him very ſuſpicious. That therefore it was his Opinion they ſhould think betimes of the Means to prevent the Miſchiefs which might enſue. This Advice was prudent; but the Lord *Haſtings*, even prepoſſeſſed that the Protector had no other Thoughts but to humble the Queen's Party,

The Lord Stanley's Suſpicions of the Protector,

removed by the vain Confidence of Haſtings;

Party, removed all theſe Suſpicions. He affirmed, they had nothing to fear from the other Council, and that he would pawn his Life that in caſe any thing ſhould be tranſacted there detrimental to the King and Kingdom, he ſhould be inſtantly informed of it by one of the Members who was entirely devoted to him. He meant *Catesby* his Friend and Confident. But he did not know that *Catesby* betrayed him, and that it was upon that Score that he was let into the Duke of *Glouceſter*'s Secrets. So *Stanley* and the other Lords of the ſame Party chuſing rather to truſt to the Lord *Haſtings*'s Word than to their own Judgment, took no Meaſures to ſtop the Protector's Proceedings, which they might eaſily have done had they ſat about it in time. 1483.

who is betrayed by Catesby.

In the mean while the Duke of *Glouceſter* knowing what a faſt Friend the Lord *Haſtings* was to the King, thought it was time to execute the Project he had formed upon his Account, that is to ſay, to engage him in the Plot or deſtroy him. To this End he ordered *Catesby* to ſound him, but with all the Caution imaginable, for fear of diſcovering the Deſign before they had made ſure of him. *Catesby* having put the Lord *Haſtings* upon diſcourſing about State Affairs, ſaid to him, that People talked very much of the Duke of *Glouceſter*'s Title to the Crown before *Edward*'s IV's Children, and that many were perſuaded his Title was not without Foundation. That it was pretty openly ſaid, it were to be wiſhed that the Reaſons alledged in his Favour were good, ſince it would be more beneficial to the Nation to be governed by a Man than by a Child. That for his Part, he had not yet examined the Matter, and he ſhould be glad firſt to know his Opinion about it. *Haſtings* not ſuſpecting his Friend in the leaſt, told him his whole Mind, and imparted to him the Suſpicions which the Lord *Stanley* began to entertain againſt the Duke of *Glouceſter*. He added, that for his own Part he ſcrupled not to wiſh rather the Ruin and Deſtruction of the Protector and the Duke of *Buckingham* than to ſee the late King's Children deprived of their Right. That in caſe he perceived that there was any Plot

Protector ſounds Haſtings, *and ſends him to the King.*

1483. brewing in favour of the Duke of *Glouceſter*, he would hazard his Credit, his Eſtate, and his very Life, to prevent is from ſucceeding. This Reply was immediately carried to the Protector by perfidious *Catesby*, who even aggravated it on purpoſe to haſten the Lord *Haſting*'s Deſtruction, for fear he ſhould one Day come to know his Treachery.

Haſting's Death reſolved.

The Duke having thus ſounded the Lord *Haſtings*, was ſomewhat at a ſtand. He wanted of all things to win that Lord to his Side, knowing how ſerviceable he could be to him. But for that very reaſon he could not help fearing him, if he perſiſted in reſolving to adhere to the King. To free himſelf from this Uneaſineſs, he got him to be ſounded once more by *Catesby*. *Catesby* having ſpoke a little too plainly in his ſecond Converſation with *Haſtings*, and not doubting but his Treachery was found out, gave the Protector to underſtand, that not only there was no hopes of winning *Haſtings*, but that moreover he was to expect to find in him a profeſſed Enemy. Whereupon the Protector reſolved to diſpatch him out of the way, looking upon him now as his real Foe.

Means to bring it about.

Having taken this Reſolution, he called a Council in the *Tower* under colour of finiſhing the Matters belonging to the King's Coronation. He came thither himſelf at Nine a-Clock in the Morning with a chearful Countenance, civilly ſaluting all the Lords in a free and eaſy Manner, as if he had nothing in his Head that gave him the leaſt Uneaſineſs. After that he went out, and deſired the *Board* to go on with their Debates in his Abſence.

About an Hour after he returned with his Countenance quite altered, knitting his Brows, biting his Lips, and ſhowing all the Signs poſſible of the inward Perturbation of his Mind. Having for a while kept Silence, he at length broke out into theſe Words: *My Lords, what Puniſhment do they deſerve who have plotted againſt my Life?* Every body refraining ſome time from making any Anſwer, the Lord *Haſtings* replied, *Whoever was guilty of ſuch a Crime ought to be puniſhed as a Traitor. It*

is,

is, anſwered the Duke, *that Sorcereſs of a Siſter-in-law with her Accomplices.* At which Words many of the Council who were Friends to the Queen were like Men Thunder-ſtruck, being afraid that this Accuſation would fall on their Heads. But the Lord *Haſtings* was far enough from having any ſuch Fears. All the World knew he was a ſworn Enemy to the Queen, and conſequently there was no likelihood of his having joined with her in any ſuch Deſign. Beſides, he had lately approved of the Order ſent to *Pontfract*, to behead the Lords Priſoners, who were to be executed that very Day. After a ſhort Pauſe, the Protector having ſtript his left Arm bare, ſhowed it to the Council almoſt dried and withered, ſaying with extreme Emotion, *See what that Sorcereſs and that Wretch* Shore's *Wife have done by their Witchcrafts. They have reduced my Arm to the Condition you ſee it in, and it would ſoon have been the ſame with all the reſt of my Body, if by God's Mercy their infamous Plot had not been diſcovered.* Theſe Words cauſed a greater Surprize than the former, there being not a Soul in the Council but what knew very well that the Duke's Arm had been a long time in that Condition. Beſides, if the Queen had framed ſuch a Project, *Jane Shore* would have been the laſt Perſon ſhe would have imparted it to, ſince ſhe hated no body ſo much as her. The Lord *Haſtings*, who kept *Jane Shore* after *Edward*'s Death, perceiving that ſhe was involved in the Accuſation, could not forbear to ſhow how much he queſtioned her being guilty, by ſaying, *If they had committed ſuch a Crime they deſerved to be puniſhed.* Then the Protector raiſing his Voice, *What*, ſays he, *doſt thou anſwer me with* Ifs *and* Ands, *as if I my ſelf had forged this Accuſation? I tell thee they have conſpired my Death, and that thou thy ſelf art acceſſory to their Crime.* As he ended theſe Words, he ſtruck the Table twice with his Hand, and immediately the Room was filled with armed Men. As ſoon as they were in, the Protector turning to the Lord *Haſtings*, ſaid to him, *I arreſt thee for High-Treaſon. Who, Me, my Lord*, anſwered *Haſtings? Yes, Thee,* 1483.

1483. *Thee, Traitor,* replied the Protector. At the same time he delivered him to the Custody of the Soldiers. During the Bustle, one of the Soldiers would have cleft the Lord *Stanley*'s Skull with a Battle-Ax. But he avoided part of the Blow by shrinking under the Table, which however did not hinder but that he was dangerously wounded. Apparently, the Fellow had Orders to kill him as it were by Chance under pretence of assisting the Lord *Hastings*. It is not hard to guess why the Protector had a mind to get rid of him. Be that as it will, having missed his Aim, *Stanley* was arrested with the Archbishop of *York* and Bishop of *Ely*, it being the Protector's Business to put it out of the Power of those to hurt him, whom he knew to be zealously affected to the young King. As for the Lord *Hastings*, hardly would he give him time to make a short *Confession* to the next Priest that was at hand, swearing *that he would not dine till he had seen his Head taken off.* Accordingly, he was beheaded upon a Log which was found on the Green before the *Tower-Chapel*, the Time the Protector had set being too short to erect a Scaffold. Historians give us a large Account of sundry Presages which he had of his Death. But although such kind of Remarks may have their use, when the Facts are very certain, I shall however pass them over in Silence *. It will suffice to observe only, that the Lord *Hastings* died the same Day and Hour that the *Pontfract* Prisoners were executed, in whose Death he had no little share

Stanley is wounded, and arrested with the Archbishop of York *and the Bishop of* Ely.

The Prisoners at Pontfract *are executed.*

The Lord *Hastings* being dead, the Protector judged it necessary to colour an Execution so hasty and so contrary to the Laws of the Realm, for fear the *Londoners* should take Fire upon hearing of it. With this View it was that he sent to the *Mayor* and *Aldermen*. In the mean

The Protector tries to justify what was done to the Mayor of London.

* The Presages Historians dwell upon were a remarkable Dream of the Lord *Stanley*'s, who advised him to fly from danger, the Sollicitations of his Concubine *Jane Shore*, that very Morning not to go to the Council, nor to trust the *wild Boar*, the often stumbling of his Horse as he was riding to the *Tower*, and some other such like Observations. He was afterwards buried at *Windsor* near King *Edward*'s Tomb.

mean while he and the Duke of *Buckingham* put on two old rusty Coats of Armour. The *Mayor* being come to the *Tower*, the Protector told him, that the Lord *Hastings* and some others had conspired to take away his Life, and that he had no Intelligence of their Plot till ten a Clock that Morning. That the Fact having been fully proved, the King and Council had thought necessary to have them executed immediately, by reason they were informed that a great Number of People were all ready to rise in his Favour. That as to the rest, this Conspiracy had put his Person in extreme Danger, and forced him to harness himself in old rusty Armour, in order to be upon his Defence. That he had sent for him to let him know the Truth, to the End that acquainting the *Londoners* with this sudden Execution, he might take Care to appease or prevent the Commotions which ill-affected People might stir up in the City. The *Mayor* and *Aldermen* easily perceived that the Protector did not tell them the whole Truth; but not daring to show their Suspicion, they withdrew, assuring him they would obey his Orders. 1483.

Proclamation upon that Subject.

What the Protector had said to the *Mayor* and *Aldermen* was only to prepare the People to receive a *Proclamation* upon that Subject, which was published in the City two Hours after the Death of the Lord *Hastings*. The King, in whose Name it was issued out, was made to say in it, that the Lord *Hastings* had conspired to seize his Person, in order to govern the Kingdom as he pleased, and to kill the Protector and the Duke of *Buckingham*. That to prevent his Design, he had been forced, by Advice of his Council, to cause the Criminal to be punished upon the Spot, and that never Man had more deserved to die. That it was he that had perswaded the late King to do so many Things contrary to the Rights and Privileges of the People. That he had endeavoured to debauch him by his Perswasion and Examples, and had lain the Night before with *Shore*'s Wife, the Accomplice of all his Crimes, and particularly of that for which he had been executed. There were several other Things in the Proclamation tending

1484. tending to leſſen the People's Affection and Compaſſion for the Lord *Haſtings*, and to make appear that his Death was a Judgment of God upon him. It was obſerved that the *Proclamation* was extremely well worded, and very fairly ingroſſed on Parchment, though it was publiſhed ſo very ſoon after that Lord's Death. The which made People apprehend that it was ready prepared beforehand in order to be publiſhed immediately after the Execution. For which reaſon it had but little Effect *.

Jane Shore having been accuſed as an Accomplice of the Lord *Haſtings*, the Protector could not help proſecuting her. So having given Orders to arreſt her, he commanded her to be brought to the *Tower*, where ſhe was examined before the Council. The Duke of *Glouceſter* accuſed her himſelf of having intended to waſte his Fleſh by degrees, by her Sorceries, and of having conſpired with the Lord *Haſtings* to aſſaſſinate him. But beſides, that he could bring no Proof of theſe Accuſations, ſhe made ſo good a Defenſe that the Council could find no Reaſon to condemn her. However, as the Protector was unwilling ſhe ſhould come off without Puniſhment, ſhe was ſued for Incontinency, as being guilty of going away from her Huſband, and living with other Men. Theſe were Facts that ſhe could not deny, ſince the whole Court was Witneſs that ſhe had been kept by the late King, and afterwards by the Lord *Haſtings*. Whereupon ſhe was delivered over to the Biſhop of *London*, and condemned by the *Eccleſiaſtical* Court to do *open Penance* in St. *Paul*'s Church in a white Sheet, with a Wax-Taper in her Hand, before all the People.

Jane Shore *condemned to do open Penance.*

The Protector haſtens the Execution of his Deſign.

The Execution juſt done at *London* and *Pontfract* without any Proceſs, the Impriſonment of the Archbiſhop of *York*, the Biſhop of *Ely*, and the Lord *Stanley*, left no room to queſtion the Duke of *Glouceſter*'s Deſigns. Till then he had been able to give ſome Colour to his Conduct; but after theſe violent Proceedings

* People jeſted and ſaid, *it was writ by the Spirit of Prophecy.*

ings there was no way left to hide his Intentions. Every one ſaid within himſelf that theſe unjuſt doings could not but end in the King's Deſtruction. But People durſt not tell their Thoughts to one another, ſuch a Terror was there every where ſpread. They that could have taken Meaſures to oppoſe the Protector's Deſigns were dead or in Priſon, and if there were ſome left capable to make him uneaſy, the Example of thoſe that had been treated with ſo much Barbarity, was more than enough to cauſe them to act with Circumſpection. They plainly ſaw the Danger which hung over their Heads, if they did but ſo much as ſeem to perceive what was plotting. 1483.

Fear and Conſternation having thus ſeized the Great Men, the Protector and the Duke of *Buckingham* thought the preſent Juncture ſhould be improved, and that it was time to make known their Deſigns. There remained but one Difficulty, and that was to get the *Londoners* to approve of the Change intended. But this was no eaſy Matter. The Truth is, private Perſons may ſuffer themſelves to be won, and if a Man meets with obſtinate People, he may diſpatch them out of the way as the Lord *Haſtings* had been lately ſerved. But the main Point is to perſwade a whole Nation that they ought to approve of manifeſt Acts of Injuſtice, without they themſelves reaping any Benefit by them. Now there is but two Ways to bring this about. The firſt is to conſtrain them through Fear, to feign to believe what they believe not; the other, to win thoſe in whom they put any Confidence, that they may by Degrees be brought to what one Deſires. After ſeveral Conſultations the Protector and the Duke of *Buckingham* reſolved to uſe theſe two Means, the firſt whereof had already begun to have a very great Effect. For the ſecond they agreed, that by the help of Emiſſaries they ſhould continue more than ever to ſpread among the People that *Edward the Fourth*'s Children were Illegitimate, and that there Father himſelf and the Duke of *Clarence* his Brother were not the Duke of *York*'s Sons. That theſe Reports ſhould be backed by a Sermon of Doctor *Shaw*'s, whoſe Eloquence made him followed by the whole City.

He employs Dr. Shaw a famous Preacher.

1483. Shaw's *Sermon at* Paul's-Croſs.

Theſe Meaſures being taken, the *Doctor* mounted the Pulpit on *Snnday* Morning at *Paul*'s-*Croſs*, and preached upon theſe Words, *Baſtard Slips ſhall take no deep Root* *. He began with ſhowing the Bleſſings God uſually poured down upon lawful Marriages, and the Calamities which on the contrary fell upon the Iſſue of an unlawful Bed. There was no want of Examples of both, as well in *ſacred* as *prophane* Hiſtory. Then he dwelt upon the noble Qualities of the Duke of *York*, ſlain in the Battle of *Wakefield*, and ſhowed how happy the *Engliſh* would be to have a Sovereign of the Race of that great Prince. From thence he took occaſion to remark, that it was to be feared that the Reign of *Edward* V would be fatal to *England*, ſince he was born in an illegitimate Marriage. Moreover that neither *Edward* IV nor the late Duke of *Clarence* were Sons of the great Duke of *York*, as was known for certain from ſome of his own Domeſticks, Witneſſes of the lewd Life the Dutcheſs their Mother had led. That ſhe had taken to her Bed, in the Sight of all her Servants, Men whom the two Brothers were exactly like. But that the Duke of *Glouceſter* was the only one that might truly be called the Duke of *York*'s Son. That beſides, *Edward* IV was not lawfully married to his Queen, ſince he had before plighted his Faith to the Lady *Elizabeth Lucy*, as could be made appear by good Evidences. That conſequently his Children could be no better than Baſtards. That therefore they muſt not look for true Heirs of the Duke of *York*, either in the Children of *Edward*, or in thoſe of the Duke of *Clarence*, and that their Race would infallibly periſh, becauſe *Baſtard Plants ſhall take no deep Root*. But my Lord Protector, continued he, raiſing his Voice, that noble Prince, the Pattern of all Virtue, carries in his Countennance, in his Air, in his Way, in his Soul, the perfect Image of his illuſtrious Father. It was deſigned when he entered upon this Panegyrick that the Duke of *Glouceſter* ſhould appear, in hopes that the People

* Wiſdom of *Soloman* IV.

ple moved by the Preacher's Eloquence, would ſalute him *King*. But it happened that the Duke ſtaying a little too long, the *Doctor* had began another Subject, when he ſaw him coming in. However he re-aſſumed his Encomium, and repeated the ſame Words I have juſt mentioned, whilſt the Duke was preſſing through the Crowd to come to his Place. But inſtead of hearing the Cry of *Long live King* Richard ! as he had expected, he ſaw that every Body kept a deep Silence, the People not being able to forbear deteſting the Baſeneſs of the Preacher, inſtead of applauding his Eloquence. The Sermon being over, the *Doctor* went and hid himſelf for Shame, neither durſt he ever ſhow himſelf again in Publick. It is ſaid that he died preſently after with Grief at his ill Succeſs, and for having loſt the Eſteem of his Audience. 1483.

Iſſue of his Sermon.

Shaw's Sermon not having produced the Effect that was expected, recourſe muſt be had to other Means; for the Protector was too far in to go back. Wherefore the Duke of *Buckingham* being a fine Speaker, took upon him to harangue the People, imagining that a polite Speech would have a better Effect than *Shaw*'s methodical Sermon. To that Purpoſe the Lord *Mayor* had orders to aſſemble the Aldermen, Common-Council, and principal Citizens at *Guild-Hall*. The which being done, the Duke of *Buckingham* came to the Aſſembly, and taking his Place near the *Mayor*, told the People, that he was come from the *Council*, to acquaint them with a Matter of the greateſt Importance to the whole Kingdom, but eſpecially to the Inhabitants of *London*. His Speech ran at firſt upon the Calamities which the People of *England* had ſuffered in the laſt Reign. He aggravated in a very violent Manner the Cruelty, Avarice, and Incontinency of *Edward* IV, and endeavoured to the utmoſt of his Power to render him odious. Then he put his Audience in Mind, that the *Sunday* before, that excellent Man Dr. *Shaw* had clearly proved to them that *Edward* was not lawfully married to his Queen, and that conſequently their Iſſue was ſpurious : That neither *Edward* himſelf, nor

The Duke of Buckingham *haranguesthe People at* Guild-Hall *in favour of the Duke of* Glouceſter.

1483. the Duke of *Clarence* his Brother were the Duke of *York*'s Sons, and that to the Proofs alledged by the *Doctor*, he himself could add many others, did not his Respect for the Protector hinder him from dwelling upon the loose Life of the Dutchess his Mother: That upon these Accounts the Lords of the Council and the *Commons* of the Realm, particularly of the *northern* Counties, had declared that a Bastard should not sit on the Throne of *England*, and required that the Crown should be adjudged to the Duke of *Gloucester* only Son of the late Duke of *York*: That indeed there was reason to fear that the magnanimous Duke would refuse the Offer: but on the other Side it was to be hoped, that all the People, and especially the Inhabitants of *London*, joining together with one accord, he would suffer himself to be prevailed with to take upon him the Load of the Government, too weighty for the Shoulders of a Child to bear: That upon all these Accounts he required them in his own, and the Name of the Lords of the Council to declare their Minds. Here he made a full Stop, in expectation to hear the People cry, *Long live King* Richard; but every Body stood Speechless. So great was their Amazement to hear a Thing proposed so little founded in Justice. The Duke surprized in his Turn at so unexpected a Silence, asked the *Mayor* the Reason of it, who replied, it may be they did not well understand him. If that's the Case, answered the Duke, I will make my self better understood. Then raising his Voice, he repeated the Sense of what he had said before in other Words, with a Gracefulness and Eloquence worthy of a nobler Subject. But the People still kept a profound Silence. The Duke confounded that his *Rhetorick* should produce so little Effect, talked some Time in a low Voice with the *Mayor*, to consult with him what was to be done. At length the *Mayor* told him, that perhaps the People were silent because they were used not to be harangued but by the *Recorder*, who was the Mouth of the City. Whereupon he commanded the *Recorder* to speak to the People, the which he did with a great

He expects in vain that the People should cry, King Richard!

He repeats his Speech.

He orders the Recorder *to speak to the People.*

a great deal of Reluctance. However he managed his Speech ſo, that without making any Addition of his own, he repeated to the People the Subſtance of what the Duke had ſaid. He concluded with requiring the People to give a poſitive Anſwer, whether they would have the Duke of *Glouceſter* for King or no. At theſe Words there was a confuſed Murmuring in the Aſſembly; and as it was yet uncertain whether the People anſwered Yea or No, ſome of the Duke of *Buckingham*'s Servants, who had ſlipt in amongſt the Crowd, fell to crying, *Long live King* Richard! Upon that ſome of the Citizens who had been bribed, but would not venture to lead the Way, ſeconded the Cry, and the *Apprentices* with the Rabble, who ſtood near the Door followed their Example, and throwing up their Hats for Joy, cryed aloud, a *Richard*, a *Richard*! The Duke of *Buckingham* ſaw well enough that the Cry came from the Rabble without, and not from the principal Citizens within the *Hall*. Nevertheleſs, taking hold of this Advantage, he commanded Silence, and reſuming his Speech ſaid, that he was overjoyed to ſee the Unanimity wherewith they approved of the Motion he had made, without any one's oppoſing it: *Wherefore*, continued he, *My good Friends, I deſire you to meet me here to Morrow about this Time, that we may go all together and preſent our humble Petition to his Highneſs, and beſeech him to condeſcend to our Requeſt.* Then the *Mayor* having diſmiſſed the People, the Citizens returned to their Houſes, with Tears in their Eyes, and Grief in their Hearts, without daring to ſhow it, for fear of offending thoſe whoſe Intereſt it was that it ſhould be concealed.

1483.

Some of the Mob cry, a Richard!

The Duke pretends it was a general Approbation.

Next Day the Duke of *Buckingham*, with the *Mayor*, *Aldermen*, and a good Number of others of the Cabal came to the Protector's Palace * and ſent a Meſſage to him, that the Magiſtrates of *London* demanded an Audience. The Protector ſcrupled to go out of his Apartment, pretending fear, that ſuch Numbers were got

He waits upon the Protector with the Mayor, *and offers him the Crown.*

* At *Baynard*'s Caſtle in *Thames-Street*.

1483. got together upon no good Deſign. Whereupon the Duke of *Buckingham* obſerved to the *Mayor* and thoſe about him, that his Highneſs muſt needs be ignorant of what they had to ſay to him, intimating thereby that he had no Hand in what had paſſed the Day before. At length, upon repeated Inſtances that his Highneſs would be pleaſed to grant an Audience, he appeared with Signs of great Miſtruſt, and as not daring to approach ſuch Multitudes, leſt ſome Miſchief ſhould happen to him *. Then the Duke of *Buckingham*, without giving the *Mayor* Time to ſpeak, briefly ſummed up the Grievance which the Nation had ſuffered in the late Reign. After which he ſaid to the Protector, that the People could find no better Method to free themſelves from their Burden, than to pray his Highneſs to aſſume the Royal Authority, which of Right belonged to him. He added, that the *Mayor* and *Aldermen* of *London* whom he ſaw there, were come to petition him in the Name of all the People, who were all of the ſame Mind.

The Protector refuſes it at firſt.

The Duke of *Glouceſter* ſeeming amazed at this Propoſal, made Anſwer that he was convinced that all he had heard was true. But that he had ſo great a Veneration for the Memory of the late King his Brother, and ſo tender an Affection for his Children, that they out-weighed all the Crowns in the World with him. That therefore he could not comply with their Requeſt. That however he was willing to take their Petition in good Part, and thanked them for their Affection. That he adviſed them to keep ſtedfaſt in their Obedience to the Sovereign under whom they lived. That for his Part he would continue, to the utmoſt of his Power, to give the King his Nephew ſuch Counſels as he ſhould judge moſt conducive to render his Kingdom flouriſhing, and his People happy, as he believed he had done hitherto to the Satisfaction of all the World.

The

* He is ſaid to appear in a Gallery with a Biſhop on each Side of him.

1483.

The Duke of *Buckingham*, ſeeming diſſatisfied with this Anſwer, murmured ſome Words to himſelf which ſhowed his Diſcontent, and at length demanded leave to ſpeak once more; and having obtained it, he plainly told the Protector that all the People were unanimouſly reſolved not to acknowledge for King, any of *Edward* IV's Children. That they had gone too far to go back, and therefore if he would not receive the Crown which was offered him, they ſhould be forced to tender it to one who would not refuſe it. At theſe Words the Protector began to be a little more compliant, and at laſt ſpoke to the People in this manner: *Since I ſee the whole Kingdom is reſolved not to ſuffer any of* EDWARD's *Children to Reign, for which I am extremely concerned, I am fully convinced that the Crown can of Right belong to none but me, who am the undoubted Son of the late Duke of* YORK *my Father. To this Title is added moreover that of* a free Election *by the* Lords *and* Commons *of the Realm, a Title which I ſhall look upon as the Chief and moſt valuable of all. Upon theſe Accounts I graciouſly receive your Petition, and from this Moment take upon me the Government of the two Kingdoms of* England *and* France, *the former to be governed and defended, and the latter by God's Help, and my People's Aſſiſtance, to be ſubdued.* At this they cried out, *Long live King Richard* III! The *Comedy* being over, the People went Home, making upon this Occaſion ſuch Reflections as their ſeveral *Underſtandings*, *Intereſts*, or *Paſſions* ſuggeſted.

The Duke of Buckingham *threatens to give the Crown to another.*

The Protector accepts of it.

His Speech to the People.

The End of the Reign of EDWARD V.

THE

BRITISH MUSEUM

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THE HISTORY of *ENGLAND*.

SECT. III.

18. RICHARD III. *Sirnamed* CROOK-BACK.

THE Duke of *Glouceſter*, having attained his Aim by ſuch extraordinary Methods, and in ſpite of all the Obſtacles which lay in the Way of his Ambition, was proclaim'd King the 22d of *June*, by the Name of *Richard* III. He might have been crown'd the next Day, ſince the Preparations for *Edward the Fifth*'s Coronation were all ready. But he put off the Ceremony to the ſixth of *July*, waiting the Arrival of five Thouſand Men, which he had ſent for from the *North*, becauſe he did not care to confide altogether in the Citizens of *London*.

1483. RICHARD III *is proclaim'd.*

In the mean Time, he gave the *Great Seal* to the Biſhop of *Lincoln*, one of his Favourites. On the 28th of *June* he conferr'd the Office of *Earl Marſhal* upon

The Biſhop of Lincoln *is made Chancellor.*

1483. Act. Pub. XII. 189, 190. *and* John Howard *Duke of* Norfolk.

the Lord *John Howard* *, and next Day the Title of *Duke of Norfolk*. The Day following he empowered him to exercise the Office of *High-Steward* in Matters belonging to the Coronation, and for that Time only. A few Days after, he created *Thomas Howard* his Son, *Earl of Surrey*, *William Berkley*, *Earl of Nottingham*, and the Lord *Lovel*, one of his Confidents, *Viscount* of the same Name.

Archbishop of York *and* Stanley *are released.*

Thomas Rotherham Archbishop of *York*, and the Lord *Thomas Stanley*, who had been imprisoned the Day the Lord *Hastings* was executed, were set at Liberty at the same Time, and the new King made the Lord *Stanley Lord Steward of the Household*. He did not do this from a Motive of Affection or Trust, but out of Fear that the Lord *Strange* his Son, who was beginning to raise Forces in *Lincolnshire*, should stir up Commotions, the Consequences whereof he much dreaded.

The Bishop of Ely *is committed to the Custody of* Buckingham.

As for Dr. *Morton* Bishop of *Ely*, who had been arrested the same Day, the King designed not to do him the same Favour. But the *University* of *Oxford*, of which that Prelate was a Member, having presented a *Petition* in his behalf, he thought he should not reject it at a Time when he wanted to gain the Affection of his new Subjects. However, as he hated that Bishop mortally, he could not find in his Heart to set him entirely at Liberty. He only took him out of the *Tower* where he was confin'd, and committed him to the Custody of the Duke of *Buckingham*, who sent him to his Castle of *Brecknock* in *Wales*. He was a Man of but mean Parentage, but having studied at *Oxford*, where he had taken his *Doctor's Degree*, he was in so high Repute there on the Score of his Learning and Parts, that he was taken from thence and made a *Privy-Councellor* by *Henry* VI. The *Revolution* which had set *Edward* IV on the Throne, made no Alteration in his Fortune. *Edward* apparently pleas'd with his obliging Carriage, had kept him in the same Post, and promoted him to the

* He was Son of Sir *Richard Howard* and *Margaret* Daughter and Coheir of *Thomas Mowbray* Duke of *Norfolk*.

the Biſhoprick of *Ely*. From thenceforward he was wholly addicted to that Prince, and that was the Ground of *Richard*'s Hatred to him, who put him under Confinement the ſame Day the Lord *Haſtings* was beheaded, for fear his Love to the late King's Family ſhould move him to oppoſe his Deſigns. 1483.

The ſixth of *July* the Coronation of the King and Queen was performed with great Solemnity. All the *Peers* of the Realm were preſent for fear of being miſtruſted by the new King, whoſe ſuſpicious Temper they all new very well. *Margaret* Counteſs of *Richmond* Wife of the Lord *Stanley*, and Mother of the Earl of *Richmond* who was detained in *Bretagne*, held up the Queen's Train. *The King and Queen crown'd.*

Richard enjoyed but two Years and two Months the Crown that he had ſo eagerly thirſted after. He ſpent his whole Reign in deviſing Means to ſupport himſelf in the Throne; and as he had obtain'd the Crown by Blood and Wickedneſs, he endeavour'd to keep Poſſeſſion by the ſame Methods. But all his Meaſures prov'd ineffectual, Divine Providence having been pleas'd to blaſt Projects which were founded wholly upon Injuſtice, Violence, and the Subverſion of the Laws. The preſent Circumſtances of Things ſeem'd however to befriend him very much. The *Lancaſtrian* Family was quite extinct in *England*. *Henry* Earl of *Richmond*, the only Relict of that *Houſe*, was in the Hands of the Duke of *Bretagne*, who had promiſed *Edward* IV to hinder him from going out of his Dominions. *Margaret* his Mother ſhowed no Inclination to aſſert her Rights. Beſides, ſhe was ſubject to a Huſband whom *Richard* had juſt attach'd to his Intereſt by one of the moſt conſiderable Poſts at Court. As to the Princes and Princeſſes of *Portugal* and *Caſtile*, deſcended of *Philippa* and *Catharine* of *Lancaſter* Daughters of *John of Gant*, they were at too great a Diſtance to create the new King any Uneaſineſs. In fine, there was not a Lord in the Kingdom that ſeemed to have Credit enough to be able to raiſe Commotions, the *Civil War* having ſwept away great Numbers, and entirely deſtroyed ſeveral antient *Circumſtances favourable for* Richard.

1483. Families. As for thoſe that were ſtill left, *Richard* was in hopes to win them by Favours, as he had already begun to do with regard to the Duke of *Buckingham*, the Duke of *Norfolk*, the Lord *Stanley*, and ſome others. As to the *Yorkiſts* that adher'd to the Family of *Edward* IV, ſuch as the *Woodvilles*, *Greys*, and others of the new Nobility, he had already diſpatch'd ſome out of the Way, and the reſt were fled. The Queen-Widow ſtill kept cloſe with her five Daughters in her *Sanctuary*, from whence ſhe durſt not ſtir, and where ſhe ſeemed not to have it in her Power to hurt him. The Marquiſs of *Dorſet* her Brother had likewiſe taken *Sanctuary*, and Sir *Richard Woodville* had abſconded. In fine, *Edward* V and the Duke of *York* his Brother were in the *Tower*, where ſince the 27th of *June*, *Richard* had taken Care to place as Governour Sir *Robert Brackenbury* his Creature. Thus nothing ſeemed capable to ſhake the new Monarch's Throne.

Richard's Meaſures for his Safety.

Mean while, to be provided againſt whatever might happen, he formed the Project to make ſure of *Caſtile* and *Portugal*, of the Archduke *Maximilian*, who governed the *Low-Countries* in the Name of *Philip* his Son, of *France* and *Bretagne*, from whence he was afraid his Enemies might procure Aſſiſtance. And in order to break all the Meaſures which the Friends of *Edward*'s Family might take againſt him, he reſolved to put to Death young King *Edward* V and the Duke of *York* his Nephews. Theſe were *Richard*'s firſt Projects to ſecure his Crown, which created him no leſs Uneaſineſs after he had it, than whilſt he was labouring to obtain it.

Ambaſſy to Caſtile; Act. Pub. XII. 193.

To put all theſe Deſigns in Execution, on the 12th of *July* he appointed for his Ambaſſador to *Caſtile*, *Bernard de la Force*, with Orders to go and try to renew the old Alliance with Queen *Iſabella* and *Ferdinand* King of *Arragon* her Huſband. Next Day he gave the like Commiſſion to *Thomas Hutton*, to go and treat about prolonging the Truce with *Francis* II Duke of *Bretagne*. In all appearance, *Hutton* had ſecret *Inſtructions* to endeavour to get the Earl of *Richmond* delivered

to Bretagne; *p.* 194.

up,

up, or at leaſt to renew the Treaty made upon that Account between *Edward* IV and the Duke. Two Days after he appointed Commiſſioners to treat with *France* about ſome Violations of the Truce, that he might have an Opportunity to get it confirmed. 1483. *to* France. *P.* 195.

He reſolves to put his Nephews to Death.

Theſe Meaſures being taken, nothing more remained but to execute the main Article, which was to make away his two Nephews. To that Purpoſe he reſolved to be at a Diſtance from *London*, that their Death happening in his Abſence, he might be the leſs ſuſpected of it. With this view he ſet out from *London* to go and viſit ſeveral *Counties*, under Colour of reforming Abuſes which had been introduced to the great Detriment of the People. His Progreſs to the *North* was particularly neceſſary to curb the Inſolence of the Troops he had ſent for from thence, who after their Return, had been guilty of great Outrages. But before he went to *York*, he made ſome ſtay at *Glouceſter*, that he might not be too far from *London*, whilſt his Orders about his Nephews ſhould be put in Execution.

He goes to Glouceſter

The Duke of Buckingham *demands the Inheritance of* Hereford.

The Duke of *Buckingham*, his intimate Friend and Confident, went with him as far as *Glouceſter*. He had loaded that Lord with Eſtates and Honours, as well whilſt he was Protector, as after he became King. But the Duke ſtill expected another Favour, of which he had received a poſitive Promiſe. And that was the Moiety of the Lands of the *Houſe* of *Hereford*, to which he thought he had a very good Title. The Foundation of his Claim will plainly appear by the following *Genealogy*.

His Claim.

HUMPHREY

1483.

HUMPHREY BOHUN
Earl of *Hereford* and *Northampton.*

MARY BOHUN
Wife of
HENRY IV.
|
HENRY V.
|
HENRY VI.
|
EDWARD
Prince of *Wales.*

ANN
THOMAS of *Woodstock*
Earl of *Glouceſter*
Son of EDWARD III.
|
ANN
EDMUND Earl of *Stafford.*
|
HUMPHREY
Duke of *Buckingham.*
|
HENRY
Duke of *Buckingham.*

To conſider only this *Genealogy*, it is evident that the Duke of *Buckingham* had a Right to claim one half of the Earl of *Hereford*'s Lands, as deſcended from one of his Daughters. But there were other Reaſons which made his Title diſputable. When *Richard* II put the Duke of *Glouceſter* his Uncle to Death at *Calais*, he cauſed his Eſtate to be confiſcated by the Parliament, and gave what that Prince held in Right of *Ann* his Wife, to the Earl of *Derby*, who had married the eldeſt of the Siſters, and withal created him *Duke of Hereford.* Thus the Earl of *Derby* took Poſſeſſion of the whole Inheritance of the Earl of *Hereford* his Father-in-law, and having afterwards mounted the Throne by the Name of *Henry* IV, all his Lands were annexed to the Crown, and hence it was that the Crown was poſſeſſed of the whole Eſtate of the *Hereford* Family, down to the Time that *Richard* III aſcended the Throne. However when *Richard* being Protector, had a Mind to engage the Duke of *Buckingham* to ſerve him in his Deſign to uſurp the Crown, he promiſed to reſtore him one Moiety of the Lands which had been taken away from the Duke of *Glouceſter* his Great-Grandfather.

But

But after he was King he altered his Mind; either becauſe he thought he had made him ample amends otherwiſe, or becauſe he was afraid of rendering him too powerful, and ſo giving him an Opportunity to aſpire to the Throne as deſcended of *Edward* III. Be that as it will, the Duke having put him in mind of his Promiſe, as they were travelling together, received ſuch an Anſwer as left him no room to expect that *Juſtice* or *Favour*. The Duke, who was exceedingly high-ſpirited, was ſo offended at the King's Anſwer, that he deſired Leave to go and look after his own private Affairs. *Richard* not imagining that his Refuſal had made ſo deep an Impreſſion upon the Duke's Mind, or it may be not fearing the Effects of his Reſentment, gave him the Leave he deſired, and parting from him at *Glouceſter* he purſued his Journey to *York*. 1483. *The King denies his Requeſt; upon which the Duke retires.*

During the King's Stay at *Glouceſter*, he ſent an expreſs Order to *Brackenbury*, Governor of the *Tower* of *London*, to put *Edward* V. and the Duke of *York* his Brother to Death. *Brackenbury* more conſcientious than his Maſter, return'd a very ſubmiſſive Anſwer; but withal, let him know that he ſhould never be able to bring himſelf to execute his Commands. *Richard* vexed to be deceived in his Opinion of that Officer, ſent him by *James Tyrrel* a written Order, to deliver to the Bearer the Keys and Government of the *Tower* for one Night only. *Brackenbury* obeyed, and *Tyrrel* brought in his Agents to execute the King's Orders. That very Night, whilſt every body was aſleep, he went into the two Princes's Room, and having ſmothered them in their Bed, cauſed them to be buried under a little Stair-caſe. This is what *Tyrrel* himſelf confeſſed afterwards, who was executed in the Reign of *Henry* VII. In 1674, whilſt they were making ſome Alterations in that Part of *the Tower*, ſome Bones were found, which were ſuppoſed to be the Bones of *Edward* V. and the Duke of *York*, and upon that Suppoſition *Charles* II, who then reigned, had them put into a *Marble Urn*, and removed to *Weſtminſter* among the Tombs of the Kings*. As the *Death of* Edward V. *and of the Duke of* York. *Their Bones are found in the Reign of* Charles II.

* In the time of *Chicheſter* Maſter of the *Ordnance*, great Heaps of Records

1483. the two Princes were never heard of any more since the Day *Tyrrel* went to *the Tower*; and as their Domesticks were dismissed, the Publick doubted not but that they were sacrificed to their Uncle's Safety.

The King is crowned again at York.

Richard having received the News of the Death of his two Nephews, continued his Journey to the *North*, and came to *York* about the End of *August*. As the Pretence of his going thither was to minister Justice to the People, he could not help executing some of the *Northern* Soldiers, who in their way back from *London* had committed great Outrages. Then he caused himself to be crowned a second Time at the *Cathedral* of *York* in the Beginning of *September*, and the same Day he created his Son, then Ten Years old, *Prince of Wales*, with the usual Formalities.

He creates his Son Prince of Wales.

The Alliance with Castile *is renewed.* Act. Pub. XII. 199.

A few Days before his Coronation he had received the agreeable News that *Ferdinand* and *Isabella* was beforehand with him in demanding the Confirmation of the Alliance between *England* and *Castile*, by an Ambassador whom they had sent on purpose, and who was then come to *York*. The renewing of that Alliance which he ratified himself the 31st of *August* was Matter of great Joy to him. He found by that, as *Ferdinand* and *Isabella* acknowledged him for lawful King, they were forming no Project to restore to the Throne *the House of Lancaster*, from whence Queen *Isabella* was descended, being Grand-Daughter of *Catharine of Lancaster*, Daughter of *John of Gant*. He expressed his Satisfaction by conferring the Honour of Knighthood upon *Geoffrey de Sasiola* Ambassador of *Castile*, who had brought him the good News, and by writing Letters full of Esteem, Affection and Acknowledgment to the King and Queen of *Spain*,

Sept. 8. p. 200.

cords of *Bills* and Answers lying in the *Six-Clerk*'s Office, were removed to be reposited in the *White Tower*, and a new Pair of Stairs were making into the Chapel there, for the easier Conveyance of them thither, the Labourers in digging at the Foot of the old Stairs, came to the Bones of consumed Corps covered with a Heap of Stones. The which Bones King *Charles* caused to be interred in *Henry* VII's Chapel, near two other Royal Children, *Mary* and *Sophia*, Daughters of King *James* I. with a Monument of White Marble, with an Inscription on it in Capital Letters.

Spain, to the Cardinal *de Mendoſa*, and to the Earl of *Leryn* their Miniſters. 1483.

Death of Lewis XI.

Lewis XI. King of *France* died *Auguſt* the 29th this Year. *Charles* VIII. his only Son being a *Minor*, ſucceeded him under the Guardianſhip of *Ann* his Siſter, Wife of *Peter de Bourbon*, Lord of *Beaujeu*, purſuant to the late King's Directions. But *Lewis* Duke of *Orleans*, firſt Prince of the Blood, diſputed the Regency with her. This Conteſt raiſed in the Court of *France* Diſturbances which prevented the *Miniſters* from attending to the renewing or confirming the Truce with *England*, which *Richard* earneſtly ſollicited.

Troubles at the Court of France.

The Duke of Buckingham conſpires againſt the King.

Whilſt the King was flattering himſelf with having taken all neceſſary Meaſures to ſupport himſelf on the Throne, a Conſpiracy was forming againſt him, which ended in his Ruin, after it had firſt proved the Deſtruction of its Author. I left the Duke of *Buckingham* very much diſguſted, and taking his leave of the King in order to go to his own Eſtate. He was a Perſon of a lively and penetrating Genius, exceeding proud, ambitious, revengeful, and not very ſtrict in his Morals. During *Edward the Fourth*'s Life, he could never bring himſelf to ſtoop to the Queen, though ſhe had a great Aſcendent over the King her Huſband. He was even looked upon as the Head of the Party of the *Antient* Nobility againſt the *New*, which was wholly made up of the Queen's Relations and Creatures. It was chiefly from his Averſion to the Queen, that after *Edward* IV's Death he devoted himſelf entirely to the Duke of *Glouceſter*, whom he helped to the Protectorſhip, and at length to the Crown itſelf, as we have ſeen in the former Reign. In return for ſo ſignal a Service *Richard* had liberally beſtowed his Favours upon him. Particularly he had made him as it were Maſter of *Wales* and the adjoining *Counties*, by the Poſts and Governments he had given him in thoſe Parts. But all theſe Favours were forgotten when he refuſed to grant him a Moiety of the Lands of *Hereford*. The Duke perceived the King's Policy, in giving him Poſts which he could take from him at Pleaſure, whereas in reſtoring the Lands he

Cauſe of his Diſguſt.

1483. laid claim to, it would not have been in his Power to resume them without using Force. This Procedure convinced him that the King had a mind to keep him always in Dependence; and as he was perfectly well acquainted with that Prince's Character, he easily perceived that the least Thing would be sufficient to make him forfeit all he possessed. Besides, he found that the King did him an evident Injustice, in denying him what he thought he had so lawful a Title to: That moreover he was not so good as his Word, and showed himself extremely ungrateful in making so ill a Return for the Services he had received from him. All these Things gave him room to fear that he had determined to ruin him in time.

The Duke and Bishop of Ely *consult together how to dethrone the King.*

Full of these sinister Thoughts he came to his Castle of *Brecknock*, where Dr. *Morton* Bishop of *Ely* was Prisoner under his Custody. In his frequent Conversations with that Prelate, he could not help discovering his Resentment against the King. The Bishop, who was a Man of Sense, quickly found that the Duke was dissatisfied, and it was that which imboldened him to speak his Mind freely. He observed that the Duke took pleasure in hearing him, and would have perhaps spoken himself more plainly, if he had dared to trust him entirely. Wherefore, to inspire him with more Confidence, he affected to talk of the King in such a Manner, as by showing what he thought of him, gave likewise the Duke to understand that he should find in him one ready to second him in his Designs. At length, after having sounded one another for some Time, they opened their Minds to one another, and lamented together the unhappy State the Kingdom was in under such a King. The Death of *Edward* V. and of the Duke his Brother, afforded them fresh Matter to exclaim against *Richard*. They concluded from thence, that since he had not spared his own Nephews, no Lord in the Kingdom could be sure of his Life. These Conversations ended at length in the Duke's requesting the Bishop to tell him freely whether he saw no way to prevent the Mischiefs they had

had reaſon to fear, promiſing with an Oath to keep the Secret inviolably. *Morton*, who till then was under ſome Apprehenſions that the Duke intended to lay a Snare for him, being encouraged by this Oath, told him in plain Terms, that it was his Opinion there was no other way but to pull down *Richard*, and ſet up another King. He owned, that although he could have wiſhed the Crown had continued in the Family of *Henry* IV, yet he was not able to avoid being carried away with the Torrent, when he ſaw that almoſt all *England* declared for *Edward* IV. That afterwards, *Henry* VI. and the Prince his Son being dead, he had faithfully adhered to *Edward*. That upon *Edward*'s Death he had ſerved with the ſame Zeal his young Son whom he believed to be his lawful Succeſſor. That afterwards he beheld with Grief the Duke of *Glouceſter* aſpiring to the Throne, and having the Honour to be one of the *Council*, he thought it his Duty to endeavour to oppoſe his Deſign. But that inſtead of ſucceeding, he had only drawn upon himſelf the Hatred and Ill-will of that Prince, who had thrown him into Priſon purely on the Score of adhering to the Family of *Edward* IV. That this Act of Violence and Injuſtice had increaſed his Averſion for the Uſurper, and that the tragical Death of the two young Princes had carried his Hatred to the utmoſt Height. That being in theſe Circumſtances, he had conſidered with himſelf what Prince would be the moſt proper to be placed on the Throne in the Room of the Tyrant, and that he could think of no other than the Duke of *Buckingham*, who was deſcended from a Son of *Edward* III. That the whole Race of *Lancaſter* being extinct, at leaſt in *England*, there remained of *the Houſe of York* none but the Tyrant and his Son, with the young Earl of *Warwick* Son of the Duke of *Clarence*. As for the laſt, he could not pretend to the Crown, his Father's *Attainder* having debarred his Heirs of the Right of inheriting. That the preſent King had rendered himſelf unworthy of the Crown by his Crimes, and to preſerve the Son's Right, after deſtroying the Father, would be to act by Halfs. That therefore,

1483.

The Biſhop propoſes to the Duke to make himſelf King.

1483. therefore, once more, he saw only the Duke of *Buckingham* capable of lawfully claiming the Crown.

The Duke listened very attentively to this Discourse, but deferred giving an Answer till next Day. This Delay threw the Bishop into a very great Perplexity, since it left him still uncertain whether the Duke was sincere, or whether he designed only to sift him. By the way, it seems that the Bishop was not over-scrupulous, since knowing the Duke of *Buckingham*'s Character, as he must have done, he did not stick to offer his Service to set him on the Throne. This is a shrewd Sign that he acted more from a Motive of Revenge against *Richard*, than with a View to the Good of the Publick. The King and the Duke were too much alike to expect any great Benefit by the Change.

The Duke rejects the Proposal, and names the Earl of Richmond

Next Day having resumed their Discourse, the Duke after a long Apology for all his former Actions, freely confessed to the Prelate that he had once an Intention to aspire to the Throne, but upon mature Deliberation had entirely dropped all Thoughts of it. That he had considered, that by acting for himself, he should stir up against him all the Friends of the Two *Houses* of *York* and *Lancaster*, both equally concerned to oppose his Pretensions. That there was a Prince nearer than he, whom *the House of Lancaster* looked upon as their Head, and he it was on whom he had cast his Eyes to make him King. Then he named *Henry* Earl of *Richmond* who was in *Bretagne*. He added, that the Project to restore *the House of Lancaster* to the Throne would bring over one half of the Kingdom to that Prince's Interest, and that he had hit upon a lucky Expedient to win him the other half: And that was, to cause him to take to Wife *Elizabeth*, eldest Daughter of *Edward* IV. who would make all the *Yorkists* his Friends. That moreover, the Nation would receive great Benefit from thence, in as much as all the Seeds of the Civil Wars would be destroyed by the Union of the two contending *Houses*. That by this Means even those who were indifferent for either Party, would be forced, as one may say, to help forward the common Good of their

their Country, and that then *Richard*'s few Friends would not be able to counter-balance ſo ſtrong a Power. Whereas if he pretended to ſet up himſelf, he ſhould unite the whole Kingdom againſt him, ſince there was not the leaſt Colour to ſhut out from the Throne, two *Houſes* that had been in Poſſeſſion above fourſcore Years. In fine, he added, that as he was on the Road to *Brecknock*, he met the Counteſs of *Richmond*, and that having ſounded her upon this Head, he believed he could be ſure that ſhe would not be backward to lend a helping Hand to the Advancement of her Son. 1483.

The Biſhop likes the Propoſal.

The Biſhop liked this Expedient as more conformable to Juſtice and Equity, and more adapted to the Good of the Realm, eſpecially as it came from the only Perſon, who would have had Reaſon to oppoſe it, had it been offered by any other Hand.

Rights of the Earl of Richmond.

Henry Earl of *Richmond* was of *Welſh* Extraction, as I obſerved elſewhere. But *Margaret* his Mother was Daughter of *John de Beaufort* Duke of *Somerſet*, Grandſon of *John of Gant* Duke of *Lancaſter*. *Margaret*'s Father dying without Iſſue-Male, *Edmund* his younger Brother inherited his Title. But *Edmund* and all his Poſterity having been deſtroyed in the Civil Wars, *Margaret* and her Son were the only Remains of that *Houſe*. And therefore it ſeemed that they were the undoubted Heirs of all the Rights of the *Houſe of Lancaſter*. But for all that their Title was liable to great Objections.

Whilſt *John of Gant* Duke of *Lancaſter* lived with *Conſtantia* of *Caſtile* his ſecond Wife, he kept as his Concubine *Catharine Roêt* Widow of Sir *Otho de Swinford*, and had ſeveral Children by her. *Conſtantia* his Wife being dead, he married his Concubine, and had Intereſt enough to get his Children born before Marriage legitimated by an *Act* of Parliament, and by *Richard* II's *Letters Patent* granted in purſuance of the *Act*. However the King and the Parliament, willing to make a Diſtinction between theſe *natural* Children, and the others born in *Wedlock*, gave them not the

Name

1483. Name of *Lancaster* or *Plantagenet*, but that of *Beaufort*, the Name of the Castle where they were born. Moreover, though in the *Act* of Parliament, and in the King's *Letters Patent*, Power was granted them to hold *Principalities*, *Dukedoms*, *Earldoms*, &c. and to transmit them to their Heirs, yet there was not the least mention of inheriting the Crown. During the Reigns of *Henry* IV, and *Henry* V, the Princes of this Branch durst not assume the Name of *Lancaster*. It was not till about the End of *Henry* VI's Reign that *Edmund* Duke of *Somerset* being *Prime Minister*, and a great Stickler for the King, against the Duke of *York*, began by Degrees to assert his Descent from *John of Gant*, and his Kindred to the King as being of the *House of Lancaster*. It was a Question therefore to know whether the Princes of this Branch could succeed to the Crown in their Turn. And supposing they could, the Point was to know when their Turn was to be, and whether the Heirs of *John of Gant*'s Daughters born in *Wedlock*, were not to have the Precedence of the Issue of a Male who was only legitimated, and born before Marriage. If so, there were no less than ten or twelve Princes and Princesses in *Portugal*, *Castile* and *Germany*, who would have excluded the Earl of *Richmond*. On the other Hand, it seems that by *Edward* IV's Endeavours to get the Earl of *Richmond* into his Hands, he had as good as owned him capable of inheriting all the Rights of the *House of Lancaster*. This was a Question which might have been bandied in those Days, but as it has been decided above two Hundred Years since, it requires no farther Examination, unless out of mere Curiosity, those that are versed in such sort of Matters are willing to exercise their Wits.

It is very likely that if the Duke of *Buckingham* had imagined it was in his Power to mount the Throne, he would not have failed to object against the Earl of *Richmond*'s Title the Reasons I have just touched upon. But as he had himself observed, in discoursing with the Bishop of *Ely*, he could not set up himself without bringing upon his Back the two *Houses* of *York*

and *Lancaſter*, that is to ſay, the whole Kingdom, which was divided between theſe two Factions. Wherefore the Pretext to reſtore the *Houſe of Lancaſter*, and to put an End to the Civil Wars by the Union of the two contending *Houſes*, was by far the more natural way to be revenged of *Richard*. I ſay to be revenged, for it is hard to believe that a Man of his Character ſhould act upon this Occaſion from a nobler Motive. 1483.

The Duke and Biſhop inform the Counteſs of Richmond of their Deſign.

Be that as it will, the Duke and the Biſhop having laid their Heads together how to bring about their Deſigns, came to this Concluſion: That all hopes of Succeſs were founded upon the Marriage of the Earl of *Richmond* with the Princeſs *Elizabeth*; That therefore, before all Things that Point was to be ſecured, without which it would be to labour in vain, or at leaſt with great uncertainty. To that End they agreed, that they ſhould without loſs of Time acquaint the Counteſs of *Richmond* with their Project, that ſhe might inform her Son of it, and ſee to get the Queen-Dowager, Mother of the Princeſs, to conſent to the Match.

But as the conferring with *Margaret* would have been very dangerous for the Duke of *Buckingham*, conſidering how exceeding jealous the King was of the *Houſe of Somerſet*, the Biſhop told him that he had an old Friend in the Counteſs's Service, one [*Reginald*] *Bray*, whom they might ſafely truſt with the Secret. The Duke approving of the Expedient, *Bray* was privately ſent for to *Brecknock*, and the Project being imparted to him, the propoſing it to his Miſtreſs was left to his Care. More eſpecially he was charged to let her underſtand that the Marriage of the Earl her Son was the Baſis and Ground-work on which the whole Project was built.

The Biſhop of Ely *flies into* Flanders.

As ſoon as *Bray* was gone to deliver his Meſſage, the Biſhop of *Ely* deſired the Duke to let him go to his Biſhoprick. He was juſtly afraid of his Life, in caſe the Plot ſhould come to be diſcovered. It may be he did not wholly depend upon the Duke's Sincerity. But the Duke gave him two invincible Reaſons why he could not comply with his Requeſt. The firſt was, that

1483. that he ſhould be guilty of letting his Priſoner eſcape, the which alone would be enough to make the King ſuſpect him. The ſecond, that in an Undertaking of this Nature, he could not do without his Advice. The Biſhop ſeemed to yield to theſe Reaſons. But he had by him ſtronger Reaſons ſtill, to free himſelf from the impending Danger, in caſe the Buſineſs was diſcovered. And therefore as he was not ſo narrowly watched by his Keepers, ſince his frequent Converſations with the Duke, he found Means to eſcape, and retire to *Ely*, from whence he fled into *Flanders*. Upon his Arrival there, he wrote to the Duke to excuſe his going off, and at the ſame Time endeavoured to convince him, that it was much more in his Power to forward the Execution of their intended Deſign, than whilſt he was a Priſoner. He conjured him likewiſe to continue firm in his Reſolution, and ſhowed him how he might carry on a private Correſpondence with him.

He writes to the Duke.

The Counteſs of Richmond *enters into the Plot.*

In the mean while, the Counteſs of *Richmond* having been informed of what was projected in Favour of the Earl her Son, ſent back her Servant to the Duke of *Buckingham* with her Compliment of Thanks; and withal let him know that ſhe was going to try to get the Queen Dowager's Conſent for the Match, and then ſhe would take the moſt proper Meaſures to ſend Word to the Earl of *Richmond*.

She acquaints the Queen Dowager with it.

Elizabeth Woodville Widow of *Edward* IV, was all this while in her Sanctuary at *Weſtminſter* with her five Daughters, lamenting the Death of her two Sons, and blaming herſelf for having been the Occaſion, by her Eaſineſs in delivering the Duke of *York* to his Uncle. There had never been any particular Friendſhip between that Queen and the Counteſs of *Richmond*. One was Wife to a King of the *Houſe of York*, and the other was of the Family of the *Somerſet*'s, ſworn Enemies of the *Yorkiſts*, wherefore the Counteſs could not viſit the Queen in her *Sanctuary*, without cauſing great Suſpicion. To avoid this Inconvenience, ſhe made uſe of one *Lewis* her Phyſician, and having communicated the whole Affair to him, ordered him to go to *London* and

and manage it ſo as to ſee the Queen, and inform her of what was in Agitation. Above all, ſhe charged him to tell her, that all Proſpect of Succeſs depended upon the Union of the two *Houſes* of *York* and *Lancaſter*, by the Marriage of the Princeſs *Elizabeth* with the Earl of *Richmond*. 1483.

Who promiſes to give her Daughter to the Earl of Richmond.

Lewis being come to *London*, found no great Difficulty to get Admittance to the Queen as a Phyſician. He communicated to her the Errand he was ſent upon, and let her know that it would be her own Fault if ſhe did not revenge herſelf upon her mortal Enemy, the Murderer of her Children, and dethrone the Uſurper, provided ſhe would but conſent to the Marriage propoſed. The Queen gladly liſtened to the Overture. She charged the *Doctor* to tell his Miſtreſs that ſhe liked the Project, and would order it ſo that all the King her Huſband's Friends ſhould join with the Earl of *Richmond*. But ſhe added, that ſhe wiſhed the Earl would take his Oath to marry *Elizabeth*, or in Caſe ſhe happened to dye, *Cecilia* her younger Siſter.

The Temper of the Nation favourable to the Conſpirators.

Matters being thus ſettled between the Queen Dowager, the Counteſs of *Richmond*, and the Duke of *Buckingham*. They endeavoured to engage in the Plot their moſt truſty Friends, who likewiſe drew in others. The *Engliſh* were as favourably inclined as one could wiſh them, upon three Accounts. Firſt, becauſe of the Peoples univerſal Hatred of the King, who had made himſelf extremely odious, as well by what he had done during his Protectorſhip, as by the Crime he had juſt committed, in putting his Nephews to Death, after he had robbed them of the Crown. He had by that Means loſt the moſt Part of the Friends of the *Houſe of York*, who only wanted an Opportnnity to avenge the Family of *Edward* IV. In the ſecond Place, all the *Lancaſtrians* beheld with Pleaſure, a Project tending to reſtore the *Houſe of Lancaſter* to the Throne. Laſtly, Thoſe that without minding the Intereſts of the two Factions, had only the Good of the Nation in view, could not but look

1483. look upon as a great Happineſs, the Succeſs of an Enterprize, which by uniting the two contending *Houſes*, would put an End to the Civil War wherewith the Kingdom had been embroiled thirty Years. Thus the *Lancaſtrians*, *Yorkiſts*, and even thoſe that ſtood Neuter, were equally diſpoſed to concur to the Downfall of the Uſurper.

The Duke begins to take Meaſures to execute his Deſigns.

The Duke of *Buckingham* being the Author and Head of the Undertaking, it was his Part to ſee to bring it to a happy Iſſue. With this view he firſt made ſure of ſome Friends in *Wales*, where his Power was great, who took upon them to liſt Soldiers privately, that he might be in a readineſs to bring an Army into the Field on a ſudden and in the Nick of Time. Then he ſettled a Correſpondence with ſome Gentlemen of *Dorſetſhire*, *Devonſhire* and *Cornwal*, who promiſed to raiſe Forces and receive the Earl of *Richmond* at his Arrival. His Deſign was to go and join them himſelf with his *Welſhmen*, that *Richard* might be leſs able to oppoſe the Earl's Landing. At the ſame Time ſeveral Lords and Gentlemen were to riſe in other Counties, that the King might be at a Loſs to know where to march firſt. The Marquiſs of *Dorſet* who had lately quitted his *Sanctuary*, Sir *Richard Woodville* his Brother, the Biſhop of *Exeter*, Sir *Edward Courtney* his Brother, and ſeveral other Perſons of Quality engaged in the Plot.

The Earl of Richmond is informed of all.

Theſe Meaſures being taken, the Counteſs of *Richmond* ſent two Expreſſes to the Earl her Son, by different Ways, to let him know what had been determined in his Favour, and in what forwardneſs Matters were. The two Expreſſes arriving almoſt together informed him of all the Circumſtances of the Plot, and prayed him to repair into *England* without loſs of Time, upon the Aſſurance they gave him that every Thing was ready for his Reception. They told him likewiſe that *Dorſetſhire*, *Devonſhire* or *Cornwal* were the moſt convenient Places to land in, by reaſon of the Meaſures which were taken with the People of thoſe Parts.

The

1483.

The Earl of *Richmond* was then at *Vannes* in *Bretagne*, where he had been ſeveral Years really a Priſoner, by reaſon of the Engagements which the Duke of *Bretagne* had entered into with *Edward* IV; but his Confinement was not ſtrict, the Duke contenting himſelf with having him narrowly watched, in order to hinder him from making his Eſcape, in caſe he ſhould attempt it. In other Reſpects he enjoyed an honourable Freedom. He was very glad to hear that they thought of him in *England*. But when he came to conſider his preſent Condition, and how little it was in his Power to return into his own Country, ſo as to meet with a welcome Reception, he found that it would be next to impoſſible to ſucceed in his Enterprize, without the Conſent and Aſſiſtance of the Duke of *Bretagne*. And indeed without that Prince would furniſh him with Money, Troops and Ships, it was not practicable for him to take juſt Meaſures to accompliſh his Deſign. Beſides, the Duke might have made him cloſe Priſoner, by which means the whole Affair would have miſcarried. Perceiving therefore he could not do without him, he reſolved to tell him the whole Secret, and engage him if poſſible to aid him. He found the Duke more ready to countenance him than he expected. The Duke had entered into no Engagements with *Richard*, as he had done with *Edward* his Brother. Beſides, the unjuſt and violent Proceedings of the new King had rendered him odious in the Eyes of all the Princes of *Europe*, and eſpecially of the Duke of *Bretagne*. Another Thing likewiſe helped to make him lend an Ear to the Earl's Propoſals. He had a Claim to the Earldom of *Richmond* in *England*, which his Anceſtors had formerly enjoyed, and he imagined the Earl would readily promiſe to reſtore it him, if by his Means he ſhould obtain the Crown. 'Tis pretended that this was the main Article of their Agreement, for which the Duke very willingly engaged to ſupply him with Men and Ships. As ſoon as the Earl was ſure of the Duke of *Bretagne*'s Aſſiſtance, he ſent Expreſſes to the Counteſs

He reſolves to impart the Matter to the Duke of Bretagne.

The Duke promiſes him Aſſiſtance.

1483. his Mother, and the Duke of *Buckingham*, to acquaint them that he hoped to be ready by the Beginning of *October*, deſiring them to prepare all Things by that Time. This good News preſently ſet all the Conſpirators at work. Every one repaired to the Poſt aſſigned him, as well to raiſe Forces as to ſtir up Inſurrections. There was no time to loſe, good Part of *Sepetember* being already paſt.

Richard receives confuſed Notions of the Conſpiracy.

How careful ſoever the Conſpirators had been to conceal themſelves, all theſe Things could not be done and *Richard* have no Intelligence that ſome Plot was hatching againſt him. But no body could tell him what it was, or who were the Authors. He was then at *York*, thinking of quite other Things, ſo ſecure was he in his own Thoughts. But theſe Advices obliged him to leave the *North*, and come nearer the Center of the Kingdom. At the ſame time he ordered his Troops which were diſperſed in ſeveral Parts, to be in a readineſs to march at a Moment's Warning. Mean while, he went on but ſlowly with his Preparations, not dreaming that the Danger was ſo near.

He ſuſpects the Duke of Buckingham.

As the Intelligence he had received made him uneaſy, he ran over in his Mind all the Lords of the Realm who could be diſguſted, or had Credit enough to ſtir up Inſurrections againſt him. He could pitch upon none but the Duke of *Buckingham*. He had angered him by not keeping his Word with him as to the Lands of *Hereford*, and knowing him perfectly well, he could make no doubt but that he was capable of doing any thing to be revenged. Beſides, he knew that he alone was in a Condition by his Parts, his Riches, and his Intereſts, to form and carry on great Deſigns. He himſelf had experienced this too much to queſtion it. The Biſhop of *Ely*'s Eſcape ſerv'd to ſtrengthen his Suſpicion. The Duke of *Buckingham* muſt needs have known how odious that Prelate was to him, and therefore his Careleſſneſs in guarding ſuch a Priſoner, could not but be conſtrued as a Colluſion and Conſequence of ſome ill Deſign. Upon theſe Suſpicions, which were but too well-grounded,

He orders him to Court.

Richard

Richard came to a Reſolution to ſend for him to Court; but the Duke deſired to be excuſed on Pretence of ſome Indiſpoſition. This Refuſal confirmed the King in his Belief, that what he had ſuſpected was but too true: Nevertheleſs, to be more fully convinced of the Matter, he ſent him poſitive Orders to come to him, without alledging any Excuſe. The Duke perceiving he could diſſemble no longer, ſent him word that he could not truſt his Perſon with his moſt mortal Enemy, and that he could not, neither would he depend any longer upon him. 1483.

The Duke refuſes, and declares againſt the King.

There needed no more to ſatisfy the King that the Duke of *Buckingham* was at the Bottom of the Plot, which for ſome time had made him uneaſy. On the other Hand, the Duke plainly perceiving that after ſuch a Declaration there were no more Meaſures to be taken, drew together the Forces which he himſelf and his Friends had privately liſted in *Wales*, and began to march towards the *Weſtern* Counties, where he knew the Earl of *Richmond* intended to land. There it was that he was to be joined by thoſe who were gone thither already, to prepare all Things againſt the Earl's coming.

He takes up Arms.

Richard was not a little ſurprized to hear that the Duke was in ſuch Readineſs. However, as he had taken ſome Precautions to draw together his Forces in caſe of Need, he appointed their Rendezvous at *Leiceſter*, whither he repaired himſelf, with a Reſolution to give his Enemies Battle, before their Numbers ſhould be increaſed. He would have found it very difficult however to prevent them, if an extraordinary and very unexpected Accident had not hindered the Duke from joining his Friends, who were ready to riſe in Arms in the Counties of *Devon* and *Cornwal*. The Duke was advancing by great Marches towards *Glouceſter*, where he deſigned to paſs the *Severn*. But juſt at that very time the River was ſwoln to that Degree, that the Country on both Sides was overflowed, and abundance of Damage done by the Waters. Never had ſuch an Inundation been heard of in

He deſigns to go into Cornwal,

but can't paſs the Severn.

1483. in that Country. It held ſix whole Days; during which time the Duke's Army could neither paſs the River, nor ſubſiſt on the other Side, where was nothing but Deſolation *. In fine, the *Welſh* Soldiers tired with ſeeing themſelves expoſed to Hunger, Rains and a Thouſand Hardſhips, returned to their Homes, notwithſtanding all the Duke's Intreaties to the contrary. The Deſertion was ſo general, that not a Soul ſtayed with the Duke except one ſingle Servant. Reduced to this ſad Condition, he ſaw no other Remedy but to go and conceal himſelf till he ſhould be able to take new Meaſures. Unluckily for him he choſe for his hiding Place the Houſe of one *Baniſter* who had been his Servant, and to whom his Father and himſelf had been very kind.

His Army diſperſes.

He hides himſelf at the Houſe of one of his Domeſticks.

Proclamation againſt the Conſpirators. Act. Pub. XII. 204.

The King hearing of the Diſperſion of the Duke of *Buckingham*'s Troops, iſſued out a *Proclamation* againſt him and the Marquiſs of *Dorſet*, with ſome other of his Adherents, or whom he ſuppoſed to be in League with him. But as the Marquiſs had not yet appeared in Arms, and ſo could not be ſtiled a Rebel, he made uſe of another Pretext to involve him in the Sentence. He ſets forth that having taken an Oath at his Coronation to puniſh Vice and Wickedneſs, he was obliged to puniſh the Marquiſs of *Dorſet*, notorious for his Debaucheries, who had ſeduced and raviſhed ſeveral Virgins, been guilty of ſundry Adulteries, and now publickly kept *Shore*'s Wife. Then he promiſes a Reward of a Thouſand Pound *Sterling*, or a Hundred Pound a Year to any Perſon that ſhould bring the Duke to Juſtice; Eight Hundred Pound, or Fourſcore Pound a Year for the Marquiſs, and ſo in proportion for the reſt that were named in the *Proclamation*. The Villain *Baniſter*, not being able to reſiſt ſo ſtrong a Temptation, went and betrayed his Maſter

The Duke of Buckingham *is betrayed and beheaded.*

* This Inundation was ſo remarkable, that for a Hundred Years after it was called *the Great Water*, or *Buckingham's Water*. It is ſaid to laſt Ten Days, and that Men, Women and Children were carried away in their Beds with the Violence of it, and that the Tops of the Mountains were covered with the Waters.

Maſter to the *Sheriff* of *Shropſhire*, who cauſing the Houſe to be ſurrounded by a Company of armed Men, ſeized the Duke of *Buckingham* diſguiſed in a Peaſant's Dreſs, and conducted him to *Shrewsbury*. The Duke was very deſirous to ſpeak with the King: but he could never obtain that Favour. Some ſay, he intended to kill him with a Dagger which was found about him after his Death. But this is only Conjecture. Be that as it will, he was beheaded at *Shrewsbury* without any legal Proceſs, by the King's bare Order. Thus this Lord, who had helped to take away the Lives of the Lord *Haſtings*, of the Earl of *Rivers*, and of the other Priſoners at *Pontfract* by an arbitrary Sentence, periſhed himſelf in the ſame Manner, by the abſolute Orders of him whom he had ſet on the Throne, contrary to all Right. On the other Side, we ſhall ſee preſently that this very Conſpiracy ſet on foot by the Duke of *Buckingham*, acceſſary to all the King's ill Actions, whilſt he was but Protector, proved the Occaſion of that Monarch's Ruin. Is it poſſible not to behold the Hand of *Providence* in ſuch ſort of Events? 1483.

The Conſpirators diſperſe.

Upon the firſt News of the Diſperſion of the *Welſh* Army, the Duke's Friends, who expected him in the *Weſt*, ready to take up Arms the Moment they ſhould hear of his having paſſed the *Severn*, all ſhifted for themſelves. Some lurked among their Friends, others fled to *Sanctuary*. But the greateſt Part took ſhipping and ſailed to the Earl of *Richmond*, plainly perceiving there was no Safety for them in the Kingdom. The Marquiſs of *Dorſet* was of this Number.

The Earl of Richmond *comes upon the Coaſt of* Cornwal.

Whilſt theſe Things paſſed in *England*, the Earl of *Richmond* imagining that all was well there, ſet Sail from St. *Malo*'s the 21ſt of *October* with Five Thouſand Men and Forty Ships, which the Duke of *Bretagne* had furniſhed him with. But the Fleet being diſperſed by a Storm, ſome of the Ships were driven on the Coaſts of *France*, others got back to *Bretagne*. The Ship the Earl of *Richmond* was on board having withſtood the Seas better than the reſt, arrived after the

He is like to be ſurpriſed, but eſcapes.

1483. the Storm was over upon the Coaſt of *Cornwal*, where he ſaw the Shore crowded with Troops, who made him a Signal to land. But fortunately for him, he reſolved not to go on Shore till his Fleet had joined him, hoping they would ſoon be at the Rendezvous. In the mean Time, he ſent one to inquire whether the Troops he ſaw were Friends or Foes. The Commander anſwered, that he was poſted there by the Duke of *Buckingham* to wait for the Earl of *Richmond*, and to favour his landing. But the Perſon ſent by the Earl eaſily perceived the contrary, and informed his Maſter of it, who finding his Deſign was diſcovered, ſet Sail again, and arrived at a Port in *Normandy*. The Truth is, the Troops he ſaw on the Coaſt of *Cornwal* were the *Militia* of the County, whom *Richard* had poſted there, with intent to deceive his Enemy by that Artifice.

He retires into Normandy.

He returns to Bretagne.

The Earl of *Richmond* heard in *Normandy* of the Misfortune happened to the Duke of *Buckingham*. As after that there was no longer any likelihood of going on with his Enterprize without taking new Meaſures, he returned to *Bretagne*, where he found the Marquiſs of *Dorſet*, with the reſt that had made their Eſcapes out of *England*. Though his Deſigns ſeemed entirely blaſted, yet he deſpaired not of better Succeſs another Time. The Fugitives gave him to underſtand that *Richard* was extremely hated in *England*, which he took as a good Omen. On the other Hand, the Duke of *Bretagne* promiſed him to continue his Aſſiſtance. So having reſolved to make a freſh Attempt, he took a ſolemn Oath on *Chriſtmas-Day*, in the Cathedral of *Rennes*, that he would marry the Princeſs *Elizabeth* Daughter of *Edward* IV, or in caſe ſhe died, *Cecilia* her younger Siſter. Then all the *Engliſh* there preſent ſwore Allegiance to him, looking upon him as King of *England* by *Right*, if he was not yet ſo in *Fact*. From thenceforward the ſtrict Inquiry that was made in *England* after thoſe that had been concerned in the Conſpiracy, forced great Num-

He perſiſts in his Reſolutions:

And ſwears to marry Elizabeth *of* York.

Many Engliſh *come and join him.*

bers

bers to retire to *Bretagne*, inſomuch that the Reſort of the *Engliſh* thither was very great for ſome Time. 1483.

Mean while, *Richard* having got out of this Danger more happily than he had reaſon to expect, commanded ſeveral Perſons to be apprehended, ſome of whom were immediately ſacrificed to his Vengeance. Of this Number was Sir *Thomas St. Leger* his Brother-in-law, who had married *Ann* his Siſter Widow of the Duke of *Exeter*. In order to make ſhort Work, and avoid the uſual Formalities of the *Courts of Juſtice*, he granted a Commiſſion to Sir *Ralph Aſhton* to exerciſe the Office of *Vice-Conſtable*, with ſo large a Power that he could condemn and execute upon the Spot all Perſons whatever guilty or ſuſpected of the Crime of *High-Treaſon*, without having regard to any *Appeal**.

Richard puts ſeveral of the Conſpirators to Death.

An extraordinary Commiſſion to Aſhton. Act. Pub. XII. 205.

By Virtue of this Commiſſion *Aſhton*, who was apparently a Man after the King's own Heart, came into the *Weſtern* Counties, where he ſignalized his Zeal by bloody Executions of ſuch as were found guilty, or only ſuſpected of having favoured the Conſpirators. In this Manner were ſpent the firſt ſix Months of the Reign of *Richard* III. This ambitious Prince was no ſooner on the Throne, but he had Occaſion to perceive with what Difficulty he was like to keep a Crown which he had been ſo eager after, and had procured by ſo many unlawful Practices.

In the Month of *January* 148$\frac{3}{4}$, the King ſummoned his firſt Parliament. This he did at a very ſeaſonable Juncture. The Duke of *Buckingham*'s Conſpiracy ſeeming to be entirely ſtifled by the Death of that Lord, and the Retreat of the Earl of *Richmond*, there was not a Man in the Kingdom that was able to lift up his Head. So the Parliament, conſiſting no doubt of *Repreſentatives* devoted to the King, de- 1484.

The Parliament meets,

* By this *Commiſſion*, which is to be ſeen Vol. XII. p. 205. of *Rymer's Fœdera*, may be known the Office and Authority of the *High-Conſtable* of *England*.

1484. Edward IV's *Issue declared Bastards.*

clared *Edward the Fourth*'s Issue Illegitimate *, and confirmed the irregular Election of *Richard*, together with his pretended Right to the Crown. This *Act* was absolutely necessary for the King's Security. Besides, the Parliament avoided by that means the Trouble of inquiring after the Fate of *Edward* V, whom all *England* had for some Months acknowledged for King.

The Earl of Richmond *attainted.*

Then an *Act* of *Attainder* was passed against *Henry* Earl of *Richmond* and all his Adherents, by virtue whereof all their Estates were forfeited to the King. By this *Act*, which declared all Those *Rebels* and *Traitors* that had any hand in the Duke of *Buckingham*'s and the Earl of *Richmond*'s Conspiracy, all the late Executions were in some Measure justified, because such as had suffered were looked upon as guilty of the Crime condemned by this *Bill*. By good Luck none of them discovered that the Countess of *Richmond* was concerned in the Plot, whether it was that she had trusted but few Persons, or that her Confidents had escaped to *Bretagne*. However *Richard* thinking it hardly possible that the Earl of *Richmond* should have formed such an Undertaking without his Mother's Knowledge, ordered the Lord *Stanley* her Husband to keep her close confined, to prevent her from attempting any Thing for the future. He had then a perfect Confidence in the Lord *Stanley*, whom he had just made *High-Constable* after *Ashton*, in quality of *Vice-Constable*, had been instrumental to his Designs. Apparently he did not think the Lord *Stanley* a proper Person to exercise the Severities which he had given *Ashton* Commission to execute, and no doubt that was the Reason why he did not make him *High-Constable*

The Countess of Richmond *is not discovered.*

The Lord Stanley *made* High-Constable. Dec. 16. p. 209.

* Though Mr. *Rapin* before in the Reign of *Edward* V says, that *Comines* was mistaken in saying that this Marriage of *Edward* IV, with *Eleanor Talbot* or *Butler*, (Daughter of the Earl of *Shrewsbury*, and Relict of the Lord *Butler* of *Sudeley*,) was objected to prove the Illegitimacy of his Children. Yet we find it was urged in this *Bill* without any mention at all of his Pre-contract with *Elizabeth Lucy* See *Cotton*'s Abridgement, p. 209, &c.

Conſtable till every Thing relating to that Commiſſion was finiſhed. 1484.

Richard had Ground to believe that after his vigorous Proceedings againſt the Parties concerned, the Conſpiracy was entirely cruſhed *. But *Thomas Hutton*, who was returned from his Ambaſſy to *Bretagne*, let him know that the ſame Plot was ſtill on Foot, and that the Duke of *Bretagne* had promiſed the Earl of *Richmond* the continuance of his Aſſiſtance. He gave him the Names of ſuch of the Conſpirators as were with the Earl, and informed him that they had frequent Conferences together, and were very buſy. It was eaſy to conclude from thence, that the Earl of *Richmond* had not loſt all Hopes, and that he had ſtill in *England* ſome Friends on whom he relied for the Accompliſhment of his Deſigns. And yet, ſince the Death of the Duke of *Buckingham*, the Flight of the Marquiſs of *Dorſet*, and the Execution of ſeveral of their Party, *Richard* ſaw no Body in the Kingdom which ſeemed to be in a Condition to make Head againſt him. So concluding that the Danger muſt come from Abroad, he reſolved to take all poſſible Precautions to hinder his Enemies from meeting with any Aid from Foreign Princes.

The King receives freſh Advices of the Conſpiracy.

He tries to prevent the Danger-

Laſt Year he had confirmed the Alliance of *England* with *Caſtile*, and in *June* this Year he did the ſame Thing with regard to *Portugal*. In Appearance, the whole Storm was like to come from thoſe two Quarters, ſince the King of *Portugal* and the Queen of *Caſtile* were both deſcended from *Philippa* and *Catharine*, Daughters of *John* of *Gant* Duke of

He ſecures Caſtile *and* Portugal. Act. Pub. XII. 228.

* He ordered Sir *William Collingburn* of *Lydiard* in *Wiltſhire* to be hanged, drawn and quartered, for aiding the Earl of *Richmond*, and writing a Satyrical *Dyſtick* upon him and his Favourites, Viſcount *Lovel*, Sir *Richard Ratcliffe*, and Sir *William Catesby*.

The *Cat*, the *Rat*, and *Lovel* the *Dog*,
Rule all *England* under a *Hog*.

Alluding to *Lovel*'s Arms, and to one of *Richard*'s Supporters, being a *Wild-Boar*.

1484. *Lancaster*, and consequently they might have pretended to the Crown of *England*. Mean while the Frankness wherewith they had renewed their Alliance with *England*, suffered not the King to suspect them of having any such Thoughts.

and the Archduke Maximilian. *p.* 231, 246.

Maximilian Archduke of *Austria*, who governed the *Low-Countries* in the Name of *Philip* his Son, being Son of *Leonora* of *Portugal*, Grand-Daughter of *Philippa* of *Lancaster*, might have likewise laid Claim to the Crown of *England*, or abetted the Earl of *Richmond*. Which Consideration made *Richard* resolve to send Ambassadors to him, under Colour of renewing the Truce of Commerce between *England* and the *Low-Countries*. But in all Appearance, the Ambassadors had Instructions to sound whether there was any Project going forward at that Court with respect to *England*.

He sends Ambassadors to France. *p.* 221.

Though it did not seem that *Richard* had any reason to Fear any Thing from *France*, under a *Minority* disturbed with intestine Divisions, he had taken care however to send Ambassadors to *Charles* VII, to get the Truce prolonged or at least confirmed.

And tries to win the Duke of Bretagne.

There remained only *Bretagne* and *Scotland* that could give him any Uneasiness. He could not question but that the Duke of *Bretagne* had already assisted the Earl of *Richmond*, and was still inclined to do so. For which Reason he thought no Stone should be left unturned to win that Prince to his Side.

Affairs of Bretagne.

Francis II Duke of *Bretagne* being grown old and infirm, suffered himself to be wholly guided by *Peter Landais* his Treasurer, and committed to him the sole Management of his Affairs. This Favourite, who was the Son of a Taylor, carried Matters so insolently that he drew upon himself the Hatred of all the *Bretons*. This very Year 1484, it happened that the Great Men having combined together against him, would have seized him in the very Palace, but missing their Aim, they saw themselves exposed to the Favourite's Vengeance, who caused them to be declared guilty of High-Treason. But as the whole Country

Country was againſt him, he believed it beſt to ſupport himſelf by ſome foreign Aid. To that End he ſent in his Maſter's Name Ambaſſadors to *Richard*, on Pretence to make a Truce with him, which was accordingly concluded in *June* at *Pontfract* where the King then was, and which was to laſt till the 24th of *April* following. 1484. Richard's *Truce with* Bretagne.

But this was not all the Ambaſſadors from *Bretagne* were commiſſioned to do. There are two Records in the *Collection of the Publick Acts*, whereby it appears that *Richard* had promiſed to ſend the Duke of *Bretagne* an Aid of a Thouſand Archers. Now this could be upon no other Account than what I have juſt mentioned, ſince the Duke of *Bretagne* had then no other War upon his Hands. As the Duke did nothing of himſelf, it is very likely that in order to obtain theſe Succours, *Landais* had put him in hopes that he would deliver up the Earl of *Richmond*. And indeed what followed plainly made appear that he had promiſed ſome ſuch Thing. Thus *Richard* thought himſelf ſo ſecure from the Side of *Bretagne*, that inſtead of being apprehenſive that the Duke would aſſiſt the Earl of *Richmond*, he flattered himſelf with the Proſpect of having very ſoon his Enemy in his Power. *Secret Negotiations between* Richard *and the Duke, or* Landais *his Favourite.*

As he might alſo be afraid that the King of *Scotland*, who was deſcended from a Princeſs of the *Houſe of Somerſet*, would countenance the Male-Contents, as being concerned to place the Earl of *Richmond* on the Throne of *England*, he believed he ought to ſecure himſelf on that Side likewiſe. To that End he negotiated with *James* IV a Truce, which was concluded in *September* this Year, and was to laſt till the 29th of the ſame Month 1487. At the ſame Time he agreed upon the Marriage of his Niece *Ann de la Pole*, Daughter of his Siſter *Elizabeth* and the Duke of *Suffolk*, with the Duke of *Rothſay*, eldeſt Son of the King of *Scotland*. *Truce with* Scotland. *p.* 232—244.

All theſe Precautions appeared ſo juſt, that he ſeemed to be ſcreened from all Danger. But however, to ſtrip the Earl of *Richmond* of all hopes of accompliſh- *Death of the Prince of* Wales.

1484. *Earl of* Lincoln *declared Heir to the Crown.*

compliſhing his Deſigns, the Prince of *Wales* his Son dying in *April* this Year, he declared his Nephew the Earl of *Lincoln* his Heir Apparent, purpoſing to get his Declaration ratified by the Parliament. The Earl of *Lincoln* was Son of *Elizabeth* his Siſter, and Brother of *Ann*, who was to marry the Prince of *Scotland*.

Embaſſy of Obedience to the Pope. p. 253.

Moreover, not to neglect any Thing that might give his Enemies an Advantage, he ſent an Ambaſſador with a Promiſe of Obedience to Pope *Innocent* VIII, who was juſt elected to the *Papal* Throne. He had omitted this Compliment to *Sixtus* IV, *Innocent*'s Predeceſſor, as appears in the *Collection of the Publick Acts*. But the Fear he was under of incenſing the Pope, and affording a Handle to the Male-Contents in the Kingdom, and particularly the *Clergy*, made him diſpatch his Ambaſſadors to *Rome*.

Embaſſy from France. p. 234.

Shortly after he had the Satisfaction to ſee that *Charles* VIII King of *France* demanded of him a *Safe-Conduct* for Ambaſſadors he intended to ſend to him. Thus every Thing ſeemed to look with a good Aſpect. Mean while the Earl of *Richmond* was ſtill full of Hopes, and as long as that Prince was out of his Power, he could not think himſelf thoroughly fixed in the Throne. That was the chief, or rather the ſole Cauſe of all his Trouble and Care.

Richard *treats with* Landais *about delivering up the Earl of* Richmond.

The Truce with *Bretagne* not being to laſt but till the 24th of *April* 1425, *Richard* took Occaſion from thence to ſend Ambaſſadors to the Duke of *Bretagne* to get it prolonged. That was the pretended Reaſon of the Ambaſſy. But the Ambaſſadors had Inſtructions to treat about another Affair of greater Moment, with *Landais* Prime Miniſter and abſolute Maſter of the Duke, who was fallen into a kind of Lethargy, which rendered him unfit for publick Affairs. And that was to perſwade that *Miniſter* to deliver up the Earl of *Richmond*.

Landais had not wanted the Thouſand Archers mentioned above. It was therefore neceſſary, in order to obtain what the King deſired, to make a new Treaty, which

which might turn so much to the Duke's and the Favourite's Advantage, as to cause them to overlook all the Scruples they might have upon that Score. As to the Duke, *Argentré* affirms, that he saw among the Records of *Bretagne*, *Richard the Third's Letters Patent*, whereby he gave to the Duke the Earldom of *Richmond* with all its Appurtenances, in the same Manner as his Ancestors had enjoyed it, upon Condition only that it should return to the Crown in Case the Duke died without Issue. With respect to *Landais*, as Matters were transacted more privately, it is not so well known what his Reward was to be for the Service he intended to do. Thus much is certain, *Richard* made him very advantagious Offers. But as he was a Man not to be satisfied with bare Promises, there was occasion to send Expresses to the King. These Delays, which, as *Argentré* positively affirms, were upon the *Minister*'s Account, proved the Earl of *Richmond*'s Security. Though he was then in *Bretagne*, he was entirely ignorant of what passed at the Duke's Court. But the Bishop of *Ely*, who though absent had good Spies about *Richard*, being informed that the Bishop of *Leon* Ambassador of *Bretagne* was treating very privately with the King, warned the Earl of *Richmond* that he was not safe in the Duke of *Bretagne*'s Dominions. This Notice coming from so good a Hand, put the Earl upon seriously thinking how to get out of the impending Danger. As he knew *Landais* to be a Person capable of committing the basest Actions *, he resolved to retire into *France*, and to that Purpose he went privately to King *Charles* for a *Pass-Port*, which was readily granted him. Mean while, informed as he was of *Landais*'s ill Designs upon him, he did not question but he had ordered him to be narrowly watched. And therefore, it was no easy Matter to make his Escape, especially as he was surrounded with abundance of *English*, whom it was very

1484.

The Bishop of Ely *warns the Earl of* Richmond *of his Danger.*

The Earl resolves to make his Escape.

The Difficulty of the Thing.

* And yet this is the same Person that before pleaded so heartily against delivering the Earl of *Richmond* to *Edward* IV.

1484. very hard to conceal the Secret from, and very dangerous to reveal it to. To remedy this Inconvenience, the Duke of *Bretagne* being at that time recovered of his Illneſs, the Earl took Occaſion to ſend the principal Lords of his Retinue, to congratulate him upon it, ordering them to take along with them all their Servants under colour to do him the more Honour. His Aim was not only to be more alone at *Vannes*, but chiefly to remove from his Keepers all Suſpicion of his deſiring to eſcape, whilſt he had ſo many Hoſtages at the Duke's Court. Accordingly, this Artifice ſucceeded to his Wiſh, ſo that two Days after he departed from *Vannes* in Diſguiſe, attended by five Perſons only. As ſoon as he was out of the Town, he left the great Road, and riding croſs the Fields and through By-ways, without ſtopping any where, ſafely arrived at *Angiers* Capital of *Anjou*. This Speed was abſolutely neceſſary; for otherwiſe he would have been infallibly taken. They whoſe Buſineſs it was to watch him, hearing of his Eſcape, purſued him ſo cloſely, that they came upon the Borders of *Bretagne* but one Hour after him. In a few Days the Duke being informed that the Earl was gone off, under an Apprehenſion of ſome ill Treatment, ſeemed very angry with *Landais* for giving him any Cauſe to fear, not knowing without doubt what his Favourite was negotiating with the King of *England*. Then he gave all the *Engliſh* in his Dominions leave to go to the Earl with Offers of Service. The Earl of *Richmond* received his kind Offers in the moſt grateful Manner, and deſired the Duke's Meſſengers to tell him that he would have all his Favours in everlaſting Remembrance. Thus the Earl of *Richmond* eſcaped, as it were miraculouſly out of the Snares *Richard* had laid for him. This was the ſecond time he had luckily got off. The *Engliſh* belonging to his Retinue, thought themſelves no leſs happy than he, to ſee themſelves by the Duke's Generoſity out of the Clutches of his baſe *Miniſter*, who not long after attoned on a Gibbet for

He eſcapes luckily, and arrives at Angiers.

The Duke of Bretagne *ſends him offers of Service.*

for all the ill Actions his Avarice had prompted him to commit. 1484.

The Earl of *Richmond* making but a ſhort Stay at *Angiers*, went to *Charles* VIII. who was then at *Langeais*, and who received him very civilly. But however, as the Court of *France* was not yet free from Troubles, it was no favourable Juncture for the Earl to procure the Aſſiſtance he could no longer expect from the Duke of *Bretagne*. Nevertheleſs, as the young King ſeemed to ſtand well inclined to him, he deſpaired not to obtain ſome Aid of that Prince, when the Diſturbances at his Court ſhould be over. *Charles VIII. receives him honourably.*

Whilſt his Affairs were in this State of Uncertainty, he ſaw the Earl of *Oxford* arrive, whom King *Edward* IV. had confined in the Caſtle of *Hammes* in *Picardy*. *Oxford*, who had been one of the chief Sticklers for *the Houſe of Lancaſter*, having heard in Priſon that the Earl of *Richmond* laid claim to the Crown, had wrought ſo effectually upon the Governor of *Hammes*, that he had perſuaded him to ſet him at Liberty and to declare for the Earl. He brought him along with him to wait upon that Prince and offer him his Service. The having the Earl of *Oxford* on his Side turned greatly to the Earl of *Richmond*'s Advantage in *England*. Several other Lords privately ſent him word that he might depend upon their Aſſiſtance, when they ſhould ſee it proper to declare againſt *Richard*. *The Earl of* Oxford *eſcapes out of* Hammes *and goes to the Earl of* Richmond.

Mean while, the King had daily Notice that ſomething was contriving againſt him in favour of the Earl of *Richmond*; but he could not diſcover the Authors of the Plot what Spies ſoever he employed. Beſides, he knew no *Engliſh* Lord powerful enough as he thought to form or execute an Enterprize of that Nature. The Lord *Stanley* was the only Perſon he could miſtruſt, becauſe he was Huſband to the Counteſs of *Richmond*. That alone rendered him ſuſpected, though otherwiſe he had no Proof againſt him. So, to ſecure himſelf from that Side, *Stanley* having aſked him leave to go to his own Eſtate, he required him to leave his Son at Court as a ſort of Hoſtage. The Truth is, his Suſ- *Richard obliges the Lord* Stanley *to leave his Son in Hoſtage.*

1484. Suspicions were but too well-grounded, since that very Lord proved afterwards the main Instrument of his Destruction.

He discovers the Project of the Marriage of the Earl of Richmond *with* Elizabeth.

Richard knew very well he was not beloved in *England*. On the other Hand, he heard that there was something working in the People's Heads, which, though kept secret, could not but be dangerous. However, he was not able to prevent the Mischief he dreaded, without he knew what his Enemies Contrivances were, and who were the principal Authors. Upon this therefore he laid out all his Pains. At length, by planting Spies in the Country, he came to find that the Projects in favour of the Earl of *Richmond* were founded upon his Promise to marry the Princess *Elizabeth*, eldest Daughter of *Edward* IV. This Discovery made him perceive that the *Yorkists* were not far from being Friends with the *Lancastrians*, since they consented to the Match. It was manifest that such an Agreement could not but bring on his Ruin, since in that case he would have none to rely on but a few Friends of his *House*, all the rest declaring for his Brother's Family. Finding therefore that the Plot which was hatching against him was built upon a more solid Foundation than he had imagined, he applied himself wholly to break the Earl of *Richmond*'s Measures by preventing this fatal Marriage. He hit upon no better way to come to his Ends, than to marry himself the Princess designed for his Enemy. But the Execution of such a Project was clogged with several Difficulties, which to a Prince less scrupulous than himself would have appeared insuperable. The first was that he had a Wife already, whose Constitution afforded no Signs that she would quickly end her Days. But however, he despaired not to get over that Obstacle, either by way of Divorce or some other less lawful Means. The second Difficulty was to get *Elizabeth* out of the Sanctuary at *Westminster*, where she was with the Queen her Mother. Besides, it was no easy Task to persuade the Queen Dowager to give her Daughter to the Murderer of her Sons. Lastly, he

He resolves to marry his Niece.

must

must procure the Pope's Diſpenſation to marry his Niece. But this Obſtacle ſeemed a mere Trifle in Compariſon of the others, well knowing that it was not impracticable to adjuſt that Affair with the Court of *Rome*. 1484.

To enter upon the Execution of this ſtrange Project, he ſent ſeveral Perſons to the Queen Dowager to inſinuate to her, that he was very deſirous to live in Friendſhip with her, and to ſhow her Marks of his good Will: That he confeſſed he had dealt too roughly with her, but to repair in ſome meaſure the Injury he had done her, he intended to aſſign her an honourable Penſion, and to give her two Brothers ſuch Poſts as they ſhould have reaſon to be ſatisfied. Moreover, that he would take care of her Daughters, and help them to Matches ſuitable to their Quality. But as the Queen would hardly be induced to give Credit to his fair Promiſes, after having been ſo barbarouſly deceived, the Perſons he employed hinted to her, that this Alteration proceeded from the Death of the Prince of *Wales*. That the King being now childleſs, and without Proſpect of having any Iſſue, his Intereſts were no longer diſtinct from thoſe of his Brother's Family, and therefore he could do nothing more beneficial to himſelf and his *Houſe* than to marry his Neices into the moſt conſiderable Families in *England*. In fine, they told her that the King's Deſign was to order Matters ſo, that after his Death the Princeſs *Elizabeth* ſhould aſcend the Throne, what he had done in Favour of the Earl of *Lincoln* his Nephew being eaſily recoverable, ſince it had not yet paſſed into an *Act* of Parliament. *He gett the Queen Dowager to give up her Daughters.*

Theſe laſt Inſinuations made deep Impreſſion in the Queen's Mind. Her Intereſt made her imagine what they ſaid very probable. On the other Hand, ſhe was heartily tired of her *Sanctuary* which was properly a Priſon, from whence ſhe could not ſtir without being liable to greater Miſchiefs. She had an extreme Love for her Brothers, as ſhe had plainly ſhown in the Life-time of the King her Huſband, and the Hopes *Richard* gave her with reſpect to them were very grate-

1484. ful to her. In fine, she considered that the Plot in favour of the Earl of *Richmond* having miscarried by the Death of the Duke of *Buckingham*, she and her Daughters must expect to fare even worse than they had done hitherto, if by her Denial she should incense the King yet more against her. These Considerations causing her to forget the grievous Outrages she had received from that Prince, she was so blind and indiscreet as to put her five Daughters into his Hands. Moreover, she wrote to the Marquiss of *Dorset* her Brother to advise him to relinquish the Earl of *Richmond*, and come and throw himself into the Arms of the King. The Marquiss as inconsiderate, and no less ambitious than the Queen his Sister, flattering himself with the Prospect of Honours and Preferment, privately withdrew from *Paris* with design to pass over into *England*. But the Earl of *Richmond* caused him to be pursued with so much Speed, that he had him brought back to *Paris*, where by strong Reasons he persuaded him to stay with him.

Death of Richard's Queen.

As soon as *Richard* had his Niece in his Power, he thought of means to execute another Part of his Project: And that was to get rid of his Queen that he might marry his Niece. Those Historians that speak the most favourably of his Conduct in this Matter, say, that he made the Queen die with Grief and Vexation, by shewing an Aversion to her which she did not deserve, and by grievously mortifying her every Day. Others speak plainer, and affirm, that he hastned her Death by Poison. Some add, that he privately acquainted the Archbishop of *York* with certain secret Infirmities of the Queen which rendered her very disagreeable to him. This he did on purpose that the Archbishop might tell her of it again, and that it might be a Means to make her take on so as to kill her with Grief. It is said further, that the Archbishop after hearing the King's Discourse, told some body that the Queen had not long to live. And indeed she died very soon after. Her Fate would have been more worthy of Pity, if her Death had not been observed to

be

be a manifeſt Judgment upon her, for having married the Murderer of the Prince of *Wales* her firſt Huſband Son of *Henry* VI. *Richard* ſhowed an extraordinary Sorrow at his Loſs, and made a pompous Funeral for his deceaſed Queen. But this feigned Grief was not capable of undeceiving the People, who openly charged him with murdering his Queen as he had done his Nephews *. 1484.

Notwithſtanding the extreme Sorrow he expreſſed in Publick, the Queen was no ſooner laid in her Grave, but he had the Aſſurance to make his Addreſſes to the Princeſs *Elizabeth* and offer her Marriage. But ſhe gave him ſuch an Anſwer as let him ſee how much ſhe abhorred ſuch an Union, and deſired him never to ſpeak of it any more *'. *Richard* being very ſenſible that it was no proper Seaſon to uſe Violence, was ſatisfied for that time with having made known his Suit, till a fairer Opportunity ſhould preſent to preſs the Execution of his Project. Mean while, as he became every Day more odious, many Lords and Gentlemen went over and offered their Service to the Earl of *Richmond*. Others took the ſame Courſe with a View to avoid the Proſecutions of that bloody Prince, in caſe they ſhould have the ill Luck to be ſuſpected by him. Thoſe that ſtay'd in the Kingdom were no better affected, and waited only a favourable Opportunity to declare againſt him.

The Princeſs Elizabeth *refuſes to marry the King her Uncle.*

Several Lords go over to the Earl of Richmond

Richard hearing that the Earl of *Oxford* and the Governor of *Hammes* were gone to the Earl of *Richmond*, ſent Orders to the Governor of *Calais* to beſiege

Siege and taking of Hammes.

* *Buck* will have it, that her great Grief at the Death of the Prince of *Wales* her only Son, threw her into a Conſumption which carried her off in a very little Time.

*' *Buck* ſays, that there is an original Letter under *Elizabeth*'s own Hand in the Cabinet of the Earl of *Arundel* and *Surrey*, written to the Duke of *Norfolk*, wherein ſhe deſires him to be a Mediator for her Marriage with the King, who, (ſhe ſaid) was her only *Joy* and *Maker* in this World, and that ſhe was his in *Heart* and *Thought*, withal inſinuating that the beſt Part of *February* was paſt, and that ſhe feared the Queen would never die.

1484. siege that Caſtle and reduce it to his Obedience. His Orders were executed with ſo much ſpeed, that the Earl of *Oxford* who was marching to relieve the Place, could not arrive till after the Capitulation. However he got this Advantage by it, that he brought away the Garriſon to the Earl of *Richmond*.

1485. *Richard lays up his Fleet.* After the Earl of *Richmond*'s Attempt, *Richard* had fitted out a Squadron of Ships to oppoſe his Paſſage in caſe he ſhould think of making another Deſcent. But in the Beginning of the Year 1485, the Truce with *Bretagne* being prolonged for ſeven Years, and *France* ſhowing no great Forwardneſs to aſſiſt his Enemy, he believed he might ſave the Charge of a Fleet which he conſidered now as uſeleſs. Accordingly the Ships were unrigged and laid up in the Spring.

The Court of France reſolves to aid the Earl of Richmond. This Proceeding having very much encouraged the Earl of *Richmond*, he earneſtly ſollicited the Court of *France* for Aid. King *Charles*'s Miniſters having at length ſeriouſly taken his Requeſt into Conſideration, believed it could not but be advantagious to *France*, to keep alive the Troubles in *England*. It was ſolely with this View that they promiſed the Earl an Aid of two Thouſand Men, with Ships to tranſport them, and likewiſe a Sum of Money. *Philip de Comines* ſays, he never ſaw ſuch ſorry Troops as thoſe that were appointed for this Expedition. The which is a clear Evidence enough with what Intent the Court of *France* granted the Earl theſe pitiful Succours. What is more, he was obliged to leave Hoſtages in *France* for the Security of reimburſing the Charges the Court was at upon his Score. The Earl having ſome Grounds to miſtruſt the Marquiſs of *Dorſet*, embraced this Opportunity to leave him in Hoſtage at *Paris*, with Sir *Thomas Bourcher*. Then he came to *Roan*, where the Troops were ordered to aſſemble.

The Earl goes to Roan.

He deſigns to marry Sir Walter Herbert's Daughter. Upon his Arrival at *Roan*, he received a very unwelcome Piece of News. He was informed of the Queen's Death, and of *Richard*'s Deſign to marry the Princeſs *Elizabeth* his Niece, and to give *Cecilia* her younger

younger Sister to one of his Favourites. His Measures being broken by this Marriage which was represented to him as upon the Point of being consummated, he consulted upon this Occasion with the Lords that attended him. The Result of their Opinions was, that since he could have no Prospect to marry one of *Edward the Fourth*'s Daughters which were marriagable, he ought to cast his Eyes upon some other. To that Purpose, they advised him to gain over to his Interest Sir *Walter Herbert*, a Person of very great Authority in *Wales*, by offering to espouse his younger Sister, the eldest being already married to the Earl of *Northumberland*. This Resolution being taken, he dispatched an Express to Sir *Walter Herbert* to propose the Matter to him. By good luck, the Messenger found the Roads so narrowly watched, that he durst not venture to pursue his Journey to *Herbert*. It is very evident, that if this Business had succeeded according to the Earl of *Richmond*'s Wish, it would have lost him all the Friends of *Edward the Fourth*'s Family who were very numerous. The Truth is, they had sided with him purely from the Prospect that he would unite the two *Houses* of *York* and *Lancaster* by his Marriage with the Princess *Elizabeth*. 1484.

His Measures are broken.

Not many Days after he received Letters from *England*, acquainting him, that if he would make haste and land in *Wales*, he could not have a more favourable Opportunity. That all the Nobility of the Country were for him. That he would find the People ready to take up Arms in his Favour, and a good Sum of Money in Stock which had been privately gathered to supply his Occasions. That in the rest of the Kingdom every Body was displeased with the King, who daily rendered himself more odious. In fine, that the present Juncture was the more favourable, as it did not appear that *Richard* imagined him so ready to set out, seeing there were no extraordinary Preparations going forward.

He is invited into England.

This

1484. *He lands at* Milford-Haven,

This good News obliged the Earl to haſten his Departure, without ſtaying for Sir *Walter Herbert*'s Anſwer. So coming to *Harfleur* where his Ships waited for him, he embarked his Troops and ſet Sail the laſt Day of *July*. He arrived on the ſixth of *Auguſt* at *Milford-Haven* * in *South-Wales*, and next Day he came to *Haverford* *1 where he was joyfully received by the Inhabitants.

and marches to paſs the Severn *at* Shrewſbury.

From thence it was that he ſent an Expreſs to the Counteſs his Mother to inform her of his Arrival, and the Deſign he had to march towards *London*, deſiring her to get all his Friends together, that they might come and join him upon the Road with as many Troops as poſſible. He had a long Way to march, ſince having no Town upon the *Severn* at his Command, he was under a Neceſſity to go almoſt quite through *Wales* to get to *Shrewsbury* towards the Head of that River, where he had been made to hope he ſhould be received. So making but a ſhort ſtay at *Haverford*, he began his march to *North-Wales* in order to reach *Shrewsbury* before the King ſhould be ready to diſpute his Paſſage.

The King orders Herbert *to oppoſe the Earl's March.*

Richard having Intelligence that the Earl of *Richmond* was landed at *Milford-Haven* with ſo few Troops, did not imagine he would be able to make any great Progreſs. However he ſent Orders to Sir *Walter Herbert*, to raiſe the *Militia* of the County, thinking that *Herbert* might eaſily ſtop him till he ſhould himſelf be in a readineſs to march. But *Herbert* having been privately won by the Earls Friends, let him paſs unmolleſted without offering to give him the leaſt Diſturbance.

The Earl is joined by Sir Rice ap Thomas.

Some Days after Sir *Rice ap Thomas*, a Man of great Power in *Wales*, met the Earl upon his Rout and proffered his Service, which was accepted with Joy. He

* One of the moſt ſpacious and ſecure Ports in *Europe*; it contains 16 *Creeks*, 5 *Bays*, and 13 *Roads*, diſtinguiſhed by their ſeveral Names.

*1 Called now *Harford-Weſt*. It is a *County* of it ſelf, and is governed by a *Mayor*, a *Sheriff*, and two *Bailiffs*.

He had with him a good Body of *Welſhmen*. It is not at all ſtrange that all *Wales* ſhould declare for the Earl, ſince he was of *Welſh* Extraction, and of one of the antienteſt Families of the Country. 1485.

He is received at Shrewſbury.

The Earl of *Richmond*'s Army being very much encreaſed by the coming in of Sir *Rice ap Thomas*, and ſeveral *Welſh* Gentlemen, and the whole Country ſupplying him in his March with all Neceſſaries, he arrived in a few Days at *Shrewsbury*, where he was received without Oppoſition.

The Lord Stanley and his Brother raiſe Forces as if it was for the King.

It was not without Reaſon that the King had ſuſpected the Lord *Stanley* of being a ſecret Friend to his Son-in-law. *Stanley* had indeed ſent the Earl of *Richmond* Word, that he would abet him to the utmoſt of his Power. But as he had been forced to leave his Son in Hoſtage with the King, he could not openly eſpouſe his Cauſe without endangering his Son's Life. For which Reaſon he pretended to take the King's Part, and having levied about five Thouſand Men, he went and poſted himſelf at *Lichfield*, as if he had intended to oppoſe the Earl of *Richmond*'s March. On the other Hand, *William Strange* * his Brother drew together likewiſe a Body of two Thouſand Men, giving out that it was with the ſame View.

The King determine to fight Richmond.

The King being then at *Nottingham*, where upon the firſt News of his Enemies landing he had given Orders to draw his Forces together. He had at firſt conſidered the Earl of *Richmond*'s Attempt as a ſort of *Bravado*, which he hoped to make him ſoon repent of. But when he heard that Sir *Walter Herbert* had ſuffered him to paſs without Oppoſition, that Sir *Rice ap Thomas* had joined him, that all *Wales* had ſided with him, and that he was marching on towards *Shrewſbury*, he reſolved to go in Perſon and give him Battle before he ſhould make greater Progreſs, and his Army be reinforced. He wiſely judged that if upon this Occaſion he ſhould ſhow the leaſt Faintheartedneſs, the whole Kingdom would certainly de-

* Sir *William Stanley*.

1485. clare against him. On the contrary, his Courage and Resolution were capable of keeping in Awe such as were inclined to side with the Enemy. Mean while he had every Day the Vexation to hear that his Officers and Soldiers deserted to the Earl. He was still in hopes that the Lord *Stanley* and his Brother would come and join him with their Troops, though the little Correspondence they kept with him, gave him but too much Reason to suspect them of Treachery. Be that as it will, having received certain Advice, that the Earl of *Richmond* intended to march towards *London*, he resolved to go and expect him upon his Rout between *Leicester* and *Coventry*, in order to put a speedy End to their Quarrel by a Battle.

Desertion in his Army.

He mistrusts Stanley.

The Earl advances to Lichfield.

Though the Earl of *Richmond*'s Army was not strong, he was no less desirous to come to an Engagement, because he expected that the Lord *Stanley* and his Brother would not fail him in Case of need. With these Hopes he advanced towards *Lichfield*, from whence, upon his Approach the Lord *Stanley* retired to *Atherston*. Whilst his Army was upon the march, he came privately to *Stafford*, where he had a Conference with *William Strange*, in which they concerted the Measures, the Effects whereof we shall see presently.

A dangerous Adventure happens to the Earl in his March.

The Earl being come to *Lichfield*, heard that the King was at *Leicester*. Whereupon finding he could not possibly go on towards *London* without fighting, he resolved to march directly to his Enemy. Whilst he was on the Road to *Tamworth*, he happened to lag behind his Company, and being in a deep Muse upon his Affairs, he mistook his Way, and lost the Track of his Army. He roved about till Night, not daring to ask the Way to *Tamworth* for fear of lighting upon one of *Richard*'s Party. At last, not having been able to hit the Road, he was fain to pass the Night at a Village, without knowing where he was, or daring to enquire. However next Morning he found Means to get to *Tamworth*, where his Army was in great Pain for him, not knowing what was become

become of him. To excuſe ſuch a Blunder which muſt needs have done him a great Injury had it been known, he pretended that he had been to confer in private with ſome Perſons who did not care to appear openly. That very Day he went with a few Attendants to *Atherſton*, where he had a long Conference with the Lord *Stanley*. On the Morrow having heard that *Richard* was gone from *Leiceſter* to meet him, he moved forward himſelf to ſave him ſome Part of the Way. The two Armies met at *Boſworth*, ſo near one another, that there would have been no avoiding a Battle, ſuppoſing either of the two Leaders had deſired it. But they were both very far from any ſuch Thoughts. The 22d of *Auguſt* was the Day famous for the Battle which decided the Quarrel of the two contending *Houſes*. 1485.

The two Armies meet at Boſworth.

Richard perceiving his Enemy to advance, drew up his Army about twelve or thirteen Thouſand ſtrong in order of Battle. He gave the Command of the Vanguard to the Duke of *Norfolk*, and led the main Body himſelf, with the Crown on his Head, either to be the better known, or to put his Troops in mind they were fighting for their King. The Earl of *Richmond* who had not above five Thouſand Men, drew up his Army likewiſe in two *Lines*, of which the Earl of *Oxford* commanded the firſt, and he himſelf the ſecond. An Hiſtorian has recited the Speeches which the two Leaders made to their Soldiers before the Fight. But as it is not very certain that they were really ſpoken, and beſides as they contain nothing very particular, I ſhall paſs them over in Silence.

and draw up.

Whilſt the two Armies were preparing for Battle, the Lord *Stanley* who till then had continued at *Atherſton*, came and poſted himſelf with his Troops over againſt the Space, between the two Armies, and his Brother who was come from *Stafford* took his Station on the other Side, oppoſite to him. *Richard* had been hitherto in doubt whether the Lord *Stanley* was for or againſt him, becauſe he had not yet done any Thing openly in Favour of the Earl of *Richmond*.

Conduct of Stanley *and his Brother.*

1485. But when he saw him posted in that Manner, it was no hard Matter to perceive that he did not stand there to assist him, since he had not given him the least notice of his Design. Mean while, having a mind to know for certain what he had to fear or hope, he sent him Orders to come and join his Army. *Stanley* made Answer, that he would come when he saw it convenient. This Answer not having satisfied the King, he commanded his Son to be put to Death upon the Spot. But his General Officers represented to him, that although the Lord *Stanley*'s Behaviour was very doubtful, and even gave Ground to suspect him, he had not yet however declared for the Earl of *Richmond*: That it was not unlikely, that he was meditating some great Act in favour of his Sovereign, or perhaps he intended to stand neuter during the Fight in order to join the Conqueror. That in both these Cases, it would be better to put off examining his Conduct till after the Event, than to provoke him by putting his Son to Death, to give the Earl of *Richmond* an Assistance capable of making the Victory incline to his Side: That in the main, the Death of the young Lord *Strange*, in the Circumstances the King was in, could serve him in no stead. These Argument seemed to the King of weight enough to cause him to revoke his Orders. But he was guilty of an unpardonable Blunder, in remaining doubtful as to the two Brothers, who plainly enough gave him to know their Design. As his Army was still superior to those of the Earl of *Richmond* and the two Brothers together, his Business was to oppose to the *Stanley*'s two Bodies equal to theirs, with Orders to fall upon them the Moment they should offer to stir. By that means he would have debarred them of the Advantage of taking their Time to declare themselves as they did afterwards. Such an Oversight in so able a Prince as *Richard*, cannot be looked upon but as proceeding from the particular Direction of the Providence of God, who had determined his Destruction.

Stanley refuses to obey the King's Orders.

The King orders his Son to be put to Death, but is dissuaded from it.

Oversight of the King.

The

The two Armies approaching one another, the Battle began with a Shower of Arrows ſhot from both Sides; after which the Royal Army moved forwards to come to a cloſer Fight. The Lord *Stanley*, who till then had been a Spectator only, perceiving that the Duke of *Norfolk* widened his *Line* to the Left, in order to ſurround the Earl of *Richmond*'s Troops, gave him not Time to execute his Deſign. On a ſudden, he went and poſted himſelf on the Right of the Earl's firſt *Line*, to receive the Front of the King's firſt *Line*. This Motion having cauſed the Duke of *Norfolk* to halt, that he might cloſe again his *Line*, which was widened too much towards the Left, the Fight was diſcontinued for ſome Moments. But preſently after, the Odds not being ſo great, by means of the Lord *Stanley*'s joining the Earl, they fought on both Sides with extreme Ardour. 1485.

Mean while *Richard* being impatient to know how Matters ſtood with the firſt *Line*, ſpurred his Horſe towards the Place where they were fighting. At the ſame Time the Earl of *Richmond* having quitted his ſecond *Line*, where he had taken his Poſt, was advanced as far as the foremoſt Ranks of his firſt, to encourage his Troops by his Preſence, being very ſenſible that the Battle of the two firſt *Lines* would go near to decide the Fortune of the Day. *Richard* having ſpied him, inſtantly rode up to attack him. He ſlew Sir *William Brandon* the Earl's Standard-Bearer, who had interpoſed in his Way. Sir *John Cheney* having taken *Brandon*'s Place, in order to oppoſe the furious Efforts of the King, was overthrown to the Ground. The Earl of *Richmond* avoided not the Fight. But if we may judge of the Matter by what Hiſtorians ſay of it, he ſhowed no great Eagerneſs to join his Enemy, contented himſelf with ſtanding in a Poſture of Defence, and very willingly ſuffered his People to come between them to hinder them from too cloſely ingaging.

At

1485. William Strange *flanks the King's Troops, who are put to rout.*

At the very Time that *Richard* was endeavouring to come at the Earl of *Richmond*, that he might decide with one Blow their important Quarrel, it was decided very much to his Disadvantage from another Quarter. *William Strange* following the Example of the Lord *Stanley* his Brother, and seeing that the Left of the Earl of *Richmond*'s first *Line* began to give Ground a little, openly declared against the King by falling upon his Troops in the Flank, whilst they were taken up with fighting their Enemies in the Front, and furiously driving them back. This Onset made so seasonably and at so critical a Minute, having caused an extreme Disorder in the Right of the King's first *Line*, they were seen suddenly to retreat towards the main Body of the Battle, and the Left quickly followed their Example. This hasty Retreat struck such a Terror into the main Body, that they almost all took to their Heels without expecting the Enemy. The Earl of *Northumberland* alone, who commanded one of the Wings, stood without Motion, having first ordered his Troops to throw down their Arms, to let the Enemies see they had nothing to fear from him. *Richard* perceiving the Day was lost, and not being able to think of flying, or running the Risk of falling into the Hands of the Earl of *Richmond*, rushed into the midst of his Enemies, where he soon met with the Death he sought. Thus fell the Usurper, in a more glorious manner than his Crimes seemed to deserve. He wore but two Years and two Months the Crown which he had purchased by so many ill Actions.

The Battle held about two Hours, taking in the Time which was spent in the Pursuit of the Run-aways *. As the greatest Part of the King's Army took to flight without fighting, there were not slain on

* This Battle was fought about three Miles from *Bosworth*, an antient Market Town in *Leicestershire*. The exact Spot of Ground is frequently more and more discovered by pieces of Armour, Weapons, and especially abundance of Arrow-Heads found there of a long and large Proportion. There is a little Mount cast up on which *Henry* VII is said to make his Speech to his Soldiers.

on the Spot above two Thouſand Men on his Side. The Earl of *Richmond* loſt but a Hundred, of whom Sir *William Brandon* was the only Perſon of Note. He was Father to him whom we ſhall ſee hereafter Duke of *Suffolk*. On the King's Part the Duke of *Norfolk* loſt his Life valiantly fighting for him who had made him a Duke. He would have doubtleſs gained more Honour and Glory, had he employed his Valour for a Prince who had better deſerved than *Richard* that a Man ſhould hazard his Life for his Sake. The Earl of *Northumberland* was taken into the Conqueror's Favour, having perhaps held Intelligence with him before the Battle. It ſeems at laſt that one may infer as much, as well from what he did in the Beginning of the Rout, as from certain Verſes the Duke of *Norfolk* found that very Morning fixed on his Door, hinting to him that the *King was ſold* *. The Earl of *Surrey*, Son of the Duke of *Norfolk*, was taken Priſoner, and ſent at firſt to the *Tower* of *London*: But ſhortly after he had his Pardon and Liberty. Some of *Richard*'s Friends were treated with the ſame Lenity; others had the Luck to eſcape. But *Cateſby*, Miniſter and Confident of *Richard*, who had ſo baſely betrayed the Lord *Haſtings*, being made Priſoner, was executed two Days after at *Leiceſter*, with ſome others of the ſame Stamp, who had been the Uſurper's Inſtruments.

1485.

The Duke of Norfolk *among the ſlain.*

The Earl of Surrey *is taken Priſoner.*

Catesby *is executed.*

Richard's Crown having been found by a Soldier, was brought by the Lord *Stanley*, who went immediately and ſet it on the Earl of *Richmond*'s Head, congratulating him upon his Victory, and ſaluting him *King*. From that Time *Henry* kept the regal Title, and

The Lord Stanley *ſets the Crown on the Earl of* Richmond's *Head.*

* The Verſes ſaid to be written upon the Tent Door were theſe:

Jack *of* Norfolk, *be not too bold,*
For Dicken *thy Maſter is bought and ſold.*

John Howard Duke of *Norfolk* was the Son of Sir *Robert Howard* and *Margaret*, eldeſt Daughter and Co-heir of *Thomas Mowbray* Duke of *Norfolk*. He left behind him *Thomas* Earl of *Surrey*, and five Daughters.

1485. and acted as Sovereign, as if that bare Ceremony had given him an undoubted Right. *Richard*'s Body was found among the Slain ſtark naked, and all beſmeared with Blood and Dirt, and in that Pickle it was thrown croſs a Horſe, with the Head hanging down on one ſide and the Legs on the other, and ſo carried to *Leiceſter*. The Body lay two whole Days expoſed to the View of the People, after which it was interred without any Ceremony in one of the Churches of that City. Some time after *Henry* VII. his Enemy and Succeſſor ordered a more honourable Monument to be erected for him on the Score of *Elizabeth* his Queen, who was of *the Houſe of York* *.

Richard's Body is carried to Leiceſter.

Richard III. was Sirnamed *the Crook-backed* becauſe he was ſo in reality. Moreover, one of his Arms was almoſt withered, receiving but little or no Nouriſhment. As to the Defects of his Mind, if we may believe the greateſt Part of the Hiſtorians, they were ſo great and ſo many in Number, that it would be a hard Matter to find in Hiſtory a Prince bad enough to match him. It is certain, he had a boundleſs Ambition, which often put him upon committing Actions unbecoming a Chriſtian Prince. To this Paſſion alone muſt be aſcribed his Treachery and Cruelty, ſince he was neither treacherous nor cruel but with regard to the procuring or keeping of the Crown. He has not been the only Prince whom Ambition has hurried on to run the ſame Lengths. The Hiſtorians who wrote in the Reign of *Henry* VII. and *Henry* VIII. have aggravated the Heinouſneſs of his Actions to ſuch a Degree, that one cannot help obſerving in their Writings a very ſtrong Deſire to pleaſe the Monarchs then on the Throne. It is even very probable that they have aſcribed ſome Things to him upon no very good Grounds, as for Inſtance, the murdering with his own Hand *Henry* VI. and the Prince of *Wales* his Son, Their

The Character of Richard III.

* He was buried in St. *Mary's* belonging to a Monaſtery of the *Grey-Fryars*. *Henry* VII. put over him a Tomb of various-coloured Marble, adorned with his Statue. *Richard* was not above Three or Four and Thirty Years old when he was killed.

Their eager Desire to say a great deal of Ill of this Prince, made them overlook the good Qualities he had, which ought not to have been passed over in Silence. Be that as it will, without taking upon me either to justify the Ill he did, or to condemn him by wholesale as some have done, I shall content my self with blaming what in him was blame-worthy, and acknowledging at the same Time what in him deserved Commendation. The Crimes he was guilty of in procuring or keeping the Crown, were, as I said before, the Effects and Consequences of his immoderate Ambition, by which he suffered himself to be blinded. But however, that does not in the least mitigate the Heinousness of them. As to the rest, he had a great deal of Sense and a very solid Judgment, Qualities that might have been a great Honour and Ornament to him, had they been used to better Purposes. We may judge of his good Sense and Penetration, by the Precautions he took to screen himself from the Assaults of his Enemies. These Precautions could not be more just, if it had not pleased *divine Providence* to render them fruitless, as it sometimes does with respect to seemingly the best concerted Designs. On several Occasions he showed an uncommon Valour, and especially in the Battle wherein he was slain. This is what cannot be denied him without manifest Injustice. He expressed great Concern that Justice should be impartially ministred to all his Subjects without Distinction, provided the Preservation of his Crown was not concerned; for in that respect he made no scruple to trample upon the Rules of Right and Equity. This natural Inclination which he showed for Justice, but which was combated by his Ambition, may afford some Ground to presume that perhaps he would have proved a good King had he been able to fix himself so firmly in the Throne as to have feared no ill Turn *, At least, it cannot be said that this 1485.

* His Enemies seem to own, that excepting his Cruelties to gain and keep the Crown, one might judge him to be a good King: Particularly in his Care to check Vice and promote Sobriety and Virtue; wit-

1485. this is improbable. The Emperor *Auguſtus*, who had been guilty of ſo much Bloodſhed and Cruelty in making his way to the Empire, affords a memorable and well-known Inſtance of ſuch Change, and it would not be impoſſible to find other Examples. But as *Richard* was taken out of the World before he had given Signs of any Amendment, his ill Actions have ſwallowed up whatever he might have of commendable in him. There is one Hiſtorian however who has made it his Buſineſs to vindicate this Prince. But as he has ſet no Bounds to his Vindication, and has endeavoured to make him entirely innocent, he has not had the Fortune to gain much Credit: eſpecially as he has been often obliged, in order to attain his Ends, to advance Facts which are not ſtrictly true. He has however a Place in the Collection of the *Engliſh* Hiſtorians. But there is no modern Author that has thought fit to take him for a Guide *,

End of the Reign of the Plantagenets,

Richard left but one natural Son, who was a *Minor* when the King his Father died. Some Months before he had made him Governour of *Calais*, *Guiſnes*, and of all the *Marches of Picardy* belonging to the Crown. With *Richard* III. ended the *Angevin* Kings, ſirnamed *Plantagenets* *1, who ſince *Henry* II, the firſt of this Race, had

neſs his *Circular Letter* to the Biſhops, and in his Concern for the good Government and Eaſe of his Subjects, as may be ſeen in his *Proclamation* againſt the *Rebels* in *Kent*. My Lord *Verulan* ſays of him, that he was in Military Virtue approved, jealous of the Honour of the *Engliſh* Nation, and likewiſe a *good Law-Maker*. He aboliſhed by Act of Parliament the odious Tax, diſguiſed by the Name of a *Benevolence*. He founded the Society of *Heralds*, and made them a *Corporation*, &c.

* *George Buck* Eſq; has endeavoured to repreſent King *Richard* III. as a Prince of much better Shapes (both of Body and Mind) than he had been generally eſteemed. His Work, conſiſting of Five Books, is inſerted in the Collection of the *Engliſh* Hiſtorians.

*1 *i. e. a Broom-Stalk*; the Reaſon of this Sirname *Antiquaries* are at a Loſs to find out, and give no better than this. *Fulk* the 1ſt Earl of *Anjou* of that Name, being ſtung with Remorſe for ſome wicked Actions of his, in order to attone for them, went in Pilgrimage to *Jeruſalem*, and before *the Holy Sepulchre* was ſoundly ſcourged with *Broom-Twigs* which grow in great Plenty there. From whence he ever after took the Sirname of *Plantagenet* or *Broom-Stalk*, which was continued by his noble Poſterity.

had been in Poſſeſſion of the Crown of *England* from Father to Son, during the Space of Three Hundred and Thirty Years. *Richard* was the laſt King of this *Houſe*; but he was not the laſt *Male*, as ſome have affirmed, ſince the Earl of *Warwick* his Nephew, Son of the Duke of *Clarence* his Brother, was ſtill alive. This young Prince was the ſole Relict of the Male-Iſſue of *Edward* III, which had been ſo numerous, but was almoſt entirely deſtroyed by the late Civil War. This War, which had commenced Thirty Years before, was at length determined by the Battle of *Boſworth*, after having taken away the Lives of above One Hundred Thouſand *Engliſhmen*, and of a very great Number of Princes of the two contending *Houſes*. *Philip de Comines* makes the Number to amount to Fourſcore. But it is a Miſtake or Exaggeration of that Author, as it is eaſy to ſee by the *Genealogical Table* of the Poſterity of *Edward* III. 1485. *and of the Civil War.*

Let us cloſe the Hiſtory of the *Plantagenets* with a brief Recapitulation of the moſt memorable Events which befel the Kings of that Race, whilſt they were on the Throne of *England*. In this Summary of Fourteen Reigns, which we are juſt going through, we ſhall ſee, not without Aſtoniſhment perhaps, that the Happineſs and Glory which that Race enjoyed for above Three Hundred Years were ſcarce worth ſpeaking of in Compariſon of their Misfortunes. *Brief Recapitulation of the Hiſtory of the* Plantagenets.

HENRY II. the Firſt King of this *Houſe*, was the greateſt of all the *Engliſh* Monarchs with reſpect to the Extent of his Dominions. Beſides the Kingdom of *England*, he had in *France*, *Guienne*, *Poictou*, *Saintonge*, *Auvergne*, *Limouſin*, *Perigard*, *Augoumois*, *Touraine*, *Anjou*, *Maine*, *Normandy*, to which he joined *Bretagne* by the Marriage of one of his Sons with the Heireſs of that Dutchy: And laſtly, crowned all with the Conqueſt of *Ireland*. But amidſt all this Grandeur he was ever unhappy. His Conteſt with *Becket*, the vexatious Perſecutions from Pope *Alexander* III, the Rebellion of his Queen and Sons, and the unfor-

1485. tunate Issue of his last War with *France*, suffered him not to enjoy a Moment's Ease.

RICHARD I. rendered his Name famous in the *East*, by the Conquest of the Isle of *Cyprus*, by the taking of *Arc*, and by a great Victory over the *Saracens*. But the Fame he acquired by that Expedition was a dear Purchase to *Christendom*, and especially to *England*, on account of the vast Numbers of Men, and prodigious Quantity of Gold and Silver, which were exported from thence, and after all were of no great Service to the *Christians* of *Palestine*. *Richard* himself, at his Return into *Europe*, underwent the Hardships of a grievous and long Imprisonment, from whence he could not get free but by paying an exorbitant Ransom which quite drained his Kingdom. And at length, after a several Years hard Struggle with *Philip Augustus* to very little purpose, an Arrow shot from a Cross-Bow unfortunately gave him his Death's Wound at the Siege of *Chalez*, which his greedy Desire of Money had put him upon undertaking.

JOHN Lackland enjoyed not a Moment's Happiness throughout his whole Reign. Persecuted first by the King of *France*, then by Pope *Innocent* III. and lastly by his own Subjects, his Reign was nothing but a Train of Misfortunes one upon the Neck of another. He sat out with losing all the Provinces his Ancestors had possessed in *France*. After which *Innocent* III. took his Crown from him, and gave it not back but upon shameful and dishonourable Terms. In a word, he had the great Mortification to see his Barons in Arms against him, and to die at a Time when All *England* was paying Allegiance to a foreign Prince.

HENRY III. a Prince of a very mean Spirit, lived in a continual State of Subjection, though seated on a Throne; one while a Slave to his Favourites and *Ministers*, another while to the imperious Will of the Popes. At length, stript of all his Authority by his own Subjects, he remained for some time Prisoner in the Hands of his bittereſt Enemies. And he was entirely

entirely beholding to a Victory luckily won by the Prince his Son, for his Reſtoration and the Tranquillity he enjoyed the two laſt Years of his Life. 1485.

EDWARD I. rendered his Name famous by the Conqueſt of *Scotland*. But after the ſpilling of Torrents of Blood in that unjuſt Quarrel, he had the Mortification to ſee his Prey ſnatched out of his Hands, and to die before he could get it again. His ſubduing of *Wales* was indeed the beſt Thing for *England* that ever had been done by any King.

The Reign of *EDWARD* II. is remarkable only for the ill Management and Misfortunes of that Prince. It is he that has furniſhed the firſt Inſtance of a King of *England* depoſed by Authority of Parliament. And it had been well for him if the Fury of his Enemies had ſtopped there. But with an unparallelled Barbarity they made him ſuffer the moſt cruel Death that could poſſibly be deviſed, and which, after all, bore no Proportion to the Faults his Indiſcretion had made him commit.

EDWARD III. was one of the moſt illuſtrious Kings of *England*, as well on the Score of his perſonal Qualities, as for his Victories in *France*, and the famous Treaty of *Bretigny* which brought him back with Intereſt the Provinces *John Lackland* had ſuffered to be taken away. But his Reign though glorious, was not without its Blemiſhes. His *Minority* was ſullied by the tragical Death of *Edward* II. his Father, and of the Earl of *Kent* his Uncle. To puniſh theſe horrid Deeds, he was forced to keep his Mother in Priſon as long as ſhe lived. And towards the End of his Days he had the Mortification to ſee himſelf ſtript of all that he had re-conquered upon *France*, without any Proſpect of being ever able to repair his Loſs. In a Word, he ruined as one may ſay his own Reputation, and died at a Time when his Subjects began to loſe the Eſteem they had once entertained for him.

Thus far it is eaſy to ſee that the Race of the *Plantagenets* had enjoyed no great Share of Happineſs. But their Misfortunes, which were blended with ſome Proſperity,

1485. perity, were mere Trifles in compariſon of what that Race afterwards went through. When a Man takes a View of what happened to the Poſterity of *Edward* III, he beholds nothing but Diſaſters, tragical or untimely Ends, Hatred, Animoſity, Revenge, Civil Wars, unheard-of Cruelties, among Princes ſprung from the ſame Stock. *England* had never ſeen ſo terrible a Havock of her Inhabitants, nor had the Scaffold been ever dyed with ſo much noble and royal Blood as during the Hundred Years between the Death of *Edward* III. and that of *Richard* III. Let us briefly run over the ſeveral Branches of *Edward the Third*'s Family, in order to ſee their reſpective Calamities.

EDWARD the *Black Prince*, one of the moſt accompliſhed Princes that ever was born, died in the Forty-ſixth Year of his Age, having firſt buried his eldeſt Son *Edward* who was but Seven Years old.

RICHARD II. his other Son, who mounted the Throne after his Grandfather, was depoſed, impriſoned and barbarouſly murdered.

LIONEL Duke of *Clarence*, ſecond Son of *Edward* III. died out of his native Country in the Flower of his Age. He left but one Daughter, whoſe Marriage into the Family of the *Mortimer*'s was the Occaſion of all the Calamities *England* was afflicted with for Thirty Years together.

The Poſterity of *John* of *Gaunt*, *Edward*'s Third Son, were far from being happy. *HENRY* IV. Succeſſor of *Richard* II. paſſed his whole Reign under continual Apprehenſions of loſing a Crown which he had gained by extraordinary Methods, and kept by the violent Death of *Richard* II. whom he had cauſed to be murdered in Priſon.

HENRY V. one of the moſt illuſtrious Kings that ever ſwayed the *Engliſh* Sceptre, after having puſhed Matters in *France* to ſuch a Height as to be declared *Regent and Heir* of that Kingdom, enjoyed ſo great an Honour not above Two Years, or rather had only a Foretaſte of what he had ſo eagerly thirſted af-

ter.

ter. He died in the Flower of his Age, leaving a Son but Nine Months old, who afterwards proved very unfit to complete the Work which his illuſtrious Father had ſo glorioufly begun. 1485.

The Dukes of *Clarence*, *Bedford* and *Glouceſter*, died all Three without Iſſue. *Glouceſter* was long expoſed to the Fury of his Enemies, and at length fell a Sacrifice to their Vengeance.

HENRY VI. Son of *Henry* V. loſt all that the King his Father had gained upon *France*. After which he was ſtript of his Royalty, impriſoned, reſtored for a ſhort Space, and at laſt murdered by a Prince ſprung from the ſame *Stem* with himſelf.

EDWARD his Son, Prince of *Wales*, died after the ſame Manner, and by the ſame Hand.

In running over the other Branch of *the Houſe of Lancaſter*, namely, That of *Beaufort-Somerſet*, hardly ſhall we find one Prince but what loſt his Life in a Battle or on the Scaffold.

The *Houſe of York*, of whom *Edmund de Langley* Fourth Son of *Edward* III was Head, fared ſtill worſe. Some unlucky Stars ſeemed to be continually ſhedding their malignant Influences upon that Family. Excepting *Edmund de Langley* himſelf, firſt Duke of *York*, all the Princes deſcended of him died a violent or untimely Death.

EDWARD Duke of *York* his eldeſt Son, was ſlain at the Battle of *Azincourt*.

RICHARD Earl of *Cambridge* loſt his Head on a Scaffold.

RICHARD Third Duke of *York*, and *EDMUND* Earl of *Rutland* his Son periſhed in the Battle of *Wakefield*.

GEORGE Duke of *Clarence* was afterwards ſentenced to die in a Butt of *Malmſey* Wine.

EDWARD IV, after having enjoyed the Crown of *England* ſome Years, to which he had a better Title than *the Houſe of Lancaſter*, died indeed a natural Death, but it was in the Two and Fortieth Year of his Age,

EDWARD

1485. *EDWARD* V. and *RICHARD* his Brother were ſmothered in their Bed.

EDWARD Prince of *Wales*, Son of *Richard* II, was taken out of the World in the Eleventh Year of his Age.

RICHARD III. was killed at the Battle of *Boſworth*.

In fine, we ſhall ſee in the Sequel of the Hiſtory, *EDWARD* Earl of *Warwick*, Son of the unfortunate Duke of *Clarence*, and the only *Male*-Relict of *the Houſe of York*, end his Days by the Hand of the Executioner.

Nothing more remains to complete the Account of the Diſaſters happened to the Poſterity of *Edward* III. but to take notice that *THOMAS* of *Woodſtock* Earl of *Glouceſter*, Fifth Son of that Monarch, died a violent Death in Priſon at *Calais*.

Should not all theſe Misfortunes which fell on the Heads of *Edward the Third*'s Poſterity be looked upon as the Effects of God's Vengeance extended to the Fourth Generation, for the barbarous Murder committed on the Perſon of *Edward* II? At leaſt, a Man cannot but ſee in theſe Events the tragical Death of *Edward* II. revenged upon *Richard* II; that of *Richard* upon *Henry* VI; that of *Henry* upon *Edward* V; and that of *Edward* upon *Richard* III.

The End of the Reign of RICHARD III.

THE

BRITISH MUSEUM

facing pa. 249. Vol.V

G. Vertue Sculp.

THE HISTORY of *ENGLAND.*

BOOK XIV.

The Reign of HENRY VII, *with the* STATE *of the* CHURCH *from the Beginning of the Reign of* HENRY IV, 1399, *to the End of the Reign of* HENRY VII, 1509.

19. HENRY VII.

HE Battle of *Boſworth* being ended, as hath been ſaid, by the Rout of the Royal Army, and Death of King *Richard*, *Henry* cauſed *Te Deum* to be ſung upon the Spot, all the Troops falling on their Knees to return God Thanks for his Victory. Preſently after the whole Army, as it were by Inſpiration, made the Air reſound with the Cry of, *Long live King* Henry, the which was no ungrateful Sound in his Ears. And indeed it was a ſort of *military Election*, which might have ſerved him for Foun-

1485. HENRY VII, *proclaimed King by his Army.*

1485. dation to lay Claim to the Crown, ſuppoſing he had been provided with no other. But however, the uncertainty he was in, whether he ſhould ſtick to this Election, or whether he ſhould found his Title upon a more ſolid Baſis, put him at a ſtand. Nevertheleſs he muſt reſolve without Delay, either to reject the Title which his Army had given him, till the Parliament ſhould confirm it, or to accept it, and aſſert his Right independently of the Conſent of the *Eſtates*.

He is in ſuſpence about taking the Title of King.

The Reaſons of it.

He had three Titles whereon he could ground his Right. The firſt was, his Deſcent from the *Houſe of Lancaſter* by *Margaret* his Mother, Daughter of a Duke of *Somerſet*. The *Houſe of Lancaſter* had been poſſeſſed of the Crown above ſixty Years, and this Poſſeſſion had been confirmed by *Acts* of Parliament. But then ſeveral Parliaments had afterwards condemned this Poſſeſſion as an Uſurpation, and judged the Crown to the *Houſe of York*, as iſſuing from *Lionel* ſecond Son of *Edward* III. This Point conſidered originally and a-part from the Circumſtances which moved the Parliaments to come to ſuch oppoſite Determinations, could not be decided in Favour of the *Houſe of Lancaſter*, if the Laws and Cuſtoms of the Realm had taken Place. But if, ſetting aſide the uſual practice, the Matter ſhould be conſidered with reſpect to the *Acts* of Parliament, it could not but be doubtful, ſince the *Pro* and *Con* were equally backed by the ſame Authority. One could further object to *Henry*, that although ſundry Parliaments had decided the Point in Favour of the *Houſe of Lancaſter*, yet it did not follow that the *Houſe of Somerſet* could be the better for that Diviſion. The *Somerſets* were indeed deſcended of the *Houſe of Lancaſter*; but it was by a *Baſtard-Branch* which had no Right to pretend to the Crown but by Virtue of their Legitimation. Now it was a Queſtion not yet decided, whether the *Act of Legitimation*, and *Richard the Second*'s Letters Patents purſuant to that *Act*, gave to that *Branch*, iſſuing from a *Baſtard* born in Adultery, the Right to ſucceed to the Crown, though neither the *Act of Parliament*,

ment, nor King *Richard*'s *Letters* ſaid one Syllable about it. Beſides, even taking this Right for granted, another *Query* ſtill aroſe, namely, whether the Iſſue of a Baſtard-Son legitimated, were to have the Preference of the Deſcendents of the Daughters born in Wedlock, of whom there were ſeveral in *Caſtile*, *Portugal* and *Germany*. To leave theſe Points to the Examination of the Parliament, ſeemed therefore too dangerous a Thing for *Henry*. But on the other Hand, he was not ignorant that in deciding the Differences between the *Houſes* of *Lancaſter* and *York*, the Parliaments had not ſo much minded the *Pleas* of either Party, as the Circumſtances of Time and Things. Now he could never have a better Juncture than the preſent, ſeeing he had juſt delivered *England* from a Tyrant hated by all the World. *Henry* IV his Predeceſſor had not done more for the *Engliſh*, when in requital the Crown was adjudged to him to the Prejudice of the *Houſe of March*. 1485.

Henry's ſecond Title, was his intended Marriage with *Elizabeth* eldeſt Daughter of *Edward* IV, with whom he had ſworn to marry. But here no leſs Difficulties occured. If he relied upon this *Title*, he was under a Neceſſity to reſolve either to reign ſolely in Right of his Wife, or to confound together the Titles of both *Houſes*. In the former Caſe, he would have given up his own, to leave to the *Houſe of York* a Title which had all along been conteſted, and have owned that *Houſe's* Claim, for the ſole Foundation of his mounting the Throne. Beſides, he conſidered that in Caſe *Elizabeth* ſhould happen to dye without Iſſue, all her Rights would naturally fall to her next Siſter, and by that Means he ſhould be ſhut out from the Throne upon the Death of his Wife: That ſuppoſing he ſhould be able to get the Parliament to adjudge him the Crown during Life, he ſhould only have a Perſonal Right, which would not deſcend to the Children he might have by a ſecond Wife.

1485. In the latter Case, if he confounded together the *Titles* of both *Houses* by Means of that intended Marriage, pursuant to the Intention of those that had invited him into *England*, it is true indeed, that Mixture of *Titles* might be of Benefit to the Children born of this Marriage. But if by ill Luck he should have no Issue, and should dye before *Elizabeth*, he should leave the Crown in Possession of the *House of York*, the which his Aversion for that *House* would not suffer him to have even the most distant Prospect of, without an extreme Concern: But if on the contrary, *Elizabeth* should dye before him, he foresaw that it would prove the Occasion of renewing the Troubles of the Kingdom, since as she had reigned in her own Right, her Sister or neareſt Relations, might put in their Claim to succeed her.

Henry's third *Title* was, that of the *Sword* or *Conqueſt*, which the Victory he had just won seemed to give him. But he considered that his Victory was owing to the Succours he had received from the People of *England*, and therefore it gave him at most but a Right of *Conqueſt* over the vanquished Party. Besides, as he could not support himself but by the Help of these same Succours, he had reason to fear, that if he relied on this pretended Title, he should lose his best Friends, since such a Procedure might be construed as a settled Design to rule with arbitrary Power. He was sensible that *William the Conqueror* had wisely avoided that Shoal, by rejecting the Title of the *Sword* till he saw himself firmly seated in the Throne.

These were Points of such Consequence as deserved that *Henry* should consider them maturely before he came to any Resolution. But on the other Hand, he had no middle Way to take. He must necessarily either accept the *Title* which the Army gave him, and so take upon him to exert his Claim, without the Parliament's Consent, or by rejecting it, show that he was diffident of his own Right, and run the hazard of a troublesome Examination. After having weighed the Reasons on both Sides, as far as the Time would

would allow, he reſolved at length to ſtick to the *Title* of the *Houſe of Lancaſter*. So taking for granted that the Army in giving him the Title of *King*, had aſcribed to him nothing but what was his Due, he determined to aſſert the *Lancaſtrian* Claim, without any Mixture of that of *York*, and without ſubmitting it even to the Examination of the Parliament. With this View it was that he reſolved to be crowned before he ſummoned the Parliament, and to put off his Marriage till he had got an *Act* to adjudge him the Crown as his own by Inheritance. He determined therefore to aſſume the Title of King, and to iſſue out Orders as ſuch, as if the Crown was fallen to him of Right, though *Margaret* his Mother was ſtill alive, and ought to come in before him. In ſpite of all the Reaſons which rendered his *Title* dubious, he believed there were likewiſe Reaſons ſufficient to enable him to ſupport it, eſpecially at a Time when his Victory was enough to decide all Diſputes in his Favour. This Reſolution was the Fountain from whence flowed all the Troubles of his Reign.

1485.

He reſolves to take the Title of King,

and be crowned without bringing his Claim into queſtion.

Mean while, though he affected to be ſatisfied of the Goodneſs of his *Title*, yet was he diffident of it in his Mind, well knowing that if it came to be conteſted, the Reaſons he ſhould alledge for it were of no great Weight, without they were backed with Force of Arms. In this State he continued the far greateſt Part of his Life. Always unconcerned to outward Appearance, and yet inwardly terrifying himſelf at the leaſt Thing, and dreading that every little Accident would be of dangerous Conſequence. The *Houſe of York* was always a Terror to him. He knew very well that they who had brought him in, were not Enemies to that *Houſe*, but only to the Perſon of *Richard* III. So the Claims of the two *Houſes* remaining ſtill doubtful, as not having been decided but by the *Sword*, he was very ſenſible that his Right could not be maintained but by the ſame Way, or by wiſe Precautions, to prevent Matters from coming again to the Deciſion of Arms.

He is afraid of the Houſe of York.

Upon

1485. *He sends the Earl of* Warwick *to the* Tower.

Upon these Considerations it was that the next Day after the Battle he sent a Detatchment of *Horse* under the Command of Sir *Robert Willoughby* to the Castle of *Sheriff-Hatton*, to take from thence the Earl of *Warwick*, and conduct him to the *Tower* of *London*. This young Prince was Son and Heir to *George* Duke of *Clarence*, who had ended his Days in a Butt of *Malmsey*. After the Death of the Duke his Father, *Edward* IV his Uncle had him carefully educated, and created him *Earl of Warwick*, a Title which his Uncle by the Mother's Side had born. He was not willing to make him *Duke of Clarence*, least that Title should help to preserve the Memory of an unhappy Brother, whom he had sacrificed to his Jealousy. Upon *Richard*'s mounting the Throne, he ordered this young Prince his Nephew to be shut up in the Castle above-named, knowing how likely he was one Day to disturb him in the Possession of the Crown. After the Usurper's Death, the Earl of *Warwick* seemed to have room to expect some Favour from his Successor; but it proved just the contrary. So far was *Henry* from giving him his Liberty, that he made him close Prisoner in the *Tower*, an Usage which proceeded only from his Jealousy and inward Conviction that his Title was not so undoubted as he affected to believe. But this was not all. We shall see hereafter that he put this unhappy Prince to Death by the Hands of the Executioner, wherein he played the Tyrant, beyond the Tyrant himself, from whom he boasted to have freed the Kingdom.

The Princess Elizabeth *comes to* London.

The Princess *Elizabeth*, whom *Henry* was to marry, was kept in the same Castle by the late King's Order, who did not think fit to leave her to chuse a Husband, intending to marry her himself. *Henry* purposing to be at *London* with all possible speed, thought it not proper to leave the Princess at so great a Distance, least some Body should put it in her Head that she had no need to join her *Title* with that of another Person. With this View he sent to desire her to come and be with the Queen her Mother at *London*. His

Design

Design was to have it believed that he intended to espouse her very quickly, though he was determined to defer his Marriage till after the *Session* of the Parliament. 1485.

A few Days after *Henry* set forward by easy Journeys to *London*, taking care to avoid all appearance that he would make use of the *Right of Conquest*. He was received in all Places with loud Acclamations, the People looking upon him as their Deliverer, and as one going by his Marriage to put an End to all the Calamities which the Civil Wars had caused in the Kingdom. He made his Entry into *London* with a great deal of State *. However the People had not the Satisfaction to see him as he went through the City, because he rode all the Way in a close Chariot till he came to St. *Paul*'s. His Historian ascribes this to a Motive of Grandeur and Security, as if having been proscribed in the Reign of *Richard* III. he disdained to fawn upon the People, lest they should think that he expected every Thing from them. But I do not know whether this is better grounded than what the same Historian adds, that *Henry* caused *Richard*'s Standards taken at *Bosworth*, to be brought into St. *Paul*'s Church, that the People of *London* might not forget that he had just won a Battle, and was entering the City as a Conqueror. When a Prince has once got the Name of a *Politician*, one is willing to discover in his most indifferent Actions some Thing mysterious, suitable to the Notion one has formed of him. Henry *is well received at* London.

Next Day *Henry* assembled a Council *1 of all the Persons of Distinction in the Court and City, in the Presence of whom he solemnly renewed his Oath to marry the Princess *Elizabeth*. This was absolutely necessary at the present Juncture, because of a Report spread *He ratifies his Oath to marry* Elizabeth.

* On a *Saturday*; and as he had also obtained the Victory upon a *Saturday*, he counted out of Fancy, and chose afterwards that Day as a Day prosperous to him. *Bacon.*

*1 In the Bishop of *London*'s Palace, where he lodged for some Time. *Bacon.*

1485. ſpread abroad, that he was contracted to *Ann*, eldeſt Daughter of the Duke of *Bretagne*, and that he had not acted with Sincerity when he promiſed to marry the Daughter of *Edward* IV. Beſides, though his Deſign was not to derive his Right from this Marriage, it was however to his Purpoſe that People ſhould think ſo, till ſuch Time as he had obtained of the Parliament what he wanted, for fear Meaſures ſhould be taken beforehand to lay Obſtacles in his Way. The Truth is, he was reſolved to keep his Word, but he was bent not to conſummate his Marriage before the Coronation was over, leſt he ſhould be obliged to have his Queen crowned with him, and ſo by a joint Coronation ſhould countenance her *Title*. He had alſo reaſon to fear, that in Caſe his Nuptials were celebrated before the Parliament met, ſome *Clauſe* in Favour of the *Houſe of York* might be inſerted in the *Act* of ſettling the Succeſſion to the Crown.

The Sweating Sickneſs.

About the middle of *September* the City of *London* was afflicted with a Diſeaſe then unknown, which threw the *Patients* into a prodigious Sweat, and carried them off in four and twenty Hours. Thoſe that died not within that Time, were almoſt ſure of recovering. By good Luck it laſted not but till the End of *October*; however it ſwept away Multitudes of People before proper Remedies were found out. The Method of Cure was to keep the *Patient* neither too hot nor too cold, with moderate *Cordials*, which without increaſing the Heat too much, helped Nature to expel the *Humours* which cauſed theſe extraordinary Sweatings.

The Earl of Oxford is made Governour of the Tower. Act. Pub. XII. 276.

About this Time the new King made the Earl of *Oxford* Governour of the *Tower*, who had all along been a faſt Friend to the *Houſe of Lancaſter*, and who, after having found Means to get out of the Caſtle of *Hammes*, went and joined him at *Paris*, and had ſince done him ſignal Services, particularly at the Battle of *Boſworth*.

Some

Some Time after the King iſſued out a *Proclamation* notifying that he had concluded a Truce for one Year with the King of *France*, to commence the laſt Day of *September*. It was no ſmall Matter for him to let the People ſee that *Charles* VIII acknowledged him for *King*, even before he was declared ſo by the Parliament. 1485. *Truce with* France. *p.* 277.

The Coronation-Day being at Hand, it was neceſſary to ſettle the Places and Claims of thoſe who were to officiate at this Ceremony. To that Purpoſe, it was requiſite to create a Lord *High-Steward*. But as this Office for ſome Time had not been enjoyed but by Princes of the Blood, and as there were none then in the Kingdom, the King, not to raiſe Jealouſies among the Great Men, cauſed it to be executed by *Commiſſioners*. *The Office of* High-Steward *is exerciſed by Commiſſioners.* ibid.

Mean while, he would not delay any longer to ſhow his Gratitude to three Lords who had faithfully and to good Purpoſe ſerved him in his greateſt Diſtreſſes. Theſe were *Jaſper* Earl of *Pembroke*, his Mother's Brother, *Thomas* Lord *Stanley* his Father-in-law, and Sir *Edward Courtney*. The firſt had been a Father to him in his Youth, and had as it were plucked him out of the Snares *Edward* IV had laid for him when he was concealed in *Wales*. After that, he had been a conſtant Companion to him in *Bretagne*, and had been very helpful to him in overcoming all the Difficulties which had occurred in his Undertakings. In return for his Services *Henry* gave him the Title of *Duke of Bedford*, vacant ever ſince the Death of the famous Duke of *Bedford* Brother of *Henry* V. The Lord *Stanley*, who had been very ſerviceable to the King at the Battle of *Boſworth*, was created *Earl of Derby*. Sir *Edward Courtney*, who had ventured to engage in his Intereſt, and to back in the *Weſtern* Counties the Duke of *Buckingham*'s Plot, was honoured with the Title of *Earl of Devonſhire*. *Henry* thought not proper to diſpenſe his Favours to others, being willing according to the Cuſtom of his Predeceſſors, to reſerve his *Creations* till the ſitting of the Parliament. *Creations*

1485. *The King's Coronation.* The Coronation had been fixed to the 30th of *October*, and the Parliament was not to meet till the 7th of *November*. Hence 'tis evident, that *Henry* intended not to bring his *Title* into Queſtion, and that he had no mind to leave to the Parliament's Care any Thing more than to confirm his Coronation, without ſuffering his Right to be inquired into. The Examples of *Edward* IV and *Richard* III had taught him that the beſt way to gain the Parliament's Approbation, was to take Poſſeſſion. The Truth is, it is one Thing to debate, whether a Prince who claims a Crown, has a Right to pretend to it, and another Thing to conſult whether he muſt be turned out of the Throne he is in actual Poſſeſſion of. The former of theſe Things may be done by Reaſons, Arguments, and ſtudied Speeches. The latter has need of an Army ready at Hand to back the Reaſons. So *Henry* may be ſaid to ſet the Crown himſelf on his own Head, ſince he made himſelf alone Judge in his own Cauſe, without the Authority of the Parliament, who would have had a great deal to ſay, if they had examined by Virtue of what *Henry* aſcended the Throne, or had been at Liberty ſo to do. The Ceremony of the Coronation was performed by the Hands of Cardinal *Bourchier* Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, who taking for granted, that *Henry*'s Right was indiſputable, thought it not proper to inquire about the Validity of his Title. The ſame Day *Henry* inſtituted a Guard of fifty *Archers* * to attend him and his Succeſſors for ever, diſguiſing under Colour of Grandeur and Majeſty, a Precaution which he believed apparently neceſſary at that preſent Juncture.

He inſtitutes a Guard of 50 Archers.

The Parliament meets. The Parliament met eight Days after the Coronation. *Henry*'s Ends in calling a Parliament were chiefly four. The *firſt* was to get himſelf declared King *de Jure*, as he was already King *de Facto*, and to

* Under a *Captain*, by the Name of *Yeomen of the Guard.* There are at preſent 100 in daily Waiting, and 70 more not in Waiting, and as one of the 100 dies, his Place is filled up out of the 70.

to procure an *Entail* of the Crown upon himſelf, by an *Act* in Form. The *ſecond*, to reverſe the *Attainders* of all of his Party. The *third*, to *attaint* thoſe that had appeared the moſt forward againſt him, and the moſt zealous for the late King. The *fourth* and *laſt* was to ſhow, that notwithſtanding he had by his ſole Authority taken poſſeſſion of the Throne, to prevent his *Title* from being called in Queſtion, he intended however to govern the Kingdom like his Predeceſſors, by way of *Parliaments*, and not to aſſume a *deſpotick* Power. This Step was abſolutely neceſſary for a Prince, whoſe Title was ſo dubious, and who aſcended the Throne without being called to it in the uſual Way. 1485.

Difficulties about ſettling the Succeſſion.

It was requiſite both for the People's Satisfaction and the King's Security, that the Parliament ſhould ſettle the Crown upon him by an expreſs *Act*; otherwiſe People would have thought they might chuſe whether they would pay him Obedience. And ſuppoſing he had been powerful enough to cauſe his Authority to be owned without ſuch an *Act*, he was not ſure his Heirs would always be in the like favourable Circumſtances. Mean while, it was no eaſy Matter to determine how this *Act* ſhould be worded. *Henry* was bent to hold the Crown; neither by the People's Election, nor by the Parliament, nor in the Right of the Princeſs he was to marry. He did not ſo much as intend that *Elizabeth* ſhould have any greater Share in the Royal Dignity than a Queen that was a Foreigner might have. Nevertheleſs, in thoſe early Days of his Reign, it was proper that the People ſhould not know ſo much, but ſhould have cauſe to believe that the King relied upon all theſe *Titles*. The Reaſon was, the *Engliſh* were extremely jealous of the Authority of their Parliaments, and generally ſtood much better affected to *the Houſe of York* than to that of *Lancaſter*. Wherefore the King finding the Parliament diſpoſed to do whatever he could deſire, intimated or dictated himſelf the Terms the *Act* ſhould be expreſſed in, namely, *That the Inheritance of the Crown ſhould reſt, remain,*

1485. *and abide in the King*, &c. Which ambiguous Words leave it undecided, whether he had a *Prior* Right, which was doubtful, or whether he was only King in *Fact*, which could not be denied. As for the Limitation of the *Entail*, he was contented it ſhould go no further than to himſelf and to the *Heirs* of his Body, leaving the reſt to be decided by Law, in caſe his Iſſue ſhould come to fail. So by not mentioning *the Houſe of York*, the *Act* left it undetermined whether that *Houſe* was entirely excluded, or whether it might inherit after the Heirs of the new King. In this obſcure and ambiguous Manner did the Parliament word the *Act* which was afterwards confirmed by the Pope's *Bull*. But however, *Henry* took care to have all his *Titles* inſerted in the *Bull*, namely, his Deſcent from *the Houſe of Lancaſter*, his Marriage with *Edward the Fourth*'s eldeſt Daughter, his Victory of *Boſworth*, and the *Act* of Parliament: To which might be added the *Bull* confirming them. All theſe *Titles* huddled together are a clear Evidence of the Uncertainty he himſelf was under with reſpect to his Right, and the Perplexity that Uncertainty threw him into.

Queſtion in Parliament decided by the Judges.

The *Act* of Settlement and Succeſſion being paſſed, it was moved that a *Bill* ſhould be brought in to reverſe the *Attainders* of the King's Friends, whilſt he was only Earl of *Richmond*. But ſeveral of theſe *attainted* Perſons were actually Members of the *Houſe of Commons*, elected by the Favour they had found with the People ſince the *Revolution*. There were likewiſe ſome of the *Houſe* of Lords in the ſame Caſe. It was objected therefore, that it was contrary to all Law and Equity that theſe Perſons ſhould give their *Votes* in an Affair wherein they were Parties concerned, and be Judges in their own Cauſe. The King was ſorry to ſee that the *Acts* paſſed in the late Reign ſhould be deemed valid, and that his Friends had need to be purged of the Crime of eſpouſing his Quarrel. He concealed however his Concern, and contented himſelf with inſinuating that he wiſhed the *Judges* to be adviſed with upon

upon that Point. The *Judges* being met*, gave it as their Opinion, that the *Members* attainted by Courſe of Law, ſhould forbear the *Houſe* till an *Act* was paſſed for the Reverſal of their *Attainders*. 1485.

But whilſt they were debating upon this Matter, another Queſtion was ſtarted with reſpect to the King himſelf, who was of the Number of the *Attainted*, having been declared *Traitor* and *Rebel* by an *Act* of Parliament. This Queſtion was much more puzzling than the other. The King could not be disjoined from the Parliament without diſſolving it, neither was there any likelihood that he would ſubmit to a Parliamentary Examination. In this perplexed Caſe, the *Judges* unanimouſly reſolved, *That the Crown takes away all Defects and Stops in Blood: and that from the Time the King did aſſume the Crown, the Fountain was cleared, and all Attainders and Corruption of Blood diſcharged.* This Deciſion more conformable to *Politicks* than to the Laws, eſtabliſhed a Principle that might be attended with terrible Conſequences. *Another relating to the King decided alſo by the Judges.*

This Affair being over, the Parliament paſſed an *Act* of *Attainder* againſt the late King, by the Name of the Duke of *Glouceſter*, and againſt his principal Adherents. Of this Number were the Duke of *Norfolk*, the Earl of *Surrey*, the Lords *Lovel*, *Ferrers*, *Zouch*, Sir *Richard Ratcliff*, Sir *William Catesby*, all *Miniſters* or Favourites of *Richard* III, of whom ſome were killed at *Boſworth-Field*, others executed ſince the Battle. If the Plots which were formed afterwards againſt *Henry* himſelf had taken Effect, he would doubtleſs have been ſerved in the ſame Manner with all his Adherents. So dangerous a Thing is it to carry Matters too far in Caſes of this Nature. Accordingly, we ſhall ſee hereafter that *Henry* perceiving the Conſequences of theſe Things, cauſed an *Act* to be paſſed to prevent the ill Uſe that might be made of ſuch a *Precedent*. The Deſign of the preſent *Act* was to ſatisfy the *Act againſt* Richard III. *and his Adherents.*

* In the *Exchequer-Chamber*, which is the *Council-Chamber* of the *Judges*.

1485. the King's Vengeance, and help him to the forfeited Estates of the *Attainted*. These *Confiscations* brought him in immense Sums, which rendered the Demand of a *Subsidy* unnecessary in this first Parliament, especially as the Nation was at Peace, or in Truce with all their Neighbours.

A General Pardon. After the King had taken Vengeance of his Enemies, and filled his Coffers, he issued out his *Royal Proclamation*, offering *Pardon* to all that had been concerned in any Plot against him before he came to the Crown, or had bore Arms in Defense of the late King, provided they came and submitted themselves by such a Day. His Design at first was to get this General *Pardon* passed in Parliament; but recollecting upon second Thoughts that it was an *Act of Grace*, he chose rather that it should flow wholly from himself. Several who were under Apprehensions of being prosecuted, were very forward to take the Oath of Allegiance, that they might enjoy the Benefit of the *Pardon*. But others chose to remain in *Sanctuary*, till the Character of the new King was a little better known. The Lord *Lovel*, one of *Richard the Third*'s Favourites took that Course.

Creations of Peers. Before the Parliament broke up, *Henry* was pleased to reward some of the Companions of his Exile, by creating them *Peers of the Realm*. The Lord *Chandos* of *Bretagne* was made *Earl of Bath*; Sir *Giles D'Aubeney* received the Title of Baron of *D'Aubeney*, and Sir *Robert Willoughby* that of Lord *Brooke*. At the same Time the King restored *Edward Stafford* to the Dignity of *Duke of Buckingham*, forfeited by the *Attainder* of the Duke his Father, and also to all the Possessions belonging to his Family, which had been confiscated in the late Reign. This was a Piece of Justice which he could hardly help doing the Son of a Lord, who had lost his Life in his Service, and built him a Bridge to the Crown upon his own Ruins.

The King redeems his Pledges from France, The Parliament breaking up about the End of *November*, *Henry* sent into *France Oliver King*, Archdeacon of *Oxford*, with Money to repay King *Charles* the

the Sums he had lent him, and the Charges he had been at in fitting out the Fleet which brought him to *England*. Whereupon the Marquiſs of *Dorſet* and Sir *John Bourchier*, who had been left as Pledges at *Paris*, had leave to return into their own Country. At the ſame time *Henry* gave his *Envoy* Power to prolong the Truce with *France*, if he found King *Charles*'s Council inclined to it. 1485.

and offers to prolong the Truce.

It was probably his want of ready-Money to pay the King of *France* that put him upon ſending to the City of *London* to borrow Six Thouſand Marks. His Demand met at firſt with great Difficulties, becauſe People were not yet ſufficiently acquainted with his Temper. However, he obtained at laſt a Loan of Two Thouſand Pounds, which he received in good Part, and punctually repayed afterwards. He often made ſuch kind of Loans throughout the Courſe of his Reign, and was always punctual to the Days of Payment. His View was to eſtabliſh his Credit in that powerful City, that he might make uſe of it upon any emergent Occaſion.

He borrows Money of the City.

About the End of the Year he called to his Privy-Council *John Morton* Biſhop of *Ely*, lately returned from *Flanders*, and *Richard Fox*. He lay under great Obligations to *Morton*, particularly for the Intelligence he had given him of what was plotting againſt him in *Bretagne*, and he had a great Value for *Fox*, knowing him to be a Perſon capable of doing him great Service, and to be of a Temper very like his own. In Time *Morton* was made Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, Lord *Chancellor*, *Prime Miniſter*, and at length *Cardinal*. As for *Fox*, the King made him firſt Lord *Keeper* of the *Privy-Seal*, then Biſhop of *Exeter*: After that he tranſlated him to *Bath* and *Wells*, from thence to *Durham*, and laſtly to *Wincheſter*, the richeſt Biſhoprick in *England*. Theſe two Prelates and one *Urſwick* Chaplain to the King were almoſt always employed iu Commiſſions, Embaſſies and Negotiations of the greateſt Moment. *Henry* loved to employ *Eccleſiaſticks*, becauſe he had always Church-Preferments ready

Morton *and* **Fox** *are made Privy-Counſellors.*

1485. ready at Hand to reward them with. But he took care to promote them by Degrees from ſmaller to larger *Sees*. In ſo doing he found his own Accounts; for by tranſlating Biſhops from one *See* to another, he made the more *Vacancies*, and by that Means the *Firſt-Fruits* which accrued to the King were greatly multiplied. Never was Prince more eager in ſeeking all Opportunities to heap up Riches. Covetouſneſs was his predominant Paſſion. He was governed by it even in his meaneſt Actions. It made him take abundance of falſe Steps, as will be manifeſt hereafter.

The Events of this Reign have ſuch a Connexion with thoſe of ſome other *States*, that it will be abſolutely neceſſary to ſhow in a few Words the Poſture of the Affairs of divers Princes. Otherwiſe a Man would have but an imperfect Knowledge of the Motives of *Henry the Seventh*'s Conduct, who made in his Time a very great Figure in *Europe*, though not ſo much by means of his *Arms* as of his *Politicks*. I ſhall begin with *Bretagne*.

Affairs of Bretagne. Argentré.

I have obſerved elſewhere that *Peter Landais* Favourite of the Duke of *Bretagne*, entirely governed that Prince, who was grown old and infirm, and was very much impaired in his Underſtanding: that ſeveral Lords of *Bretagne* had made a League againſt that *Miniſter*; that they had reſolved to ſeize him, but having miſſed their Aim were expoſed to the Vengeance of the Favourite, who had got them all to be condemned to die. In the Beginning of this Year 1485, *Landais*, in the Name of the Duke his Maſter, levied an Army to put the *Sentence* in Execution, and the Lords on their Part took up Arms in their Defence. Whilſt *Bretagne* was thus divided, and the two Parties were ready to come to Blows, the condemned Lords cauſed it to be repreſented to thoſe who ſerved *Landais*, that in the preſent Buſineſs the Intereſt of the Duke their common Maſter was not concerned, but only his unworthy Favourite's: That it was unjuſt to ſhed the Blood of their Countrymen in the Quarrel of ſuch a Man as he, who had notoriouſly abuſed his Maſter's Confi-

Confidence: That therefore, to allay at once the Troubles of *Bretagne*, there was a much more natural and ready Way than that of Arms, namely, to rid themſelves of the *Miniſter*, which done, not a Soul would be found but what would pay all due Obedience to the Duke. The Lords of the Duke's Party having deemed this Expedient to be very reaſonable, were of Opinion that in reality it was for the Intereſt of the Country and of the Duke himſelf, that *Landais*, ſole Cauſe of the Troubles, ſhould fall a Sacrifice to the Good of the Publick. *Landais* having Notice that the Lords of the two Armies were contriving ſomething againſt him, cauſed a Declaration to be drawn up, wherein the Duke ordered that all Perſons who held Intelligence with the *proſcribed* Lords, ſhould be deemed *Traitors* and *Rebels*. But this only ſerved to haſten his Ruin. The *Chancellor*, who was in the Plot againſt him, refuſed to ſet the *Seal* to the Declaration, and informed the Lords of it, who reſolved to have no longer any regard for the Favourite. So without giving him time to take other Meaſures, they went in a Body to the Palace and laid Hands upon *Landais* in the Duke's own Apartment, who was fain to deliver him up on Condition they would ſpare his Life. But that was not their Deſign. On the contrary, they brought him to a ſpeedy Tryal, and having convicted him of a Thouſand Crimes, they made him attone for them on the Gallows before the Duke knew any Thing of the *Sentence*. How much ſoever the Duke was troubled at the Death of his Favourite, he could not help granting the Lords of the two Armies *Letters* of *Pardon*. Thus *Bretagne* would have been reſtored to her former Tranquillity, had not the Duke been ſo impolitick as to concern himſelf with the Troubles of the Court of *France*, which proved the Ruin of himſelf and Dukedom. This is what muſt be now ſhown, ſince it was the Occaſion of the War which broke out between *Charles* VIII. and the Duke of *Bretagne*, and wherein *Henry* VII. was a Party concerned. 1485.

1485. *Affairs of* France. Mezerai.

Lewis XI King of *France* dying in the Year 1483, left the Management of the Person of *Charles* VIII his Son and Successor, to *Ann* his Daughter, Wife of *Peter de Bourbon* Lord of *Beaujeu*. *Charles* was fourteen Years Old, and consequently of *Age* according to the Decree of *Charles* V. But as he had been ill educated, the King his Father thought him uncapable of holding the Reins of Government himself. The Moment *Lewis* XI was laid in his Grave, *Lewis* Duke of *Orleans*, first Prince of the Blood, refused to acknowledge *Ann* of *Beaujeu* for the King's Governess, affirming that a Woman had no Right to meddle with State-Affairs. The *States* being assembled at *Tours* in *January* 1484, ended the Dispute by their Authority. They confirmed the late King's Will, and ordered that the Duke of *Orleans* should be President of the *Council* in the King's Absence.

Whilst the *States* of *France* were assembled, the Lords of *Bretagne* made their first Attempt upon *Landais* mentioned heretofore, and which proved unsuccessful. The *Sentence* which was passed upon them, putting them in dread of the Favourite's Revenge, they applied to *Ann* of *Beaujeu* for the Protection of the King her Brother. On the other Hand, *Landais* seeing his Enemies had recourse to the Lady *Ann*, thought he could not do better than rely upon the Assistance of the Duke of *Orleans*. With this View he begged the Favour of him to come to the Court of *Bretagne*, putting him in hopes that the Duke would give him in Marriage *Ann* his eldest Daughter and Heir Apparent. The Duke of *Orleans* had already married against his Will *Joanna* Daughter of *Lewis* XI, but he had made against this constrained Match secret *Protestations*; which he intended to make use of, to annul his Marriage when a more favourable Juncture should offer. Wherefore, pleased with the Hopes *Landais* had given him, he came to *Bretagne* where he was extremely caressed. But he could make no long stay there, being obliged to go and assist at the King's Coronation, which was performed in *June* this

this Year. In all likelihood, whilſt he was in *Bretagne* he concerted with the Duke and his Favourite Meaſures to diſturb the Government of *Ann* of *Beaujeu*, who was become abſolute Miſtreſs of the Perſon and Affairs of the King her Brother. 1485.

Shortly after, the Duke of *Orleans* having formed a League againſt the Court, and being retired to *Boiſgency*, demanded that the *States* of *France* might be aſſembled. He intended to get them to void the Regulation which was already made, with reſpect to the Government of the King's Perſon. But *Ann* of *Beaujeu* cauſed the King to march againſt him with ſuch Expedition, that he ſaw himſelf forced to ſubmit to what Terms they were pleaſed to impoſe upon him, by reaſon his Friends were not yet ready to aſſiſt him. By this Agreement the Earl of *Dunois* and *Longueville*, who was looked upon as his chief Adviſer, was baniſhed to *Aſt* in *Piedmont*, a Town belonging to the Duke of *Orleans*, with a Command not to ſtir from thence without the King's expreſs Leave.

The Duke of *Orleans* having been thus compelled to diſmiſs his Troops, ordered it ſo that the greateſt Part of them went and ſided with the Duke of *Bretagne* againſt the condemned Lords. On the other Hand, *Ann* of *Beaujeu* ſent likewiſe to the Barons Part of the King's Troops. *Landais*'s Death which happened ſoon after, was not capable to make the Duke of *Orleans* give over his Projects. He ſtood in need of the Duke of *Bretagne* to make Head againſt the Court, and even hoped he ſhould one Day marry his Daughter. On the other Side, the Duke of *Bretagne* having been greatly perſecuted by *Lewis* XI, and knowing that *Ann* of *Beaujeu* was of the ſame Character, and trod in his Steps, believed he could not do better than rely upon the Aſſiſtance of the Duke of *Orleans*. So after ſome private Negotiations, theſe two Princes made a League together, into which came *John de Chalon* Prince of *Orange*, Nephew to the Duke of *Bretagne*, the Duke of *Bourbon*, the Earl of *Dunois*, the Duke of *Lorrain*, and ſeveral other

1485. Princes and Lords. Some Time after the Earl of *Dunois* returned into *France* without Leave, and withdrew to his Seat at *Partenay* in *Poictou*. The King was ignorant as yet of the Duke of *Orleans*'s Deſigns. But the Return of the Earl of *Dunois* having made him perceive ſome Plot was brewing in Favour of that Prince who was gone to *Blois*, he ſent him a poſitive Order to come to Court. The Duke obeyed upon a ſecond Summons. But next Day being informed that ſome Ill was intended him, he made as if he was going a Hunting, and retired into *Bretagne*, whether he was quickly followed by the Prince of *Orange* and the Earl of *Dunois*. This was in the Beginning of the Year 1486. We muſt now ſee what was doing in the *Low-Countries*.

Affairs of the Low Countries. Since the Death of *Maria* of *Burgundy*, *Maximilian* of *Auſtria* her Huſband had been involved in Troubles on the Score of the Guardianſhip of *Philip* her Son, become Sovereign of the *Low-Countries* by the Death of the Dutcheſs his Mother. *Brabant*, *Holland*, and *Zeland*, were willing to receive him for Guardian; but *Flanders* and *Hainault* refuſed to obey him as ſuch.

The Obſtinacy of the *Flemings* had obliged *Maximilian* to make Peace with *Lewis* XI upon theſe Terms: That the Dauphin *Charles*, Son of *Lewis*, ſhould marry *Margaret* Daughter of *Maximilian*, as ſoon as the two Parties ſhould come to ſuch an Age: That *Margaret* ſhould have for Dowry *Artois*, *Franche Comté*, *Mâcon*, *Auxerre*, and be educated at the Court of *France*. Purſuant to this Treaty, *Lewis* had kept theſe Provinces which he had already ſeized, and taken *Margaret* Home, againſt the Marriage could be conſummated.

In 1483 *Maximilian* had a War with the *Liegeois*, which he brought to a happy Iſſue. This ſame Year *Hainault* owned him for *Guardian* of his Son *Philip*.

In 1484 the *Flemings* ſtill perſiſting in refuſing to acknowledge *Maximilian* for Guardian, appointed Governours for *Philip*, of whom *Adolphus de Cleves*, Lord

Lord of *Ravenſtein* was the Chief. Their Obſtinacy occaſioned between them and *Maximilian* a War, in which *Charles* VIII concerned himſelf by ſending Succours to the *Flemings*. 1485.

This War was ended in *January* 1485, by a Treaty importing that the *Flemings* ſhould acknowledge *Maximilian* for Guardian of his Son, upon the expreſs Condition that he ſhould not remove him out of *Flanders* till he was of *Age*. The Treaty being ſigned, *Maximilian* made his Entry into *Gaunt*, where a few Days after happened a Sedition; but it was luckily appeaſed. During the reſt of the Year, the *Low-Countries* enjoyed Peace and Quiet enough to afford *Maximilian* Time to take a Trip to *Germany*, to get himſelf choſen King of the *Romans*. Let us now turn our Eyes a little to *Spain*.

Henry IV ſirnamed the *Impotent*, King of *Caſtile*, died in 1474, leaving only a Daughter called *Joanna*, whom all the World believed to be Suppoſititious. For which Reaſon *Iſabella*, Siſter to *Henry* and *Ferdinand* Prince of *Arragon* her Huſband, took Poſſeſſion of the Throne of *Caſtile*. They had a fierce War to carry on againſt *Alphonſo* King of *Portugal*, who having been affianced to *Joanna* ſuppoſed Daughter of *Henry* IV, laid Claim to the Crown of *Caſtile*. This War ended in 1479, to the Advantage of *Ferdinand* and *Iſabella*, who compelled *Alphonſo* to give over his Pretenſions. By the Treaty made upon this Occaſion, it was agreed, that *Alphonſo* Grandſon of the King of *Portugal* ſhould marry *Iſabella* Daughter of *Ferdinand*, when the Parties ſhould be of Age to conſummate the Marriage.

John King of *Arragon* died this Year, leaving to *Ferdinand* his Son the Kingdom of *Arragon*, with a War to maintain againſt *France*, the Occaſion whereof was this. King *John* had mortgaged to *Lewis* XI, *Rouſſillon* and *Cerdagne* for the Sum of three Hundred Thouſand Crowns. Afterwards the Inhabitants of *Perpignan* revolted from the *French*, whoſe Dominion ſuited not with them. Upon this News *John* came

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1485. to *Perpignan*, to try to perſwade them to remain in Subjection to the *French*, till he ſhould be able to redeem *Rouſſillon*, by paying off the Mortgage. But whilſt he was labouring to bring them to Temper, *Lewis* XI cauſed the Place to be beſieged, and *John* himſelf was ſhut up. The Siege laſted four Months, and at length *Ferdinand* Son of *John* being come to his Relief, conſtrained the *French* to retire. Shortly after *John* being gone from *Perpignan*, *Lewis* ordered the Place to be inveſted again, and took it after a long Siege. From that Time the King of *Arragon* pretended that the King of *France* ought to give up *Rouſſillon*, without receiving the Money lent, either on Account of the Expence he had been at in protecting his Subjects, or becauſe the *French* had levied large Sums upon the mortgaged Countries. But the King of *France* did not think himſelf obliged to this Reſtitution, without he was paid the three Hundred Thouſand Crowns he had lent.

In 1485 *Charles* VIII ſent an Ambaſſador to *Ferdinand*, whom he refuſed to receive, unleſs he brought a poſitive Power to deliver up *Rouſſillon* and *Cerdagne*.

About the latter End of this Year, was born *Catharine* Daughter of *Ferdinand* and *Iſabella*, who was afterwards Queen of *England*, and will have a great Share in this Hiſtory. *Ferdinand* and *Iſabella* had ſeveral other Children, namely, *Iſabella* betrothed to the Prince of *Portugal*, *John* born 1477, and *Joanna* born in 1479.

Affairs of Scotland. Buchanan.

I ſhall cloſe this Digreſſion with the Affairs of *Scotland*. *James* III continued to govern his Kingdom with Oppreſſion and Violence, without troubling himſelf much to win the Good-Will of his Subjects. I have before obſerved, that the Duke of *Albany* his Brother had ſurrendered *Dunbar* to the *Engliſh*, and that after the Death of *Edward* IV he was retired into *France*, where he ended his Days at a *Turnament*. Ever ſince that Time the *Engliſh* had kept Poſſeſſion of that Place, though *Richard* III had promiſed to reſtore it. This Promiſe being unperformed when

Henry

Henry VII aſcended the Throne of *England*, *James* reſolved to recover *Dunbar* by Force of Arms. To that Purpoſe, about the End of this Year, or perhaps the Beginning of the next, he beſieged the Town and carried it. The Seaſon and the Affairs of Moment which *Henry* had upon his Hands in the Beginning of his Reign, permitted him not to prepare for its Relief. 1485.

Such was the Poſture of the Affairs of the *States*, with whom *Henry* VII had any Thing to do during the Courſe of his Reign. It is Time now to return to our Hiſtory.

How great an Averſion ſoever the King might have in his Mind for the *Houſe of York*, he had too ſolemnly promiſed to marry the Princeſs *Elizabeth*, to be able to go from his Word. Beſides, this Marriage was neceſſary to amuſe the *Engliſh*, who ſtill pleaſed themſelves with the Thoughts that the King's Intention was to mix his *Title* with that of the *Houſe of York*, notwithſtanding the Precautions he had taken to hinder her from being mentioned in the *Act of Settlement*. The Nuptials were ſolemnized on the 18th of *Jannary*, with much greater Demonſtrations of Joy on the People's Part than on the King's. The People's Satisfaction appeared to be vaſtly beyond what they had ſhowed on the Day of the King's Entry or Coronation. The which was a clear Evidence of the People's Affection for the *Houſe of York*, and particularly for the Family of *Edward* IV. But that was not to be wondered at. The *Houſe of Lancaſter*, whereof there remained none but the Deſcendents of the *Female-Line*, had been forgot during the Reigns of the Kings of the *Houſe of York*. Though *Henry* aſſerted his Deſcent from the *Houſe of Lancaſter*, every Body knew that he was Grandſon to a *Welſh* Gentleman, and that his Mother ſprung only from a Baſtard of that *Houſe*, whom the Credit of his Father, and the Circumſtances of the Times had helped to be legitimated. As for the Princes and Princeſſes deſcended from the lawful Daughter of *John of Gaunt*, 1486. *The King's Marriage.* Jan. 8.

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1486. as they happened to be in *Portugal*, *Castile*, and *Arragon*, and were unknown in *England*, it was not at all strange that little Account was made of them. *Henry* was vexed to see the People's Joy on the Score of his Marriage. He plainly perceived that *Elizabeth* had a greater Share in it than himself, and that consequently they did not think him really King but in Right of his Queen. This Consideration inspired him with such a Coldness for her, that he never ceased giving her Marks of his Indifferency all the while she lived with him. He deferred her Coronation two whole Years, and no doubt would have done so for ever, if he had not thought it would have been prejudicial to him. It may be, he would even have dealt by her just as *Edward the Confessor* had formerly done by his Wife, Daughter of Earl *Goodwin*, had not the Desire of having Children caused him to overcome his Aversion. He had conceived so mortal a Hatred for the whole *House of York*, that he let slip no Opportunity to humble the *Yorkists*, behaving always towards them not as a just King, but like the Head of a Party. We shall see hereafter sundry Demonstrations of his ill Temper with respect to that *House*.

The King's Coldness for the Queen.

His mortal Hatred to the House of York.

A three Years Truce with France. Act. Pub. XII. 281.

The Day before the King's Wedding was solemnized at *London*, his Envoy at *Paris* had concluded with the Court of *France* a three Years Truce, which was to expire *January* the 17th $148\frac{8}{9}$. *Charles* VIII, who began to form Projects against *Bretagne*, willingly consented to this Truce, that he might tie up the Hands of the King of *England*, and hinder him from assisting that Dukedom. On the other Hand, *Henry* who was ignorant of his Designs, believed it could not but turn to his Advantage to live in a good Understanding with that Monarch, because he thereby rendered himself more formidable to his Domestick Enemies, who could no longer hope for any Diversion from that Quarter.

The Earl of Derby *made* High-Constable. March 5.

Shortly after the King made *Thomas Stanley* Earl of *Derby High-Constable*, and *William Stanley* his Brother Lord *Chamberlain*. These were the two Persons of

of the Kingdom the King was moſt obliged to, ſince they helped him to the Victory of *Boſworth*, which lifted him into the Throne. The Lord *D'Aubeney* was made Governor of *Calais* for ſeven Years. 1486.

Diſpenſation for the King's Marriage, March 10. P. 294.

Henry and *Elizabeth* being derived from the ſame Stock, namely *Edward* III, there had been occaſion for a Diſpenſation to marry becauſe they were Couſins in the Fourth Degree. It was the Biſhop of *Imola*, *Legate a Latere* in *England* and *Scotland*, that had granted the Diſpenſation, by virtue of his Commiſſion, which empowered him to grant that Favour to any Twelve Perſons he ſhould pleaſe. The King thought at firſt that this Diſpenſation was ſufficient, and without farther Conſideration had conſummated his Marriage. Afterwards he began to reflect, that one might take occaſion from hence to queſtion the Validity of his Marriage, by affirming that a *Power* granted for Twelve Perſons in general could not be extended to *Sovereigns*. To prevent therefore any ſuch Objection, he deſired *Innocent* VIII, who then ſat in the *Papal Chair*, to grant him a Diſpenſation immediately from himſelf, and peculiarly adapted to the Caſe in Hand. Whereupon the Pope ordered a *Bull* to be drawn up accordingly. But as this *Bull* was dated *March* 13, two Months after the Marriage, and without any mention of the Conſummation or the *Legate*'s Diſpenſation, *Henry* wiſhed to have another, wherein theſe two Articles might be inſerted; the which was granted him in *July* following. This ſhows plainly how careful he was to prevent his Enemies from having any Handle to give him Trouble. But the Precaution he took at the ſame Time, makes this appear ſtill plainer.

Two more upon the ſame Account.

The Bull confirming the Act of Settlement. Mar. 27. Act. Pub. XII. 297.

With the firſt Diſpenſation before-mentioned he received a *Bull* confirming the *Act of Succeſſion* made by the Parliament. The Pope ſat forth, "That he had "heard, although the Crown of *England* was fallen "to *Henry*, not only by *Conqueſt* and an unqueſti-"onable Hereditary Right, but moreover by the una-"nimous Conſent of the Nobles and People, and by

1486. " an Act of Parliament; and though undoubtedly " and rightfully it belonged to him and the Heirs of " his Body, nevertheleſs, to put an End to the Trou- " bles which had long diſtracted the Kingdom, he was " deſirous to marry *Elizabeth of York*, eldeſt Daugh- " ter and Heir of King *Edward* IV. of glorious Me- " mory: That therefore having conſidered with his " Brothers the Cardinals, this his Intention in the Spi- " rit of Charity, he had granted the Diſpenſation ne- " ceſſary for the ſaid Marriage, and pronounced the " Children that ſhould be born of it lawful and capa- " ble of ſucceeding to their Father and Mother: " That he had granted this Favour, not at the Re- " queſt of *Henry* or *Elizabeth*, or of any other in their " Name, but of his own Motion, certain Knowledge, " and pure Generoſity, as it was more largely expreſſed " in the Letters of Diſpenſation, to which he gave the " ſame Force as if they were inſerted Word for Word " in theſe Preſents: That therefore he decreed, de- " clared and pronounced lawful the Succeſſion of the " Children iſſuing from this Marriage, and confirmed " the Act of Parliament touching King *Henry*'s " Title, and the Succeſſion of his Children, ſupply- " ing by his Apoſtolical Authority all Defects that " might any ways occur therein.

" That of his own Motion and by his Authority he " admoniſhed and required all the People of *England*, " and all the Subjects of King *Henry* of what Rank " ſoever, to obey that Prince, and expreſsly forbad " them to raiſe Diſturbances about the Succeſſion, or " upon any other Account whatever, or to infringe " in any manner the Diſpenſation, Declaration, and " *Act* of Parliament.

" That he pronounced *ipſo facto* excommunicate " all Perſons that ſhould raiſe any ſuch Diſturbances, " or infringe the foreſaid *Letters* and *Acts*, not to be " abſolved but by the *Holy See*, or by ſuch as ſhould " be impowered by her, unleſs at the Point of Death.

" That

" That if *Elizabeth* ſhould happen to die before 1486.
" *Henry* without having any Iſſue, he decreed, agree-
" ably to the foreſaid Act of Parliament and Confir-
" mation, that the Children of *Henry* by any other
" lawful Wife ſhould ſucceed him by Hereditary
" Right, pronouncing excommunicate as above, all
" Perſons that ſhould oppoſe the Succeſſion of his
" Iſſue. Granting on the contrary his Benediction
" and plenary Indulgence for all their Sins, to thoſe
" that ſhould in that caſe aſſiſt *Henry* or his Progeny.

" Moreover, he enjoined all Archbiſhops, Biſhops,
" Abbots, Deans, Archdeacons, Curates, Rectors,
" Priors and Superiors of Monaſteries, upon the Pe-
" nalties expreſſed in the holy *Canons*, to excommuni-
" cate publickly, and to pronounce excommunicate
" every time they ſhould be required, all Perſons that
" ſhould breed any Diſturbances upon this Account,
" or ſhould oppoſe in any manner whatever the Exe-
" cution of the ſaid *Acts*, notwithſtanding all Con-
" ſtitutions and Ordinances Apoſtolical to the con-
" trary, *&c.*".

Remarks on this Bull.

Nothing is a better Evidence how much *Henry* himſelf was convinced of the Weakneſs of his Title, than the Precaution he took to get it confirmed by the Pope. This Precaution was not only needleſs, but even unlawful, ſeeing it ran counter to the *Statutes of Præmunire*, which the *Engliſh* were ſo jealous of. Accordingly he had taken care to have it ſaid in the *Bull*, that the Pope granted the Diſpenſation of his own Motion, and without any previous Requeſt, a *Clauſe* falſe to a Demonſtration. It is certain that the *Bull* of Diſpenſation ran in expreſs Terms, that the Pope granted it upon what had been repreſented to him by *Henry* and *Elizabeth*. Beſides, what the Pope affirmed, that the Crown of *England* was fallen to *Henry* by *Hereditary Right*, that Heap and Mixture of other *Titles*, namely, *the Conſent of the Nobles and People*, *the Act of Parliament*, *the King's Marriage with* Elizabeth, all this, I ſay, tallied ſo exactly with the Uncertainty *Henry* was under as to his *Title*, that doubtleſs

1486. less it proceeded not from the Pope's own Knowledge, but rather from the King himself, who had as it were dictated how the *Bull* should be worded. In fine, the Pope would never have taken it into his Head to confirm an *Act* of Settlement, if he had not been requested. But it was by no means convenient that the King should appear to have desired such a *Bull*, since nothing could be more disagreeable to the *English*. For having made such a Step, even before the *Statute* of *Præmunire* was enacted, King *John* entirely lost the Affection and Confidence of his Barons, together with the Crown which he would have secured by that Expedient. *Henry* III. was upon the Point of undergoing the same Fate, for having taken some Precautions of this Nature. Accordingly we shall see hereafter that this *Bull* was not capable of hindering but that the King was frequently molested. The *English* were not as in former Days such *Bigots*, as to imagine that the Pope's Authority was able to give *Henry* a *Title* which he really had not.

The King's Uneasiness with regard to the House of York.

Though the King had happily attained to his Ends, with respect to the *Act* of *Settlement* and *Succession*, yet was he not ignorant that what the Parliament had done was not agreeable to the Sentiments of the People. He had been called into *England* to deliver the Nation from the Tyranny of *Richard* III, and not to dispossess entirely the *House of York*. This is so true, that in case the *Yorkists* had not sided with him with a View to preserve the Crown in that *House*, by the Means of his Marriage with *Elizabeth*, the *Lancastrians* would never have been able to lift him into the Throne. The Queen, Widow of *Edward* IV, the Duke of *Buckingham*, the Lord *Stanley*, were not Friends to *the House of Lancaster*, though private Enemies to the Person of *Richard*. To these however it was that *Henry* was chiefly beholding for his Greatness. If the People had been consulted, and had it in their Power to chuse a Sovereign, *Richard* III. indeed would have been removed: but then *Elizabeth* would have been placed on the Throne, and the Earl of *Richmond* left

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in his Exile in *Bretagne*. *Henry* therefore was looked upon only as the Inſtrument of their Deliverance from the Dominion of a Tyrant. But as it was reaſonable to make him a Return, they thought they ſhould do him a great Favour in giving him a Share of the Royal Dignity, by the Means of his Marriage with the Princeſs *Elizabeth*. And if they were deſirous that the Right he could derive from *the Houſe of Lancaſter* ſhould be united with that of *Elizabeth*, it was rather to avoid freſh Commotions by that Expedient, than out of a Belief of the Goodneſs of his *Title*. He had himſelf gladly cloſed with the Expedient, and upon that Foundation it was that he formed his Enterprize; otherwiſe he would have doubtleſs met with leſs Aſſiſtance and much greater Oppoſition. But he had no ſooner won the Battle of *Boſworth*, but he laid the Scheme of reigning in his own Right only, and of excluding entirely the *Houſe of York*; wherein he deceived the Expectation of the *Engliſh* and abuſed their Confidence. This is what he had always in his Thoughts, though he concealed his Uneaſineſs upon that Score with all poſſible Care. 1486.

The King's Progreſs into the North.

The *Northern* Counties abounding moſt with the Friends of the *Houſe of York*, *Henry* reſolved to take a Progreſs into thoſe Parts. He was in hopes that his Preſence, backed with ſome Favours which he might have occaſion to diſpenſe, would ſet all to Rights there. With this view he ſat out towards the middle of the Spring, and went and kept his *Eaſter* at *Lincoln*. During his Stay in that City, he heard that the Lord *Lovel*, one of *Richard the Third*'s Favourites, *Humphrey* and *Thomas Stafford* Brothers, who had refuſed to accept of the general Pardon, had quitted their *Sanctuaries*, and were gone no body knew whither. As he was ignorant what their Deſign could be, he purſued his Journey and came to *York*. Shortly after he received more certain Intelligence concerning the Fugitives. He had Notice that the Lord *Lovel* was advancing towards *York* at the Head of Three or Four Thouſand Men, and that the *Staffords* were in Arms

Rebellion of the Lord Lovel *and the two* Staffords.

The King is at a great Loſs at York.

1487. Arms in *Worceſterſhire* before the City of *Worceſter*. This News gave him no ſmall Uneaſineſs. He ſaw himſelf in that Part of the Kingdom where he knew he was not beloved, and where it was no eaſy Matter to raiſe Forces. Beſides, he had ground to *fear* that the Lord *Lovel* had Friends in *York*, and among the Noblemen of the *County*. Conſequently he had no time to loſe. He muſt reſolve out of Hand either to quit *York*, or take ſome Method to oppoſe the Rebels.

He raiſes ſome Troops. In this Strait he choſe to ſet a good Face upon the Matter, well-knowing that turning his Back could not but be of very ill Conſequence. So, without ſhowing any Signs of Fear, he armed ſuch of his Followers as were fitteſt to bear Arms, and commiſſioned ſome truſty Friends to raiſe Men in and about *York* with all the Expedition poſſible. He was ſo lucky and ſo well ſerved, as to get together in a ſhort Time Three Thouſand Men, of whom he gave the Command to his Uncle the Duke of *Bedford*. But theſe Troops were ſo ill-provided with Arms, and in ſuch bad ſtate, that there was no great Dependance upon them. Beſides, they were raiſed in a Country where the Inhabitants were not well-affected to the King. For this Reaſon *Henry* expreſsly charged the Duke of *Bedford* to avoid fighting if poſſible, till he ſhould be reinforced, but however to appear unconcerned, and to proclaim in his Name Pardon to all that would lay down their Arms. This Precaution ſucceeded to his Wiſh. The Duke of *Bedford* approaching the Malecontents, ordered the Proclamation to be publiſhed in Terms which expreſſed a great Superiority and Confidence. However, it had but little Effect on the Rebels. But the Lord *Lovel* who commanded them, being apprehenſive they would accept of the Pardon offered them, forſook them firſt. He went off all alone, and hid himſelf in *Lancaſhire* at his Friend Sir *Thomas Broughton*'s, and ſhortly after paſſed over into *Flanders* to the Dutcheſs Dowager of *Burgundy*. His Army being without a Leader, ſubmitted to the King's Mercy. The *Staffords*, who were beſieging *Worceſter*,

The Duke of Bedford *diſperſes the Rebels.*

Lovel flies.

Worceſter, hearing what had paſſed in the *North*, raiſed the Siege, and abandoning their Troops, took *Sanctuary* in the Church of *Colnham*, a little Village [near *Abington*]. But that Church enjoying no peculiar Privilege, it was judged in the Court of *King*'s *Bench* that it could not afford Protection to Traitors. So the two Brothers being taken thence by force, *Humphrey* the eldeſt was ſent to *London* to be executed at *Tyburn*: but *Thomas*, as being drawn in by his Brother, was pardoned. This Rebellion, the firſt that broke out in this Reign, was like a Blaze which laſted not long. It was quenched with the Blood of one ſingle Perſon. We ſhall ſee hereafter others which coſt the King more to extinguiſh the Flames. 1486. *One of the* Staffords *executed.*

On the 3d of *July* the Scotch Ambaſſadors, who had been ſome time at *London*, concluded a Truce with *Henry*, which was to end that Day three Years. Act. Pub. XII. 285.

Cardinal *Bourchier* Archbiſhop of *Canterbury* died much about this Time. The King, having a Mind to procure the Archbiſhoprick for Dr. *Morton* Biſhop of *Ely*, committed it to his Care during the Vacancy, thereby making known his Intention that no other Biſhop might put in for it. Accordingly *Morton* was elected ſome time after; but he received not the Pope's *Bull* till *December*. *Death of Cardinal* Bourchier. Morton *ſucceeds him.*

July the 22d, *John de Boteler*, Lord *de Maupertuis*, Ambaſſador of *Francis* II. Duke of *Bretagne*, concluded at *London* with the King a Truce, or rather prolonged the former Truce, which ſtill ſubſiſted between *England* and *Bretagne*, till the Death of one of the two Princes. But the Trade between the two Nations, which was ſettled by ſeveral Articles of this Treaty, was to laſt till the Death of the longeſt liver. *Truce prolonged with* Bretagne.

September the 20th the Queen was brought to bed of a Prince, though ſhe was but Eight Months *gone* with Child. The King was pleaſed the new-born Prince ſhould be called *Arthur*, in Memory of the famous *Britiſh* Monarch, from whom he would fain have made it believed he was derived. The Family of the *Tudors* being *Birth of Prince* Arthur.

1486. being *British* or *Welsh*, it is not very unlikely that *Henry* designed by naming his Son *Arthur*, to insinuate that he was descended of that illustrious Monarch. Nevertheless it is certain, that it was not till after the Time I am now speaking of, that this Report was spread about, and that *Genealogies* were forged to countenance it. Those who governed the State during *Henry the Sixth*'s Minority, were far enough from being of this Opinion, since upon the Death of *Catharine* of *France*, Mother of that Prince, they ordered *Owen Tudor* Grandfather of *Henry* VII to be sent to the *Tower* for having presumed to marry that Princess. Some even affirm that he was beheaded.

Murmurs of the People.

The Steps the King had made to deprive the *House of York* of their Rights, had very much disgusted the People, who had expected quite another Thing. They that brought in *Henry* had been in Hopes that the *Titles* of the two *Houses* being united by his Marriage with *Elizabeth*, there would no longer be any Distinction between the *Yorkists* and *Lancastrians*, but that all might equally expect the Places which were in the King's Disposal. These Hopes were further confirmed by the Birth of Prince *Arthur*, who united in his Person the *litigious* Claims of the two *Houses*. But People saw to their great Grief, that the King still looked upon the *House of York* as Rivals and Enemies, and that his Jealousy reached to the Queen herself, whose Interest should have been as dear to him as his own. The Truth is, not contented with showing by his continual Coldness, and by several Mortifications which he made her suffer, the little Kindness he had for her, he had given her a very sensible Mark of it, in refusing to have her crowned, as if she had been unworthy to sit on the Throne with him. And even since she had brought him a Son, her Coronation was no more talked of than when she was first married. It was impossible but that this Partiality should breed a great deal of ill Blood in the *Yorkists*, who were much more numerous than the *Lancastrians*.

This

This Diſcontent being almoſt univerſal, ſome malicious Perſons ſpread a Report, that the King intended to make away with the Earl of *Warwick*, then Priſoner in the *Tower*, and ſole Male-Relict of the *Houſe of York*. There is no Queſtion that their Deſign was to compare *Henry* with *Richard* III, who had taken away the Lives of his two Nephews to ſecure the Crown, and to let People ſee that in changing King, they had only received one Tyrant inſtead of another. Moreover it was pretty openly given out, that one of *Edward the Fourth*'s Sons was ſtill alive, having as it were miraculouſly eſcaped his Uncle's Cruelty. All this plainly tended to ſound the People's Inclinations. The King himſelf, whether he was the Author of this Rumour, as his Hiſtorian affirms, or whether he only fomented it, was not ſorry that the People ſhould run after a *Phantome*, whilſt it took them off from too firmly adhering to the Perſons of the *Houſe of York* which were really in Being. Mean while the Eagerneſs wherewith the People ſwallowed this falſe Report, was a clear Evidence enough how ready they would be to ſide againſt the King, in Caſe a fair Opportunity offered. The which alſo gave Occaſion to the Project I am about to ſpeak of.

1486. *'Tis rumoured that the King deſigned to put Warwick to Death.*

and that one of Edward's Sons was alive.

A certain Prieſt at *Oxford*, one *Richard Simon*, perceiving the People's Joy at the falſe Report of one of *Edward the Fourth*'s Sons being alive, took it into his Head to put upon the World for *Richard* Duke of *York* Brother of *Edward* V, a young Man, one *Lambert Simnel* a Baker's Son, whom he trained up, and who ſeemed to him proper to play ſuch a Part. He was much about the Duke of *York*'s Age, of good natural Parts, and in all his Behaviour had ſomething Grand, and above one of his Birth. *Simon* had hardly begun inſtructing his Pupil, when another Rumour was ſpread, that the Earl of *Warwick* had made his Eſcape out of the *Tower*. This News, though falſe, raiſed among the People ſo general a Joy, that the Prieſt thought beſt to alter his Project, and make *Simnel* paſs for the Earl of *Warwick*. *Simnel*'s Age agreed

Project of a Prieſt.

He makes Simnel paſs for the Earl of Warwick.

1486. agreed better with the Earl's, and the Circumſtances of his Eſcape was pat to his Purpoſe. To this End it was neceſſary to inſtruct his Pupil thoroughly, ſince he was not to perſonate a Perſon taken out of his Cradle and concealed in ſome private Place, but a Prince well known and bred up in the Court of *Edward* IV. The Earl was about twelve Years old when *Richard* III had him confined. *Simnel* therefore was to underſtand how to talk pertinently of *Edward*'s Court, and to know particularly the Lords and Ladies that frequented it, as well as the King and Queen. This makes it preſumed that the Prieſt was himſelf inſtructed by Perſons who had perfect Knowledge of theſe Things, and that the Plot was ſuggeſted to him. And indeed, ſuppoſing he had been bold enough to form ſuch a Deſign, there is no likelihood that he could inſtruct his Pupil in many Particulars which of Neceſſity he was to know. At leaſt it is certain, the King imagined that the Queen his Mother-in-law, and other Friends of the *Houſe of York*, were the real Authors of this Contrivance, and only made uſe of the Prieſt as an Inſtrument to put their Deſigns in Execution. The Queen Dowager had a very plotting Head. She it was that had ſet on Foot the Project in Favour of the King when he was in *Bretagne*, and thereby ſhown the Credit ſhe had with the *Yorkiſts*. Beſides ſhe could not but be very much diſpleaſed at the King's Coldneſs to her Daughter, and at his refuſing to have her crowned. This alone was enough to make the King ſuſpect her. But it may be, there was more than bare Suſpicions.

The King ſuſpects the Queen Dowager.

The Prieſt carries Simnel *into* Ireland.

Be that as it will, *Simon*, or thoſe that ſat him at work, not thinking proper to let *Simnel* appear firſt in *England*, where he might be examined too cloſely, and by Perſons too well inſtructed in Matters, judged it beſt that he ſhould go and act his firſt Scene in *Ireland*, where *Simon* the Prieſt accompanied him. In all Appearance, ſome Meaſures had been already taken for his good Reception in that Country. Since *Henry*'s Acceſſion to the Throne, he had very much neglected

neglected the Affairs of *Ireland*, deeming that as he was Maſter in *England*, he need not fear the *Iriſh*. Indeed he had made the Duke of *Bedford* Lord Lieutenant of that Kingdom, in the room of the Earl of *Lincoln* Nephew of *Richard* III, but he had continued the ſame Deputy, the ſame Chancellors, and all the reſt of the Officers put in by *Richard*. So the Duke of *Bedford* being ſtill in *England*, *Thomas Fitz-Gerald* Earl of *Kildare*, commanded in *Ireland* as Deputy, and his Brother was *Chancellor* *. 1486.

It is more than probable that the Earl of *Kildare* had a Hand in the Plot, and had even began to take Meaſures to get *Lambert Simnel* the pretended Earl of *Warwick* owned for King in *Ireland*. Ever ſince *June* laſt, *Henry* had notice that ſomething was hatching againſt him in that Country, though he knew not what it was. Upon this Information, he ſent for the Deputy to Court; but the Earl had found Means to get the *Council* of *Ireland* to write to him, that the Deputy's Preſence was abſolutely neceſſary in the Iſland. *Simnel* being come to *Dublin*, went to the Earl of *Kildare* as Earl of *Warwick*, and informed him how he had made his Eſcape out of the *Tower*. If the Earl of *Kildare* had not been in the Plot, or at leaſt had not wiſhed well to it, he would without Diſpute have ſeized the *Pretender*. It was his Duty as he commanded *Ireland* in the King's Name. But inſtead of taking that Courſe, he left him at Liberty, and ordered it ſo, with the Help of his Brother the *Chancellor*, that the Arrival of the pretended Earl of *Warwick* was made known, without their being ſeen in the Matter. They waited to know, firſt, how the People would be affected with the News. The Impreſſion it made upon them was ſo great and ſo ſudden as the Authors of the Plot could deſire. As ſoon as it was known in *Dublin* that the Earl of *Warwick* was arrived, the People gave ſuch Demonſtrations of Joy, that the Depu-

Simnel is received and proclaimed King.

* Sir *James Ware* ſays, the Earl was called *Gerald Fitz-Gerald*, and the Chancellor, *Thomas*.

1486. ty and Chancellor believed they ſhould run no Hazard in acknowledging the Pretender. Wherefore, having conferred with their Friends and Confidents, they went in a ſolemn Manner to wait upon him at his Lodging, and conducted him with great Pomp to the Caſtle, where they treated him like a Prince. *Simnel* received the Reſpect that was paid him without being daſhed out of Countenance, or doing any Thing that betrayed the Meaneſs of his Birth. In a few Days he was proclaimed in *Dublin* King of *England*, and Lord of *Ireland*, by the Name of *Edward* VI. The *Iriſh* never troubled themſelves about the *Attainder* of the Duke of *Clarence* his pretended Father, having newly learnt by the Example of *Henry* himſelf, that the Advancement to the Throne wipes off all Defects.

The King is at a Loſs.

The News of ſo unexpected an Event made the King very uneaſy. He ſaw himſelf attacked in that Part which he was moſt apprehenſive of, namely, his *Title*, the Goodneſs of which he was not himſelf over-convinced of. Indeed, the Victory of *Boſworth* had given him an Opportunity to decide the Matter in his own Favour. But he was very ſenſible that in Caſe the *Titles* of the two *Houſes* ſhould come once more to be put in the Balance, he would ſtand in need of a ſecond Victory to confirm his, and that the *Houſe of York* would have Arguments enough and to ſpare, if their Affairs took a better Turn. In the next Place, *Ireland*, where the pretended Earl of *Warwick* was gone, was a Country wholly devoted to the *Houſe of York*, and conſequently it was no eaſy Task to attack the Rebels there. To that Purpoſe, it was neceſſary to lead thither a powerful Army, the which could not be done without immenſe Charge. In fine, it was to be feared, that the Flames which began to break out in *Ireland*, would reach *England*, and that there was a private good Underſtanding between the *Iriſh* and *Engliſh*. In this Streight he called a Council together of his moſt intimate Friends, ſecretly to conſult with them about what was to be done in the preſent Emergency.

A ſecret Council.

mergency. It is to be preſumed, he gave them to underſtand, that the Queen Dowager his Mother-in-law had raiſed this Storm, whether he had ſome Proof of it, or it was only a Suſpicion which he believed well grounded. 1486.

Be that as it will, preſently after the holding this Council, he ordered his Mother-in-law to be apprehended and confined to the Monaſtery of *Bermondſey* [in *Southwark*.] Moreover he ſeized all her Eſtate which was very conſiderable. But as he did not care to let the Publick know the Reaſon of this rigorous Uſage, not being able perhaps to bring ſufficient Proof of her Crime, he cauſed it to be given out, that ſhe was thus puniſhed for having delivered the Princeſſes her Daughters into the Hands of *Richard* III. This Pretence made the People exclaim the more againſt what he had done. They could not help thinking it very ſtrange, that the Queen Dowager ſhould be ſo ſeverely puniſhed for a Fault which might rather be deemed an Effect of Weakneſs than of ill Deſign. In the next Place, they could not conceive why the King had ſo long neglected to inquire into this pretended Crime. In the third Place, ſeeing he had married her Daughter, he ſeemed to have owned that ſhe was Innocent, or at leaſt that he had forgiven her Fault. Laſtly, as all the World knew ſhe had been one of the main Inſtruments to help him to the Crown, they could not but abhor his Ingratitude. They imagined they ſaw in this ſevere Uſage, a ſettled Deſign to uſe all Pretenſes to compleat the Ruin of the *Houſe of York* and its Friends. But it was not only Compaſſion for the Queen's Sufferings, which gave riſe to theſe Reflections; her Example ſtruck Terror into all the Kingdom, there being very few Families but what were guilty, either of haivng aſſiſted *Richard* III, or of not having oppoſed him. When it was conſidered therefore, that the King's Mother-in-law was reduced to ſo wretched a Caſe, for not having been willing or able to withſtand the Tyranny of the late King, every one was afraid he ſhould be called to Account for the

Henry confines his Mother-in-law to a Monaſtery, and ſeizes her Eſtates.

1486. the like Crimes, which were ſuppoſed to be buried in Oblivion. Notwithſtanding all this the Queen Dowager was confined to the Day of her Death, which happened not till ſome Years after *.

She dies in Confinement.

The Earl of Warwick is ſhown in Publick.

'Twas thought at firſt that the Queen Dowager's Misfortune proceeded from the Cauſe the King had taken Care to publiſh. But it was not long before it was perceived that her Treatment was an Effect of the Decrees of the ſecret Council which the King had called upon *Simnel*'s Affair. Shortly after, purſuant to another Reſolve of the ſame Council, the King ordered the true Earl of *Warwick* to be ſhown in publick, who accordingly was brought through the principal Streets of *London*, and then conducted in ſolemn *Proceſſion* to St. *Paul's*, where a world of People were come together to ſee him. There every Body had Time to view him well. And he was made to hold Diſcourſe with thoſe that knew him beſt, and particularly with ſuch as were known to be well affected to the *Houſe of York*; which done, he was carried back to the *Tower*. But the *Iriſh* maintained, that the Earl of *Warwick* which had been ſhown at *London* was a Cheat, and that theirs at *Dublin* was the true Earl. They took Occaſion alſo from hence to exclaim againſt the King for proſtituting the Ceremony of a *Proceſſion* to ſuch a Sham. The King fearing the Miſchief would gain Ground, thought to put a ſtop to it, by proclaiming a *General Pardon* to all that ſhould quit the Rebels, and by promiſing a Reward to thoſe that ſhould diſcover the ſecret of the Plot. At the ſame Time he ſent Orders to Guard the *Ports*, that the Male-Contents of *England* might not go over and join their Friends in *Ireland*. But all this was not capable to break the Meaſures of his Enemies.

It

* She was buried at *Windſor*, by her Husband King *Edward* IV. She compleated the Founding of *Queen's* College in *Cambridge*, begun by *Margaret* King *Henry* IV's Queen.

It was not in *Ireland* only that Work was cutting out for him. The Readineſs wherewith ſome *Engliſh* Lords and Gentlemen embraced this Opportunity to bring about his Ruin, plainly ſhowed that the Conſpiracy had been laid ſome Time before in *England*. The Truth is, there is no great likelihood that a ſingle Prieſt ſhould have formed ſuch a Project, without having imparted it to Perſons better able than himſelf to put it in Execution. Be that as it will, *John* Earl of *Lincoln*, whom *Richard* III his Uncle had declared Heir-Apparent of the Crown, was the firſt that appeared openly to maintain the Intereſt of the pretended Earl of *Warwick*. He was Son of *John de la Pole* Earl of *Suffolk*, and *Elizabeth* Siſter of *Edward* IV and *Richard* III. This Earl however ſeemed to act contrary to his own Intereſt in taking the Earl of *Warwick*'s Part, who was nearer the Throne than himſelf. But as in all Appearance he was not ignorant that the Perſon in *Ireland* was a Cheat, he did not queſtion but that he ſhould eaſily remove him out of the Way, when he had made him his Tool to dethrone *Henry*. Wherefore, upon the firſt News of *Simnel*'s being received and proclaimed King at *Dublin*, he embarked for *Flanders*, to go and concert with the Dutcheſs Dowager of *Burgundy*, the Means to bring the Undertaking to a happy Iſſue.

1486. *The Earl of* Lincoln *goes over to the Dutcheſs of* Burgundy.

Since the Death of *Charles* Duke of *Burgundy*, *Margaret* of *York* his Widow, Siſter of *Edward* IV and *Richard* III, lived in *Flanders* where her Dowry was aſſigned her. As ſhe had no Children by the Duke her Huſband, ſhe laid out all her Pains and Care in the Educatton of the Archduke *Philip*, Son of *Maximilian* of *Auſtria*, and *Maria* of *Burgundy* her Mother-in-law. It was not without extreme Concern that ſhe had ſeen the *Revolution* which had reſtored the *Houſe of Lancaſter* to the Throne, in prejudice to the *Houſe of York*. She would however have taken it patiently, if *Henry* VII in uniting the two *Houſes* by his Marriage with *Elizabeth*, had held the Balance even, and diſpenſed his Favours with an impartial Hand

Diſpoſition of the Dutcheſs with regard to the King.

1486. Hand to the Friends of both Parties. But ſhe altered her Mind, when ſhe ſaw that *Henry* had delayed marrying her Niece till ſuch Time as the Crown was adjudged to himſelf, without any Mixture of the *Title* of the *Houſe of York*. She could not but grieve to ſee that even after his Marriage, he refuſed to let *Elizabeth* be crowned, an Honour no Queen of *England* had been debarred of, ſince the *Conqueſt*; and that the Birth of a Son had not been capable to bring him to do her that Juſtice. Finding therefore that his Hatred of the whole *Houſe of York* was implacable, ſhe did not think herſelf obliged to have any great Regard for him. On the contrary, ſhe believed ſhe might without Scruple work out his Ruin. Indeed, it is uncertain whether this Princeſs was concerned in the Prieſt's and *Simnel*'s Plot, before *Ireland* had declared for him. It is however very likely that ſhe had helped to carry on the Intrigue, together with the Queen Dowager, the Earl of *Lincoln*, and ſome other Friends of the *Houſe of York*. The Truth is, the Earl of *Lincoln*'s going to *Flanders*, upon the firſt News of *Simnel*'s Arrival in *Ireland*, gives Ground to preſume that he held private Intelligence with the Dutcheſs of *Burgundy*, and that it was from her that he expected the Succeſs of the Enterprize. The Lord *Lovel* who was in *Flanders* before him, was likewiſe in the Plot as well as Sir *Thomas Broughton*, who ſtaid in *England* to ſend them notice of what was doing there.

She promiſes to aſſiſt the Earl of Lincoln.

Whether the Dutcheſs of *Burgundy* had contrived this Plot herſelf, or whether ſhe was only informed of it by the Earl of *Lincoln*, ſhe boggled not to lay hold of this Opportunity, which in her Opinion afforded a Proſpect of being able to unhinge *Henry*'s Eſtabliſhment. Having adviſed with the Earl of *Lincoln*, the Lord *Lovel*, and ſome other *Fugitives*, ſhe promiſed to furniſh them with two Thouſand veteran *German* Soldiers, under the Command of *Martin Swart* an Officer of note, with whom they ſhould paſs into *Ireland*, to ſtrengthen the new King's Party. She did not at all doubt but theſe Succours coming from a foreign

foreign Country would encourage the *Yorkiſts* to take up Arms in *England*. In this Situation were the King's Affairs about the latter End of the Year 1486. But before we proceed to the Occurrences of the next Year, we muſt juſt ſee what had paſſed in the neighbouring *States*, eſpecially in *France* and *Bretagne* during the Courſe of this Year. 1486.

I left the Duke of *Orleans* in *Bretagne* with the Prince of *Orange* and the Earl of *Dunois*. Theſe Princes were no ſooner in that Country, but ſeveral of their Friends came and joined them, and moreover brought them ſome Troops. The Duke of *Bretagne* was old and infirm both in Body and Mind. Since the Death of *Landais* he did not know who to truſt with the Adminiſtration of his Affairs, not being able to look upon his Barons but as ſo many Enemies, though he had granted them a *Pardon*. The Duke of *Orleans* finding him in this State, gained ſuch an Aſcendent over him, that he governed *Bretagne* juſt as if he had been the Sovereign. The Advantages he enjoyed in that Country, where almoſt every Thing was in his Diſpoſal, drew thither abundance of *Frenchmen*, who came and offered him their Service. Mean while the Duke of *Bretagne* aſſembled the States, and got his eldeſt Daughter *Ann* to be declared *Heireſs* of the Dutchy; and in caſe ſhe died without Iſſue, it was decreed that her younger Siſter *Iſabel* ſhould ſucceed her. *Affairs of Bretagne.*

The Lords of *Bretagne* newly reconciled to their Sovereign, perceiving that the Duke of *Orleans* ruled with an abſolute Sway in the Duke's Name, and that the *French* flocked to him in Crowds, began to entertain a Jealouſy of their Prince. They were afraid that he ſent for all theſe Strangers on purpoſe to help him to be revenged of them for their Outrage upon his Favourite. In this Belief they met together at *Chateaubriant* to conſult what was to be done to prevent the Danger they were apprehenſive of. They were headed by the Lord of *Rieum* Marſhal of *Bretagne*. *Charles* VIII, who was under an Apprehenſion that the Duke of *Orleans* intended to make uſe of the

1486. Duke of *Bretagne*'s Forces to raise fresh Commotions in *France*, thought it for his Interest to foment the *British* Lords Discontents. He hoped by that to embroil the Duke of *Bretagne* so, as to hinder him from assisting the Duke of *Orleans*. With this View it was that he sent to the Barons assembled at *Chateaubriant*, *Andrew d'Epinay* commonly called the *Cardinal* of *Bourdeaux*, with an Offer of his Protection. The Offer was gladly embraced by many of them, some of whom it may be were won before-hand by the Court of *France*. Others, foreseeing the Inconveniencies that might follow, were for rejecting the Offer. They alledged the several Attempts *Charles*'s Predecessors had made to become Master of *Bretagne*, and how hazardous it was to let the *French* into the Country. In fine, to prevent this Mischief, it was agreed that a Treaty should be made with the King of *France*, to settle the Number of Men he should find them, and to set Bounds to his Pretensions. Pursuant to this Resolve, they signed with the *Cardinal* a Treaty, importing, that the King should not aid them with above Four Hundred *Lances* and Four Thousand *Foot*; that he should not take or besiege any Place, neither should he make any Demands upon the Dutchy before Duke *Francis*'s Death. *Charles* ratified the Treaty, but without design to keep it, as he plainly made appear afterwards.

The Cardinal of *Bourdeaux* being come back to the King, acquainted him, that during his Stay at *Chateaubriant*, he had learnt that the Prince of *Orange* was secretly treating about a Match between *Maximilian* of *Austria*, and *Ann*, eldest Daughter and Heiress of the Duke of *Bretagne*. This Discovery put King *Charles* upon forming the Project of seizing upon *Bretagne*, if it was not perhaps quite formed already. The Posture of the Affairs of *Europe* was exceeding favourable to him. *Ferdinand* and *Isabella* King and Queen of *Arragon* and *Castile* were but little concerned for the Preservation of *Bretagne*. Besides, they were then taken up with their War against the *Moors* of *Grenada*.

Grenada. But ſuppoſing *Charles* had reaſon to fear that *Ferdinand* would enter into ſome League for the Defence of the Duke of *Bretagne*, he had an infallible way to keep him from it: And that was to give him up *Rouſſillon*, which was of much leſs Conſequence than *Bretagne* to the Crown of *France*. *Henry* VII, whoſe Intereſt it plainly was to oppoſe this Enterprize, had his Hands ſo full at home, that in all likelihood he would not be able to look abroad. It was juſt at the very Time when the pretended Earl of *Warwick* began to appear in *Ireland*. As for the *Low-Countries*, *Charles* had not much to fear from that Quarter. *Philip* their Sovereign was ſtill in his Minority. *Maximilian* his Father and Guardian, who governed thoſe Provinces in his Name, was but little regarded there. Though he had made Peace with the *Flemings*, there was however a mutual Diſtruſt on both Sides, which would not ſuffer him to ſend his Forces out of the Country. Beſides, the War with *France* was renewed this Year, on account of *Terouenne*, which the Governor of *Douay* had taken by Surprize in the midſt of Peace. In ſhort, though *Maximilian* was Son of the Emperor, and had been choſen *King of the Romans* in the Month of *February* this Year, he was for all that in extreme want of Money, his new Dignity having made no Addition to his Power. 1486.

In the Beginning of the Year 1487, *Henry* concluded with *Maximilian* a Treaty wholly relating to Trade, and which was only proviſional, till certain Articles could be ſettled, about which the *Engliſh* and *Flemings* had much ado to agree. The Trade between *England* and the *Low-Countries* was ſo neceſſary for the Subjects of both Princes, that it could not be interrupted without both Sides being Sufferers. But for that very Reaſon each ſtrove to take Advantage of the Poſture of Affairs, and by that means the Treaties of Commerce were clogged with Difficulties. 1487. *Treaty of Commerce with the Low-Countries*, Jan. 2. Act. Pub. XII. 320.

The Biſhop of *Exeter* being tranſlated to *Wincheſter*, the King promoted to the vacant *See Richard Fox*, who was already *Keeper of the Privy-Seal*. Of all the *Fox is made Biſhop of* Exeter, p. 323.

1487. Courtiers he was the Perſon in whom the King placed the moſt Confidence, next to the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*.

The King takes Meaſures to oppoſe his Enemies.

Mean while *Henry* was not eaſy, ſince the Earl of *Lincoln* was gone into *Flanders*. He knew the Dutcheſs of *Burgundy* to be a high-ſpirited and enterpriſing Princeſs, and powerful enough to aſſiſt ſuch as ſhould have a mind to give him Diſturbance. The Earl of *Lincoln*'s withdrawing into *Flanders* preſently after *Simnel*'s Arrival in *Ireland*, left him no room to queſtion but there was a Deſign formed between the Earl and the Dutcheſs of *Burgundy* to ſupport the pretended Earl of *Warwick*. So fearing the Storm would divide and fall upon him both from *Flanders* and *Ireland*, he reſolved to put two Armies on Foot, under the Command of the Duke of *Bedford* and the Earl of *Oxford*; that he might be ready at the ſame Time to oppoſe the Deſcent of the *Flemiſh* and *Iriſh*, if they ſhould think of coming to invade *England*. Mean while, as he was not afraid of an Invaſion before the Summer, he was pleaſed to improve the Leiſure the Winter Seaſon afforded him, by taking a Progreſs into the *Eaſtern* Counties of *Suffolk* and *Norfolk*. He had the moſt to fear from thoſe Parts, by reaſon of the Neighbourhood of the *Low-Countries*. When he was come to St. *Edmundsbury*, he heard that the Marquiſs of *Dorſet* was coming to wait upon him in order to clear himſelf of ſome Imputations laid to his Charge, and to make an Offer of his Service. But the King believing that after what he had lately done to the Queen Dowager, the Marquiſs her Brother could have no great Affection for him, refuſed to receive him, and ſent the Earl of *Oxford* to meet him, with Orders to carry him to the *Tower*. He let him know however, that after the Troubles were over he ſhould willingly give him a Hearing, and if he cauſed him to be arreſted, it was purely to provide for his own Safety, by preventing his being drawn aſide by thoſe that might give him ill Advice. Then he came to *Norwich*, from whence

He viſits Norfolk and Suffolk.

whence he went in Pilgrimage to *our Lady* of *Walſingham* *; which done, he returned to *London*. 1487. *He retires to* London.

It was not till the Beginning of the Month of *May* that the Earl of *Lincoln*, the Lord *Lovel*, and *Martin Swart* ſet ſail for *Ireland*, with the Two Thouſand *Germans* the Dutcheſs of *Burgundy* had raiſed at her own Expence. Preſently after their Arrival at *Dublin*, they proceeded to the Coronation of the pretended King, which was performed with great Solemnity, in the Preſence of the Earl of *Kildare*, the *Chancellor*, and the reſt of the great Officers. They made uſe of a Crown taken from the Head of the *Virgin Mary*'s Statue in St. *Mary*'s Church. There were but two or three Biſhops that refuſed to acknowledge the new King. The Hiſtory of *Ireland* ſays, that the pretended Sovereign ſummoned a kind of Parliament wherein the *Clergy* granted the Pope a *Subſidy*, for fear the Court of *Rome* ſhould take Occaſion from theſe Proceedings to give them Trouble. *The Earl of* Lincoln *arrives in* Ireland, May. Simnel *is crowned at* Dublin. J. Ware. *Hiſt.* Irel.

The Coronation being over, a great Council was held to conſult what was to be done next. Their Succeſs in *Ireland*, where not a Sword was drawn for *Henry*, made them expect mighty Matters in *England*. The Heads fancied that they were in a much better Condition to pull down *Henry*, than *Henry* himſelf was when he paſſed into *England* to dethrone *Richard* III. They ſcarce made any Doubt of ſucceeding, being ſure, as they imagined, that the *Engliſh* for the moſt Part would riſe in their Favour. However, ſome were of Opinion to make *Ireland* the Seat of the War. They alledged as their chief Reaſon, that *Henry* would not venture to come over in Perſon, or in caſe he quitted *England*, his Abſence would occaſion in the Kingdom Inſurrections which would mightily help forward the Affairs of the new King. Had this Advice been taken, *Henry* would have been at a great Loſs what *He reſolves to paſs into* England.

* This Place was once famous throughout *England* for *Pilgrimages* to the *Virgin Mary*. For in thoſe Days whoever had not made a *Viſit* and an *Offering* to *our Lady* of *Walſingham*, was looked upon as *impious* and irreligious. *Camd.* in *Norf.*

1487. what to do. In that Case he must have had two strong Armies on Foot, one to subdue *Ireland*, the other to keep all quiet in *England*. It is easy to see that at such a Conjuncture it would not have been prudent to leave *England* without Troops, as well by reason of the Friends the Rebels might have there, as because of the Neighbourhood of the Dutchess of *Burgundy*, who would be able to take Advantage of such a Neglect. Wherefore *Henry* had already resolved to have two Armies, as I observed before. But others on the contrary represented that *Ireland* was not in a Condition to pay the *German* Troops, and much less to maintain a long War. That besides the standing upon the Defensive in *Ireland* was not the Way to dethrone *Henry*, but the going and attacking him in *England*, where, in all appearance, they should meet with many Friends. This Advice was backed by another Reason which was not alledged, but however was the real Motive of it; namely, that the *Germans* and *Irish* were in hopes of inriching themselves with the Plunder they should get in *England*, whereas they had scarce wherewithal to subsist in *Ireland*. So then it was resolved to pass out of Hand into *England*, whilst they had the Opportunity of making use of the same Transport-Ships which had brought the *Germans*. Mean while, *Henry* having Notice of the Earl of *Lincoln*'s Arrival in *Ireland* with the foreign Troops, was no longer at a stand what to do, since he had only to defend himself from one Quarter. And therefore having given Orders that all his Forces should be drawn together about *Coventry*, he repaired in Person to that City, which lies in the Centre of the Kingdom, in Expectation of certain Advice of his Enemy's Designs.

Henry assembles his Army at Coventry.

Simnel arrives in England. Some time after he heard that *Simnel* was landed in *Lancashire*, in Company with the Earls of *Lincoln* and *Kildare*, the Lord *Lovel* and the *German* General. Sir *Thomas Broughton* having joined the Rebels with a small Body of *English*, they all marched together towards *York*, without committing any Acts of Hostility as they

they passed along, that they might draw the People to their Side. But they found themselves deceived in their Expectations. Not a Soul, except what *Broughton* had brought with him, took up Arms in their Favour, the *English* not liking at all to receive a King at the Hands of the *Irish* and *Germans*. The Earl of *Lincoln*, who commanded the Army, had resolved to avoid fighting, in hopes that he should have been joined by great Numbers of Male-contents. But seeing the People's Backwardness, he altered his Mind, and thought it his best way to come to a Battle as soon as possible, lest his Army, which was not above Eight Thousand strong, should diminish instead of increasing. So changing his Rout on a sudden, he marched towards *Newark*, in hopes to become Master of that Place before the King should arrive. 1487. *The Earl of* Lincoln *resolves to fight.*

In the mean while *Henry* had advanced as far as *Nottingham*, where he held a Council of War. He had as yet drawn together but Six Thousand Men, and for that Reason several advised him to decline fighting till the rest of the Troops which he expected had joined him. But he was of another Opinion. As he could not believe that the Earl of *Lincoln* had formed such an Enterprise, without having some Assurances of being assisted, he judged it requisite to give him Battle without delay. Two Days after his Army was reinforced with five or six Thousand Men *, upon which all the Reasons against the Resolution he had taken entirely vanished. As soon as he had reviewed these new Troops, he detached several Parties of *Light-Horse* to discover the Earl of *Lincoln*'s Designs, and being informed that he was advancing towards *Newark*, he resolved to prevent him. To that End he marched with such Expedition, that he came and encamped between the Enemies Army and *Newark*. The Earl of *Lincoln* moved forwards that Day to a little Village called *Stoke*, where he encamped on the Side of a Hill. Next Morn- *The King marches to* Nottingham. *Battle of* Stoke. June 6.

* With them came the Earl of *Shrewsbury* and the Lord *Strange*, and of *Knights* and *Gentlemen* at least Threescore and Ten. *Bacon.*

1487. Morning being *June* the 6th, *Henry* came and offered him Battle, leaving in the Plain juſt room enough to ſerve for Field of Battle. But he was debarred of one great Advantage, in that the Ground was ſo narrow that it would not allow him to extend the Front of his Army, which was more numerous than that of the Enemy. For which reaſon he was forced to draw up his Army into three *Lines*, having taken care to place in the firſt all his beſt Troops to the Number of ſix Thouſand Men. In all appearance the Earl of *Lincoln* had pitched upon that Ground on purpoſe, in hopes, that if he could get the better of the King's firſt *Line*, they would fall foul on the reſt of the Army and put them in Diſorder, as it happened to *Richard* III. at *Boſworth Field*. The Truth is, it was the King's firſt *Line* only that fought. They ſtood for three Hours the Brunt of the *Germans*, who being inured to War and well-diſciplined, fought with great Order, and inſpired the *Iriſh* with Courage. At length the Earls of *Lincoln* and *Kildare* *, and *Martin Swart* being ſlain on the Spot, and moſt of the *Germans* killed or wounded, the *Iriſh* took to their Heels, not being able alone to withſtand the *Engliſh*. 'Tis ſaid, that there were at leaſt four Thouſand killed on the Side of the Rebels, and half of the King's firſt *Line*. The which is a clear Evidence with what Obſtinacy they fought on both Sides *'.

The King gets the Victory.

Earl of Lincoln *ſlain.*

Among the Priſoners were found the new King of *Ireland*, now become *Lambert Simnel* again, and the Prieſt his Companion and Inſtructor. *Henry*, either out of Greatneſs of Mind or out of Policy, was pleaſed to give *Simnel* his Life, and to honour with the Office of *Turn-ſpit* in his Kitchen, the Perſon that

Simnel *is taken and made the King's Scullion, and then Faulconer.*

* Sir *James Ware* ſays it was *Thomas Fitzgerald*, who according to him is erroneouſly called the Earl, that was killed.

*' In this Battle Sir *Thomas Broughton* is ſaid by our Hiſtorians to fall alſo; but *Camden* ſays it is a Miſtake, and that he eſcaped to *Witherſlack*, a *Manor* of his in *Weſtmoreland*, where he lived a good while *Incognito* among his *Tenants*, and where he died and was buried; his Grave being known, and to be ſeen at this Day. *Camd. Lancaſh.*

that had boldly aſpir'd to the Throne, and even worn a Crown. Some Time after he was preferr'd to be one of the King's *Faulconers* [in which Office he died.] As for the Prieſt, he was immediately committed to a cloſe Priſon, and never heard of more. Some imagine he was made away with in private; others that the King was pleas'd to ſpare his Life, in order to learn of him the Bottom of the Conſpiracy, and it may be, to confront him with the Guilty if there was occaſion. However it does not appear in Hiſtory, that *Henry* made any Diſcovery by that Means. At leaſt, there was nothing of that Kind made Publick. If the Queen Dowager was in the Plot, ſhe could not be treated with more Severity than ſhe was already, without ſhe was brought to the Scaffold. As for the Dutcheſs of *Burgundy*, ſhe had no occaſion to fear what they could do to her. 'Tis ſaid the King was extremely ſorry for the Death of the Earl of *Lincoln*, which robb'd him of the Satisfaction of knowing all the Circumſtances of the Plot. As for the Lord *Lovel*, ſome ſay he was drowned in attempting to ſwim over the *Trent*, others affirm, that he was ſlain in the Battle. But another Report goes, that he ſpent the Reſidue of his Life in a Cave. Be this as it will, he appear'd no more after that.

1487.

The Prieſt is impriſoned.

The Lord Lovel *appears no more.*

Preſently after the Battle the King march'd to *Lincoln*, where he made ſome ſtay, and then went to *York*. In his way thither were tried abundance of People accuſed of holding Intelligence with the late Rebels. It is true indeed, that moſt of them were puniſh'd only by *Fine*, the King's ſole Aim being to fill his Coffers. With this view it was that he choſe rather to have theſe People tried by Commiſſioners of his own appointing, or by a *Court Martial*, than by the uſual Courſe of Juſtice, which was not ſo favourable to his Deſign. The Truth is, in Impeachments of this Nature, the Laws of *England* admit of no Mean between Death and acquitting, and the King would have neither. But *Commiſſioners* and *Court Martials* are not ſo ſtrictly confin'd to the *Letter of the Law*, but decide

Several ſuſpected Perſons are fin'd. Bacon.

1487. Matters in a more arbitrary Manner. Therefore the frequent Incroachment of what they call the *Martial Law* in *England*, upon the Privileges of the People, has been the Occaſion of reducing it within juſt Bounds, inſomuch that it cannot take Place but by an *Act* of Parliament made for that Purpoſe. As for adminiſtring Juſtice by *Commiſſioners*, it is true the King has ſtill that Prerogative; but then he ſeldom uſes it, and 'tis but in certain Caſes that he grants theſe *Commiſſions* of *Oyer* and *Terminer* * as they are called. It is certain that *Henry* upon this Occaſion plainly ſhowed his covetous and ſelfiſh Temper. He pretended to favour the Guilty in ſparing their Lives: But this Clemency of his was more than balanc'd by his Severity, in ſtripping them of their Poſſeſſions. The Crime they were charged with was not of having aſſiſted the Rebels, but of having raiſed or countenanced a Report ſome Days before the Battle, *that the Royal Army was cut in Pieces.* The King ſuppoſing that ſuch a Report was ſpread purely to diſhearten his Friends, and hinder them from bringing him Troops, made ſtrict Inquiry after thoſe that were ſuſpected of this new ſort of Crime. As his ſole Aim was to make an Advantage of the *Fines* and *Confiſcations*, the Perſons commiſſioned for *Judges* were more ready and leſs ſcrupulous to favour his Deſign than they would have been, had the Lives of the Parties accuſed been at ſtake. One may eaſily gueſs that the King made choice of the fitteſt Perſons for his Purpoſe. His Hiſtorian ſays, that *Henry*'s Progreſs from *Lincoln* to *York*, was more like an *Itinerary Circuit* of *Juſtice*, than a King's *Progreſs* to viſit his *Counties*.

Bacon.

Bull *in favour of the Rebels.* Aug. 5. Act. Pub. XII. 324.

When the King had done ſqueezing the Purſes of the Guilty, or ſuſpected Perſons, he ſent to the Pope for a *Bull* to impower the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury* to abſolve thoſe that had incurred the Penalty of *Excommunication* decreed by the *Bull* ſpoken of before. The

* Two *French* Words, ſignifying to *hear* and *determine*.

The Pope in this Commiſſion took for granted, that they who had attempted to diſturb *Henry* in the Poſſeſſion of the Crown, were ſtruck with bitter Remorſe, and that therefore he was willing from a Motive of Charity to eaſe their troubled Conſciences. But it was evident, that his Drift was to ſupport more and more the King's *Title*. 1487.

Another concerning Sanctuaries.

At the ſame Time *Innocent* VIII ſent a *Bull* to reſtrain a little the Privileges of *Sanctuaries*. It ran, *That* if *Thieves*, *Murderers*, *Robbers*, regiſtered as *Sanctuary-Men*, ſhould ſally out and commit freſh Offences, and retreat in again, in ſuch Caſe they might be taken out of their *Sanctuaries* by the King's Officers. *That* as for *Debtors* who had taken *Sanctuary* to defraud their *Creditors*, their *Perſons* only ſhould be protected, but their *Goods* out of *Sanctuary* ſhould be liable to *Seizure*. As for *Traitors*, the King was allowed to appoint them Keepers in their *Sanctuaries* to prevent their Eſcape. Certainly it was a great Abuſe to make Churches ſerve to protect Villains. It had been long complained of in *England*, and in all Appearance the King had applied for a Cure. But he could obtain no farther Redreſs than what we have juſt ſeen. *Alexander* VI confirmed this *Bull* in 1493.

The Queen is crowned. Nov. 25.

In the King's Progreſs to *Lincoln* and *York*, he had frequent Occaſion to perceive that his Partiality to the *Houſe of York*, and his injurious Treatment to his Queen in refuſing to have her crown'd, were the main ſprings of the People's Diſcontent. Wherefore, contrary to his own Inclination, and with a ſole view to prevent future Troubles, he reſolved at laſt to do her that Juſtice. He came to *London* the beginning of *November*, where he made a triumphant Entry. Next day, he went in *Proceſſion* to St. *Paul*'s and had *Te Deum* ſung for his Victory over the Rebels. He was very glad to render it as conſpicuous as poſſible, in order to ſtrike Terrour into his Enemies. Then he commiſſioned the Duke of *Bedford* to execute the Office of *High-Steward* at the Queen's Coronation, which was performed on the 25th of *November*, with the u-

1487. ſual Solemnities. The Queen was then one and twenty Years old, and had been married two Years. So that the King's affecting to defer her Coronation could not but be deemed as a Conſequence of a ſettled Deſign to humble the *Houſe of York*, and the Queen in particular, whom the King conſidered as his Rival. Wherefore, as it was eaſy to perceive that his Reſolution to have her crowned preſently after *Simnel*'s Affair, was the Effect of his Fears, no Body thanked him for it, becauſe every one was perſwaded that he did it againſt the Grain. He likewiſe ſet the Marquiſs of *Dorſet* at Liberty without Examination, probably on purpoſe to pleaſe the People. He had a Mind to have it thought an Act of Grace, and withal to leave the Marquiſs under the Apprehenſion of being ſtill liable to be called to an Account. But it is to be preſumed, that ſeeing he was ſo little inclined to ſhow Mercy to the *Yorkiſts*, he would not have ſuffered the Marquiſs to come off ſo cheap, had there been any good Evidence againſt him.

Marquiſs of Dorſet ſet at Liberty.

Embaſſy to the Pope. Towards the latter End of the Year *Henry* ſent a ſolemn Embaſſy to the Pope, wherein the Ambaſſador that was the Spokeſman made himſelf remarkable for his exceſſive Encomiums of the King his Maſter. His Praiſes would have paſſed for *Extravagant*, if his Commendations of the Pope had not made what he ſaid of his *Maſter* ſeem very moderate.

Troubles in Scotland. Buchan. During the King's ſtay at *York*, after the Battle of *Stoke*, publick Diſturbances in *Scotland* gave him an Opportunity of entering into a Negotiation with *James* III, which he hoped to reap ſome Advantage by. I have given a Hint of *James*'s Character in the Reign of *Edward* IV, and ſhown how odious he had made himſelf to his Great Men, even to their having been forced to hang his Favourites. The War *Edward* IV had waged with him, and the Danger he had been in of being dethron'd, ſeemed to have a little moderated his Paſſions, or at leaſt had obliged him not to ſhow them ſo much. But the Death of Prince *Alexander* his Brother, of *Edward* IV, and the

Trouble

Troubles in *England* during the Reign of *Richard* III, making him imagine that he had nothing more to fear, he fell to his old Courſes again. Without reflecting any longer on the Hazard he had run, he wholly gave himſelf up to a new Set of Favourites, Men of mean Birth, and no leſs odious to the Nation than the old ones. But this was a Trifle in compariſon of the Deſign he form'd ſome Time after. As he harboured in his Breaſt a violent Deſire of Revenge upon the Great Men that had offended him, he reſolved to diſpatch out of the way at once all thoſe whom he conſidered as his principal Enemies. With this View he carreſſed them mightily, and became very familiar with them, that he might the more eaſily take them unawares. When by theſe Arts he had drawn almoſt all of them to Court, he communicated his Deſign to the Earl of *Dowglaſs*, and hinted to him, that he did not intend to let ſlip ſo fair an Opportunity of deſtroying all his Enemies at once. *Dowglaſs* made as if he approved of his Reſolution, but privately warned the Lords of the Danger they were in, and withdrew from Court with them. The King having miſſed his Aim, reſolved to compaſs his Ends with open Force, and levied Troops for that Purpoſe; but the Lords put themſelves likewiſe on their Part in a Poſture of Defence. As all mutual Truſt was broken, and as nothing was to be expected from an Accommodation with ſuch a Prince as he, they found means to win the Prince his Son, by making him apprehenſive that they were going to give up *Scotland* to the King of *England*, if he would not head them. As ſoon as the Prince had ſided with the Lords, their Party grew ſo ſtrong that the King beginning to repent of his Enterprize, offered to come to an Agreement. But they told him, that there was no other way to accommodate Matters, but by his reſigning the Crown to the Prince his Son. All Proſpect of Peace vaniſhing upon this Propoſal, *James* ſhut himſelf up in the Caſtle of *Edinburgh*, from whence he diſpatched Ambaſſadors to the Pope, and the

1487.

1487. the Kings of *France* and *England*, to demand their Assistance.

Treaty of Henry with the King of Scotland. Act. Pub. XII. 325--327.

It was in *September*, whilst *Henry* was at *York*, that the Ambassadors of *Scotland* came to him, under Colour of treating about some Differences relating to the Fishery of the River *Eske*. *Henry*, who had an admirable Talent at turning all Things to his own Advantage, thought this was a good Opportunity to get rid at once of the Queen his Mother-in-law and her two Daughters, by marrying them in *Scotland*. With this View he sent to King *James* *Richard Fox* Bishop of *Exeter*, and Sir *Richard Edgecomb*, who agreed with him upon the following Articles, with their Master's good-liking.

Several Matches agreed upon. Nov. 18. 329.

I. That pursuant to a former Agreement, the Marquis of *Ormond* a *Scotchman*, should marry *Catharine* Daughter of *Edward* IV.

II. That King *James* should espouse *Elizabeth* Widow of *Edward* IV, and Mother to the Queen of *England*.

III. That *James* Duke of *Rothsay*, eldest Son of the King of *Scotland*, should marry another of *Edward the Fourth*'s Daughters.

IV. That the King of *England* should give up for ever to the King of *Scotland*, the Town of *Berwick*.

V. That in order to settle the Articles and Agreements of the three Marriages, Commissioners on both Sides should meet at *Edinburgh* the 24th of *January* next, and should have another Meeting upon the same Account in *May*.

VI. That the two Kings should have an Interview in *July*.

VII. Lastly, that the Truce concluded between the two Kingdoms, being to expire *July* the third, 1488, should be prolonged to the 1st of *September* 1489.

As for the Succours which *James* expected from *Henry*, there was no mention of them in the *Preliminaries*.

naries. Apparently, King *James*'s Ambaſſadors were ſatisfied with a verbal Promiſe. 1487.

Henry ratified theſe Articles on the 20th of *November*, but we don't find the King of *Scotland*'s Ratification in the *Collection of the Publick Acts*, with that of *Henry*'s. Perhaps *James* was prevented by the Troubles in his Kingdom, which grew every Day to a greater Height, and cauſed likewiſe this Project to vaniſh into Air, as we ſhall ſee under the next Year.

Affairs of the Low-Countries.

The War continued all this Year in the *Low-Countries*, between *Charles* VIII and *Maximilian*, to the Advantage of the firſt, whoſe Troops ſurprized St. *Omer* and *Terouenne*. Some Time after, *Maximilian* having carried off a Lord called *Ruffingheim*, and conducted him to *Wilvorde*, the Priſoner found Means to eſcape and retire to *Gaunt*. Upon his Arrival he ſtirred up the *Gantois* to a Revolt, and got them to take up Arms againſt *Maximilian*. This War was of very great Conſequence with regard to the Affairs of *Bretagne*, of which it is neceſſary at preſent to give a particular though brief Account, becauſe they are to furniſh the Subject of the Hiſtory of the five next Years.

Affairs of Bretagne. Argentre.

The King of *France*, and the Lords of *Bretagne* had entered into Treaty together with very different Views. The Lords imagined that it was an excellent Means to ſcreen them from the Deſigns of their Duke, and *Charles* perceived that it was an infallible way to conquer *Bretagne*.

Charles VIII. *makes great Progreſs in* Bretagne.

In the Beginning of the Spring 1487, *Charles* ſent four Armies into *Bretagne* from four different Quarters. The firſt alone was ſix Thouſand ſtrong, which exceeded already the Number he had promiſed to find by the Treaty. Upon News of this Invaſion, the Duke of *Bretagne* ſeeing himſelf forſaken by almoſt all his Barons, retired into the Center of his Country, being accompanied by the Duke of *Orleans*, the Prince of *Orange*, the Earl of *Dunois*, and ſome other *French* Lords of the Duke of *Orleans*'s Party. He ſtaid ſome Time at *Maletroit*, where he drew together in haſte

an

1487. an Army of ſixteen Thouſand Men, ill-arm'd and undiſciplined, by reaſon of the long Peace *Bretagne* had enjoyed.

The Duke's Court was in ſo great Conſternation, that not a Man knew what Courſe to take to make Head againſt ſo formidable an Invaſion. Indeed Means was found to engage the Lord *d' Albret*, who was then in *Navarre* to take the Duke's Part, on Promiſe that he ſhould have the Princeſs *Ann* Heireſs of *Bretagne*. The Duke himſelf and all the reſt of the Lords, the Duke of *Orleans* excepted, gave it under their Hands that they would help him to that Match, but without meaning to keep their Word. The Duke of *Bretagne* did not think him good enough for his Daughter. The Earl of *Dunois* had in view to marry the young Princeſs to the Duke of *Orleans*, and the Prince of *Orange* was working underhand to procure this rich Match for the King of the *Romans*. So this Engagement was to no other End but to induce the Lord *d' Albret* to withdraw two Troops of *Men at Arms* which he had in the *French* Army, in order to ſend them into the Duke of *Bretagne*'s Service. Poor Refuge upon ſo urgent an Occaſion!

Mean while the *French* Forces being joined in one Body, advanced into the Country and laid Siege to *Ploermel*. The Duke of *Bretagne* marched immediately to the Relief of that Place. But he had the Mortification to ſee himſelf forſaken by his Army, of which there ſtaid not with him above four Thouſand Men. Surprized at this unexpected Accident, he retired firſt to *Vannes*. But the *French*, now Maſters of *Ploermel*, purſued him ſo briskly, that he was fain to embark in great Diſorder, to go and ſhut himſelf up in *Nantz*. The *French* improving this Conſternation, took *Vannes* and *Dinant*, and then went and beſieged *Nantz*. A little before the Duke had ſent the Earl of *Dunois* to *England* to demand Succours. But though the Earl had ſhipped himſelf four ſeveral Times, contrary Winds had always hindered him from purſuing his Voyage. Mean while the Marſhal of *Rieux*, Head

of

of the Male-Contents, finding King *Charles* had ſo ill obſerved the Treaty, complained ſomewhat bitterly of it. But inſtead of receiving any Satisfaction, he was given to underſtand, that great Offence was taken at his Boldneſs. 1487.

Whilſt *Charles* was taken up at the Siege of *Nantz*, he heard that the King of *England* had obtained a ſignal Victory over his Enemies, and that the Buſineſs of the pretended Earl of *Warwick* was entirely over. 'Till then he had imagined him ſo buſy at Home, that he had not vouchſafed to ſay any Thing to him touching the War with *Bretagne*. But when he knew him to be freed from his Troubles, he ſent Ambaſſadors to ſee to divert him from any Deſign he might have to interpoſe in that Affair. *Embaſſy of* France *to* Henry *about* Bretagne. Bacon.

The Ambaſſadors found the King at *Leiceſter*, where they had their Audience. They told him, that the King their Maſter looking upon him as his beſt Friend, had ſent them to impart to him the good Succeſs of his Arms in *Flanders*, and withal to congratulate him upon his Victory over his rebellious Subjects: That they were charged to tell him, that the King their Maſter was forced to enter into a juſt War with the Duke of *Bretagne*, who had ſheltered the Duke of *Orleans*, declared Enemy of *France*, not to protect him, but ſolely with a View to aid him to raiſe Commotions in the Kingdom, by lending him the Aſſiſtance of his Arms: That the King of *France* could not omit taking proper Meaſures to prevent his pernicious Deſigns, and therefore his War with the Duke of *Bretagne* was properly *Defenſive* only, though he had cauſed an Army to enter his Dominions: That he that gave the *firſt Blow* was not to be deemed the *Aggreſſor*, but he that gave the *Provocation*: That the Duke of *Bretagne* could not deny that he had harboured in his Dominions, nay, in his very Court, *French* Rebels, and formed Plots with them very prejudicial to *France*, without being able to complain of his having been any way injured: That therefore the King their Maſter hoped from his Wiſdom and *The* French *Ambaſſadors Diſcourſe to the King.*

1487. Juſtice, that before he concerned himſelf in the War, he would weigh the ill Conſequences of a Protection given to rebellious Subjects, contrary to the *Law of Nations*, and the moſt ſolemn *Treaties*, particularly by a *Homager*: That if he had been beholden to the Duke of *Bretagne*, on the other Side, he had not doubtleſs forgot the Aid he had received from the King of *France*, when the Duke of *Bretagne* had not only failed him, but was even upon the Point of delivering him up to his Enemy: That this Aid was given contrary to the Intereſt of *France*, ſince it would be better for her that a *Tyrant*, odious to all his Subjects, ſhould reign in *England*, than ſuch a Prince as himſelf: That therefore the King their Maſter hoped he would not undertake the Defenſe of the Duke of *Bretagne* in ſo ill-grounded a Quarrel; but on the contrary, would aſſiſt his real Friend, or at leaſt, would ſtand neuter.

The King's Anſwer. The Ambaſſadors having avoided as a Rock the mention of their Maſter's Deſign to conquer *Bretagne*, the King thought it was not his Buſineſs to take notice of it in his Anſwer, though it was no hard Matter to ſee it through all their Diſguiſes. He contented himſelf with telling them, that of all the Perſons in the World, he was indebted to none ſo highly as to the King of *France*, and Duke of *Bretagne*. For which Reaſon he was extremely deſirous to give them both real Marks of his Gratitude. And therefore he would take the preſent Opportunity to diſcharge the Duty of a true Friend, by endeavouring to heal their Differences in an amicable Manner, and would very ſpeedily diſpatch Ambaſſadors to them to offer his Mediation.

The King has a wrong Notion of the War of Bretagne. *Henry* was not ſo blind, as not to ſee what the King of *France* was driving at. But unluckily for *Bretagne*, he was poſſeſſed with a Notion that he would never be able to put his Deſigns in Execution. He grounded his Confidence upon the Forces of *Bretagne*, which had hitherto withſtood *France* ſucceſsfully, upon the fickle Temper of the *French*, whoſe Heat is ſoon abated

abated by Difficulties, upon the Troubles which the Duke of *Orleans* could raiſe in the Kingdom by the Means of his Friends, and upon the Diverſion which the King of the *Romans* could make in *Flanders*. Purſuant to this Notion, which appeared afterwards to be very wrong, he reſolved to become only *Mediator*, without ſending any Succours to the Duke of *Bretagne*. He did not at all queſtion but King *Charles* would agree to an Accommodation, for fear of bringing upon him the Arms of *England*. The Truth is, it was evidently for the Intereſt of *England* to prevent the Ruin of *Bretagne*; and therefore *Charles* ought in all Reaſon to think, that the *Engliſh* would exert their utmoſt to oppoſe his Deſign. Accordingly *Henry* depending upon it, that *Bretagne* could not be ſubdued if *England* took her Part in good earneſt, and that *Charles* would not believe him ſo unpolitick as to ſuffer that Dutchy to become a Province of *France*, imagined he would readily accept of his Mediation, and give over his Enterprize. He hoped to reap from thence two conſiderable Advantages. Firſt, the Reputation of having made Peace between the two Princes, whom he was equally beholden to. The Second was of much more Moment to him. As he was naturally exceeding covetous, and as the Deſire of heaping up Money was at the Bottom of all his Deſigns, he perceived that this Affair would furniſh an Opportunity to demand a *Subſidy* of the Parliament, under Colour of aſſiſting *Bretagne*, and that the Money would all come into his own Pocket. 1487.

Purſuant to this Scheme, he ſent Ambaſſadors * to King *Charles* to proffer his Mediation, and in Caſe it was accepted the Ambaſſadors had Orders to go and make the ſame Offer to the Duke of *Bretagne*. *Charles* was then employed in the Siege of *Nantz*, and as he hoped to be ſoon Maſter of the Place, he ſaw nothing after that capable of hindering him from wholly ſubduing *Bretagne*. Wherefore all his Endeavours tended

He offers his Mediation to both the Princes. Charles *accepts of it.*

* *Urſwick* his Chaplain. *Bacon.*

1487. only to order the Matter ſo that the King ſhould ſend no Succours to the Duke of *Bretagne* before *Nantz* was taken. When the Ambaſſadors had offered him the Mediation of the King their Maſter, he anſwered with a great deal of Diſſimulation, that he willingly conſented that the King of *England* ſhould act not only as *Mediator* between him and the Duke of *Bretagne*, but alſo as *Judge*, and that Matters ſhould be left to him to decide as he pleaſed. He was in Hopes, either that the Duke of *Bretagne* would reject this Propoſal, or that in caſe he cloſed with it, it would not be impoſſible to gain Time till the taking of *Nantz*, which done, he looked upon himſelf as Maſter of *Bretagne*.

The Duke rejects it.

The Ambaſſadors imagining they had got over the greateſt Difficulty, repaired to the Duke of *Bretagne*, who was ſhut up in *Nantz*, and made him the ſame Offer from their Maſter. The Duke of *Orleans* told them in the Name of that Prince, that at a Time when his Country was invaded, and ready to be ſwallowed up by the *French*, he had expected actual Succours from the King of *England*, ſooner than a Mediation, which muſt needs be fruitleſs, ſince nothing was more eaſy than to ſpin out a Treaty till *Bretagne* was loſt: That he intreated the King to call to Mind the Favours he had received from *Bretagne*, and to conſider of what Conſequence it was to *England* to hinder that Dukedom from becoming a Province of *France*. The Ambaſſadors having brought back this Anſwer to King *Charles*, he took Occaſion to tell them, that for his Part, he was very deſirous of Peace, as plainly appeared by the Propoſal he had made; but that he was ſorry to find that the Duke of *Bretagne*, beſet as he was by the Duke of *Orleans*, would never comply, without being forced to it by the Continuation of the War. He was ſo cunning as to inſtill this Notion into the Ambaſſadors, who at their Return into *England*, gave the King to underſtand, that it was proper to leave the Duke of *Bretagne* under his preſent ill Circumſtances, that he might be induced

Charles *makes this Refuſal turn to his Advantage.*

duced of himſelf to ſue for the Mediation he had rejected. 1487.

Mean while the Siege of *Nantz* was carried on with Vigour. In all likelihood *Charles* would in the End have taken the Place, had not the Earl of *Dunois* been detained in *lower Bretagne* by contrary Winds. Whilſt he was in thoſe Parts, the Inhabitants of the Country hearing that their Duke was beſieged in *Nantz*, came together to the Number of ſixty Thouſand Men, with a Reſolution to go and relieve him. The Earl of *Dunois* perceiving them in this Mind, put himſelf at their Head, and approached *Nantz*, the *French* not daring to attack the undiſciplined Multitude. On the contrary, they brought their Quarters into a narrower Compaſs, to be in a better Poſture of Defence, and by ſo doing gave the Earl of *Dunois* an Opportunity to throw Succours into the Town. Which done, he ſuddenly retreated, having no Deſire at all to fight the *French* Army with ſuch Troops. This Relief brought ſo ſeaſonably, obliged the *French* to retire, having loſt all Proſpect of taking the Place. The raiſing of the Siege confirmed *Henry* in his Notion, that the Conqueſt of *Bretagne* was too hard a Task for *France*. So perſiſting ſtill in his Reſolution to ſtand neuter, he had no Thoughts of ſending any Succours to the Duke of *Bretagne*. He pretended however to have his Intereſt at Heart; but it was only to have an Opportunity to get a *Subſidy* from the Parliament, which he had ſummoned to meet on the 9th of *November*. Mean while he ſent again the ſame Ambaſſadors to King *Charles*, and the Duke of *Bretagne*, under Colour of getting full Information how Matters ſtood, that he might lay before the Parliament a juſt Repreſentation of the Affair, though he knew beforehand what Anſwer they were to bring back.

The Earl of Dunois *cauſes the Siege of* Nantz *to be raiſed.*

Henry *is confirmed in his wrong Notion of the Affair of* Bretagne.

Much about this Time the Lord *Woodvile*, Uncle to the Queen, deſired the King's Leave to go and ſerve the Duke of *Bretagne* with a Troop of *Voluntiers*. *Henry* denied his Requeſt, not thinking proper to aid one of the Parties at the very Time he was offering them

Woodvile *carries a ſmall Aid to the Duke of* Bretagne.

1487. them his Mediation. Nevertheleſs *Woodvile* ſailed from the Iſle of *Wight* [of which he was Governour,] with four Hundred Men into *Bretagne*. This Aid, though a very Trifle, made a great Noiſe at the Court of *France*. *Charles* publickly complained of it: But as *Henry* denied that the Lord *Woodvile* had carried theſe Troops to the Duke with his Conſent, he took up with that Satisfaction. He was very careful at ſuch a Juncture, not to fall out with *Henry* for ſo ſmall a Matter.

The Lords of Bretagne *are reconciled to the Duke* June 20.

Before the *Engliſh* Ambaſſadors were come to *Bretagne*, Affairs had taken a new Turn in that Country, much to the Diſadvantage of the King of *France*. The Lords of *Bretagne* who had treated with him, plainly perceiving that his Intention was to conquer *Bretagne*, made their Peace with the Duke, and obtained a full Pardon. The Marſhal of *Rieux* their Head, was the laſt to come in. He would firſt be thoroughly convinced of the *French* King's Deſigns, which as yet he only ſuſpected. With this View, after privately treating with the Duke of *Orleans*, he ſent a Meſſenger to the King to tell him, that the Duke of *Orleans* offered to quit *Bretagne* with all his Followers; and therefore, ſince the *French* Troops had entered *Bretagne* purely to drive out that Prince, he moſt humbly beſought him to withdraw his Troops, purſuant to the Treaty he had made with the Barons. *Ann* of *Beaujeu*, who was of a high and proud Spirit, and imagining there was no need to keep fair with him any longer, told the Meſſenger, that the King had gone too far to go back, and that his Reſolution was to ſee the Iſſue of the Affair. This Anſwer conſtrained the *Marſhal* to follow the Example of the reſt of the *Barons*, and be reconciled to the Duke, who gave him the Command of his Army.

The French *take* Dol.

Though *Charles* had raiſed the Siege of *Nantz*, he continued his Conqueſts in other Places. Preſently after his Troops took the Town of *Dol* by Storm; whereupon the Duke not thinking himſelf ſafe in *Nantz*, thought fit to retire to *Rennes*. He ſaw himſelf

ſelf very hard preſſed, and yet he did not hear that Preparations were making any where for his Relief. In this Extremity, he was perſwaded by the Prince of *Orange*, to promiſe to give *Ann* his eldeſt Daughter in Marriage to the King of the *Romans*, though he had promiſed her already to the Lord *d' Albret*. The Prince of *Orange* made him believe that *Maximilian*, finding his Intereſt was concerned in defending *Bretagne*, would not fail to come to his Aſſiſtance with a powerful Army. But at that very Time, the Revolt of the *Gantois* put it out out of that Prince's Power to do any Thing for *Bretagne*. 1487. *The Duke promiſes his Daughter to the King of the* Romans. Septem.

Whilſt theſe Things were doing, *Henry*'s Ambaſſadors to *Bretagne* had frequent Opportunities to be convinced that *Charles* was only amuſing the King their Maſter, and that his Deſign was to conquer that Dutchy. *Henry* knew this better than they; but he was willing that their Report ſhould ſerve for Foundation to demand a *Subſidy* for the Defence of *Bretagne*, though he was ſtill perſwaded that the Affair might be made up without his being obliged to draw his Sword. His ſole Aim was to make the Parliament apprehenſive of the Ruin of *Bretagne*, that they might the more readily grant an Aid of Money, which he intended to put entirely into his own Coffers. Henry's *Ambaſſadors diſcover the King of* France's *Deſigns*.

The Parliament met on the 9th of *November*, juſt after the Ambaſſadors were come back to *England*. Care had been taken to ſpread abroad the Report they had brought the King, that the *Commons* might come prepared to exert themſelves in the Defenſe of *Bretagne*. The Archbiſhop of *Canterbury* as Lord *Chancellor*, opened the *Seſſion* with a Speech to the two *Houſes* to this Effect: *The Parliament meets.*

That the King thanked his Parliament for the *Acts* that were paſſed in his Favour at their laſt Meeting: That he was ſo well ſatisfied of their Affection, that he had made it a Rule to himſelf to communicate to ſo good and loving Subjects all Affairs, as well Foreign as Domeſtick, that might happen, and that one at preſent *The Chancellor's Speech.*

1487. preſent occurred, concerning which he deſired to have their Advice.

That the King of *France* was making fierce War upon the Duke of *Bretagne*, as no doubt they had heard: That he alledged for Reaſon the Protection which the Duke of *Bretagne* gave the Duke of *Orleans*, but that many had other Thoughts of the Matter: That both Parties had made their Application to the King, one to pray him to ſtand neuter, the other to deſire a powerful Aid: That the King having offered his Mediation, had found the *French* King ready to treat, but without diſcontinuing the War: That the Duke on the contrary, though he was very deſirous of Peace, and has moſt need of it, was backward to enter into a Negotiation, not upon Confidence of his own Strength, but upon diſtruſt of the *French* Court's Sincerity: That after ſundry Embaſſies tending to end Matters amicably, the King had given over his Mediation, not having been able to remove the Duke of *Bretagne*'s Diſtruſt, or perſwade the King of *France* to deſiſt from Hoſtilities during the Treaty: That this being the State of the Caſe, he deſired their Advice, whether he ſhould ſend Succours to the Duke of *Bretagne*, and enter into a *Defenſive* League with him againſt *France*.

After having thus ſtated the Queſtion, he alledged ſeveral Arguments *Pro* and *Con*, his Aim being under Colour of leaving the Parliament at full Liberty to determine what they ſhould judge fit, to make them perceive the Neceſſity of aiding *Bretagne*. Which Neceſſity was in effect ſo apparent, that a Man had need but of a very moderate Knowledge of the Intereſt of the *State*, to ſee of what Moment it was to *England* to prevent *Bretagne* from being ſubdued. However it is worth noting, that the King knowing how much it concerned the *Engliſh* to ſtand up for *Bretagne*, alledged theſe Reaſons by the Mouth of his *Chancellor*, purely for the ſake of obtaining a *Subſidy*, without having any Deſign to employ it in ſupporting the Prince under Oppreſſion. This will plainly appear

appear by his whole Conduct hereafter. The Parliament, according to the King's Expectation, failed not to adviſe him to take in Hand the Defenſe of the Duke of *Bretagne*, and granted him for that Purpoſe as large a *Subſidy* as had ever been given to any former King on account of a foreign War. 1487. *A Subſidy granted for the Aid of* Bretagne.

As ſoon as the Parliament broke up, *Henry* reſumed the Negotiation with *Charles*, ſtill fancying that the Terrour of his Arms would bring that Prince to an Accommodation. The only means to ſave *Bretagne* was to ſend thither a ſtrong Aid, and to declare War with *France*, purſuant to the Intent of the Parliament. But *Henry* had laid another Plan, founded wholly upon his extreme Deſire that the Affair might be decided, and he not forced to expend the Money juſt granted him. He was content therefore with ſending Ambaſſadors to King *Charles* to let him know what the Parliament had reſolved. But withal, as if he was afraid of going too far, he declared that the War on the Part of *England* ſhould only be *Defenſive*, and ſolely with reſpect to *Bretagne*. *The King keeps to the way of Treaty.* *He ſends an Ambaſſy to* France.

This Procedure eaſily made the Court of *France* perceive, that the King of *England* had no great Deſire vigorouſly to puſh this Affair, ſince when he ſhould have been preparing for War, he contented himſelf with ſending Ambaſſies. So *Charles* told the Ambaſſadors that he was always ready accept of the King of *England* for Arbitrator of the Differences between him and the Duke of *Bretagne*: But that he did not intend to ſuffer himſelf to be amuſed with a Treaty which would only ſerve to give the Duke Leiſure and Opportunity to reſtore his Affairs. That he ſhould be always willing to treat, provided they did not mean to require a Truce deſtructive of his Intereſts. Charles's *Anſwer.*

The Seaſon procured the Duke of *Bretagne* a Ceſſation of Arms, which all the Inſtances of the King of *England* had not been able to help him to, inaſmuch as it conſtrained the King of *France* to put his Troops into Winter-Quarters, and to return to *Paris*. Moreover in *March* 1488, the Marſhal of *Rieux* retook *Vannes* 1488. *The Duke of* Bretagne *makes ſome Progreſs.* Argent. Mezerai.

1488. *Vannes* and *Dinan*, and placed Garrisons in *Ancennis* and *Chateaubriant*. On the other Hand, the Lord *d' Albret*'s two Troops of *Men at Arms* deserted the Service of *France*, and went and joined the Duke's Army. But this little Turn of Fortune was of no long Continuance. In *April* the King took the Field again, and having retaking *Ancennis* and *Chateaubriant*, razed them to the Ground. Which done, he marched to *Fougeres* and besieged at once that Place and St. *Aubin du Cormier*.

Charles besieges Fougeres and St. Aubin.

The Lord d' Albret *arrives in* Bretagne, *and presses the Duke about his Marriage. The Duke evades his Demand.*

In the mean Time the Lord *d' Albret* having accepted of the Proposal made him in the Beginning of the War, came to *Bretagne* to serve the Duke with a Body of a Thousand *Horse*. Upon his Arrival, he pressed the Duke to perform his Promise as to the Marriage. The Duke, who had privately promised his Daughter to *Maximilian*, being at a great Loss, put the young Princess upon declaring that she would never have the Lord *d' Albret*, though she was not then above eleven Years old. This Denial gave the Duke a Handle to shift off the Lord *d' Albret*, till the Princess could be beat out of her Obstinacy.

He sues for Peace to the King of France.

Mean while the unfortunate Duke finding he was in no Condition to withstand the *French*, and receiving no Assistance either from *Maximilian* or the King of *England*, sent the Earl of *Dunois* to *Charles* to sue for Peace. *Charles* did not think fit to return a positive Answer. He was willing first to see the Issue of the two Sieges which were then carrying on. On the other Hand, he was in Treaty with *Henry* about a Truce which he expected to conclude in a short Time. That was the Thing which was to determine him, either to refuse the Duke's Peace, or to enter into Negotiation with him. Wherefore, keeping the Earl of *Dunois* at Court, under divers Pretences, he put him off from Day to Day, till he should receive certain Advice from *England*. Shortly after he heard that *Henry* had signed at *Windsor* a Truce, which was to commence the 24th of *July* this Year, and to end the 17th of *January* 1490. So having nothing to fear from

New Truce between France *and* England. Act. Pub. XII. 344.

from the Side of *England*, he applied himſelf wholly to the carrying on of his Conqueſts. 1488.

Moſt certainly *Henry* in leaving thus the Duke of *Bretagne* to the Mercy of his Enemy, acted directly contrary to the Parliament's Intention, which had granted him a *Subſidy* for the Aſſiſtance of that Prince. This Truce, made without any Neceſſity, at a Time when the Duke of *Bretagne* was hardeſt preſſed, plainly ſhows that he ſuffered himſelf to be blinded by the Court of *France*, or rather by the Deſire of keeping the Money which the Parliament had granted him for the Aid of *Bretagne*. The Need the Duke ſtood in of being powerfully aſſiſted could not be more preſſing. *Charles* was in the Heart of his Country, at the Head of a ſtrong Army, taking his Towns one after another, and he not able to make any Oppoſition. At the ſame Time *Henry* was concluding with *France* a Truce which tied up his Hands, and afforded King *Charles* Opportunity to conquer *Bretagne* without any Difficulty. Wherefore his Hiſtorian, prepoſſeſſed no doubt in his Favour, and not imagining that he had thus on purpoſe forſaken the poor Duke in his Diſtreſs, ſays not a Word of this Truce made with *France* at ſo unſeaſonable a Time. Moreover he makes the Succours *Henry* ſent to *Bretagne*, to arrive their ſeven Months before they really did, that is, in the Beginning of *Auguſt* this Year, whereas it is very certain they came not till the *March* following. Theſe affected Delays, which all the World ſtood amazed at, proceeded wholly from the King's wrong Notion of this War, and his Deſire to put an End to it, without being obliged to make uſe of the Money given by Parliament.

Remark on Henry's *Conduct, and upon an Omiſſion of his Hiſtorian.* Bacon.

In the mean Time the Duke of *Bretagne*, the Duke of *Orleans*, the Prince of *Orange*, the Marſhal of *Rieux*, were in a terrible Confuſion. The King of the *Romans*, the King of *England*, the Duke of *Lorrain*, had ſeemed to eſpouſe their Quarrel; but it did not appear that any of them were preparing to aſſiſt them. In this Extremity, a Council was held to conſider

The Duke of Bretagne *reſolves to fight.* Argentre.

1488. what Courſe they ſhould take. The Majority were for marching to the Relief of *Fougeres*, and joining Battle ſooner than ſuffer that Place to be taken. The Marſhal of *Rieux* oppoſed in vain this hazardous Advice, by repreſenting that the Loſs of a Battle would infallibly bring along with it the Ruin of *Bretagne*. That it would be much wiſer to ſpin out the Time till the neighbouring Princes ſhould open their Eyes and ſee their own Intereſt, ſince it could not but be extremely prejudicial to them to ſuffer *Bretagne* to be ſwallowed up by *France*. To this it was replied, that in all likelihood *Bretagne* would be loſt before any Succours ſhould arrive, and therefore the only way to ſave it was the gaining a Battle. The Duke of *Bretagne*'s Underſtanding was ſo impaired, that he was little able to judge aright a Matter of ſuch Conſequence. So giving himſelf up wholly to the Guidance of the Duke of *Orleans* and the Prince of *Orange* his Nephew, he reſolved to march to the Relief of *Fougeres*. But upon his Approach to that Place, he found the Town had already capitulated. Then he determined to go and relieve St. *Aubin du Cormier*. But the Governour for want of Proviſions and Ammunition, had ſurrendered a few Days before.

The Duke of Orleans *and Prince of* Orange *are ſuſpected.*

Whilſt the Duke of *Bretagne* was marching towards St. *Aubin*, all the Forces of *France* joined in one Body, under the Command of *Lewis de la Tremouille*, for fear the Duke was reſolved to retake that Place. In a few Days the two Armies were ſo near one another, that it was not poſſible for them to part without coming to a Battle. Whilſt they were preparing to fight on both Sides, a Rumour being ſpread among the *Bretons*, that the Duke of *Orleans* and the Prince of *Orange* were going to betray them, they were juſt upon the Point of diſbanding. But the two Princes put them in Heart again, by going amongſt them in order to fight on Foot. The Battle was fought on the 28th of *July*, with fatal Succeſs to the Duke of *Bretagne*, who was defeated with the Loſs of his beſt Troops. The Duke of *Orleans* and the Prince of

Battle of St. Aubin, *wherein the Duke of* Bretagne *is defeated.* Mezerai. Argent.

of *Orange* being taken Priſoners, the King commanded the firſt to be confined in the Tower of *Bourges*, but ſet the other at Liberty. The four Hundred *Engliſh* brought over by the Lord *Woodvile*, were almoſt all ſlain together with their Leader. As the *Engliſh* wore that Day a *Red-Croſs* for their Badge, twelve Hundred *Bretons* were joined to them with the ſame diſtinguiſhing Mark, on Purpoſe to make the *French* believe, that freſh Succours were come from *England*. It may be, this is what gave Occaſion to ſome to affirm that King *Henry* had already ſent a freſh Body of Troops to the Duke of *Bretagne*. The Lord *Bacon*, who has writ the Hiſtory of this Reign, does not ſay this indeed, but he aſſures us, that eight Thouſand *Engliſh* arrived in a few Days after, and offered the *French* Battle, who did not think fit to accept it. *Polydore Virgil* and ſeveral others ſay the ſame Thing. But herein they are miſtaken. *Henry* had yet made no Treaty with the Duke of *Bretagne*, and it was not till after the Duke's Death and in *March* the next Year, that he ſent ſix Thouſand Men to the Dutcheſs his Daughter, as we ſhall ſee hereafter. 1488.

Woodvile is ſlain with all his Followers.

Errour of the Engliſh *Hiſtorians in this Matter.*

In a few Days after the Battle of St. *Aubin*, *Lewis de la Trimouille* ordered the City of *Rennes* Capital of *Bretagne* to be ſummoned to ſurrender; but the Inhabitants continued firm in their Allegiance to their Sovereign.

Rennes refuſes to ſurrender.

Whilſt theſe Things were doing in *Bretagne*, *Henry* was levying in *England* the Money granted him by Parliament. That was a main Point which he haſtened mightily, on pretence of the urgent Occaſion the Duke of *Bretagne* had of a ſpeedy Aſſiſtance. All the Countries, except *Yorkſhire*, and the *Biſhoprick of Durham*, readily paid their Quota as ſettled by Parliament. But in theſe Parts, where the Friends of the *Houſe of York* were very numerous, Matters went not on ſo ſmoothly. Some factious Perſons having ſtirred up the People, the *Commiſſioners* for gathering the *Subſidy* met with ſo much Oppoſition, that they were fain to make Application to the Earl of *Northumberland*,

Inſurrection in the North of England.

1488. *land*, who immediately gave the Court notice how Matters ſtood. The King ſent back Word, that he would by no means abate one Penny of the Money granted by Parliament, as well on Account of the urgent Occaſion there was for it, as becauſe ſuch a Condeſcenſion might have an ill Influence on the other Counties. Upon this Anſwer, the Earl of *Northumberland* aſſembled the Sheriffs and principal Gentlemen of the County, and told them in very *harſh* Terms, what the King's Intention was. The rough Manner in which he ſpoke to them, without ſhowing the leaſt Regard for Perſons who were but too much incenſed, made it thought that he himſelf had adviſed the King to return ſuch an Anſwer. This being noiſed abroad, the Mob roſe immediately, and aſſaulting the Earl's Houſe, forced it open and murdered him with ſeveral of his Domeſticks. But the Mutineers did not ſtop there. Preſently after, being inflamed by one *John a Chamber* an Incendiary, they ſet Sir *John Egremond* at their Head, and publickly gave out that they were marching to *London* to give the King Battle.

The Earl of Northumberland *is killed by the Mobb. They threaten to fight the King.*

Henry being informed of this Inſurrection, ſent into the *North* a Body of Troops under the Command of the Earl of *Surrey*, whom he had not only releaſed out of the *Tower*, but alſo received into Favour, and prepared to follow him in Perſon with a ſtronger Body. But whilſt he was on his way, Word was brought him that *Surrey* had beaten and diſperſed the Rebels, and *John a Chamber* taken Priſoner. As for *Egremond*, he had the good Luck to eſcape and get into *Flanders* to the Dutcheſs of *Burgundy*, whoſe Palace was a *Sanctuary* to all the King's Enemies. Though this Affair was ended, *Henry* however purſued his Journey to *York*, where he ordered *John a Chamber* to be hanged on a Gibbet raiſed in the midſt of a Square Gallows, on which twelve of his Accomplices were hanged round him. Which done, he returned to *London*, leaving the Earl of *Surrey* Preſident of the *North*, and Sir *Richard Tunſtal* his principal Commiſſioner,

The Earl of Surrey *diſperſes them.*

The King goes on to York *and puniſhes the Ring-leaders.*

oner, to levy the *Subſidy*, of which he was bent not to bate one Farthing. 1488.

In the mean Time, the News of the Battle of St. *Aubin* having reached the King's Ears, he ſeemed reſolved to ſend a powerful Aid to the Duke of *Bretagne*. But it was ſtill with a Proſpect that the Terrour of his Arms would force King *Charles* to conſent to a Peace. This Artifice was not however capable of deceiving the Court of *France*, which plainly ſaw through all his Deſigns. *He feigns to be reſolved to aid* Bretagne.

The Loſs of the Battle had reduced the Duke of *Bretagne* to a woful Condition. He was no longer able to ſtand upon his own Legs, and he ſaw no Preparations in Hand for his Aſſiſtance, either in *Flanders* or *England*. *Henry* had put him in Hopes of Aid, but he was not in haſte to ſend him any. As for *Maximilian*, ſo far was he from having it in his Power to aſſiſt his future Father-in-law, that he had ſeen himſelf detained a Priſoner by a Sedition againſt him at *Bruges*, where ſeveral of his Officers had been killed. His Captivity laſted from the Beginning of *January* to the 15th of *May*, and his being releaſed then was owing to the Emperor *Frederick* his Father, who had marched into the *Low-Countries* at the Head of an Army to his Relief. So inſtead of having any Thoughts of aſſiſting *Bretagne*, he himſelf was looking out on all Sides for foreign Succours againſt the *Flemings*. In order to that, forgetting the Engagements he had made with the Duke of *Bretagne*, he ſent this very Year to the King and Queen of *Spain*, to demand in Marriage *Iſabella* their eldeſt Daughter, and at the ſame Time *Jane* their ſecond Daughter for his Son *Philip*. His firſt Suit could not be granted, *Iſabella* being already promiſed to the Prince of *Portugal*. But the other was effected in Time. At length in the Month of *September*, *Philip de Cleves* Lord of *Ravenſtain*, having headed the *Gantois* and ſurprized the City of *Bruſſels*, *Maximilian* retired into *Germany*, leaving in the *Low-Countries* *Albret* Duke of *Saxony* to command *Sad Condition of the Duke of* Bretagne. *Maximilian retires into* Germany.

1488. mand in his Place, in the Name of the Archduke his Son.

The Duke of Bretagne *sues for Peace. Reasons why* Charles *granted it.*

There was then no Prospect of Aid for the Duke of *Bretagne*, either from *England* or the *Low-Countries*, or in short from any other Quarter. In this Distress the unfortunate Duke humbly sued to the King of *France* for Peace, who very readily complied with his Request, not from a Motive of Generosity, but that he might put it entirely out of his Power to defend himself, by causing him to lose the Assistance of the King of *England*, whose Interest it was to support him. Though *Henry* had agreed to a Truce with *France*, which was not to expire till *January* 1490, *Charles* was afraid however that he would upon second Thoughts assist the Duke his Ally with all his Forces next Campaign. In order therefore to divert him from so doing, he was very willing to conclude a Peace with the Duke of *Bretagne*, intending to keep it no farther than was consistent with his own Interest. For in his whole Conduct with regard to *Bretagne*, he did not seem more scrupulous than King *Lewis* XI his Father had done before him in all his Negotiations.

Charles VIII's *Pretensions.* Argentre.

The Discussion of *Charles*'s Pretensions upon *Bretagne*, delayed for some Time the Conclusion of the Peace which was negotiating at *Verger*, a Seat belonging to the Marshal of *Rieux* where the King was then. *Charles* pretended that after the decease of the Duke of *Bretagne*, the *Guardianship* of his Daughters belonged to him as Sovereign Lord of the Dutchy. This Claim was disputed by the *Bretons*, who affirmed that the Dukes of *Bretagne* had never done *Liege-Homage* to the Kings of *France*, and consequently they had no Right to claim the *Guardianship* in Question. It was no proper Juncture to decide this Dispute to the Advantage of the *Bretons*, which was of so long standing, and had been as yet left undetermined. But this Pretension of *Charles*'s was a Trifle in comparison of another which was of much greater Consequence. He maintained that the Dutchy itself belonged to him, by vir-

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tue of a certain Grant which King *Lewis* XI had obtained of the Lady *de la Broſſe*, Heireſs of the *Houſe of Blois*, who had formerly diſputed *Bretagne* with the Anceſtors of *Francis* II. This was renewing an old Quarrel which had been made up by ſeveral Treaties, and particularly by that of *Guerande*, whereby the *Houſe of Blois* had dropped all Claim. However *Charles* inſiſted not ſtiffly upon theſe two Points, contenting himſelf with having intimated his Pretenſions in order to aſſert them at a proper Time. Thus the Treaty was concluded about the End of *Auguſt*, importing that *Charles* ſhould remain with the Places he had conquered, but ſhould withdraw his Forces out of the reſt of *Bretagne*. He had no Deſign to keep this laſt Article. The Duke ratified the Treaty at *Coyron*, where he then was, and this is the Reaſon why the *Bretons* called it *the Treaty of Coyron*, and the *French*, *the Treaty of Verger*, or *Vergy*. 1488.

Treaty of Verger *or* Coyron. Argent. Mezerai.

A few Days after, namely on the 9th of *September*, died *Francis* II Duke of *Bretagne*, in a very advanced Age, and with his Underſtanding ſo impair'd, that for ſome Years paſt he had been uncapable of governing the *State*. *Ann* his eldeſt Daughter then about twelve Years old, ſucceeded him. The Duke her Father had appointed her for *Guardian* the Marſhal of *Rieux*, who was to be aſſiſted by the Earl of *Cominge*. But *Philip de Montauban* Chancellor of *Bretagne* found means to carry off the young Dutcheſs to *Guerande*, where under Colour of giving her Advice, he made her ſpeak as he was pleaſed to direct. This occaſioned between the Marſhal of *Rieux* and the *Chancellor* a Quarrel which proved extremely prejudicial to the Dutcheſs, and to all the *Bretons* in general.

Diſſentions among the Bretons *upon the Death of the Duke.*

Henry having notice of the Duke of *Bretagne*'s deceaſe, openly declared that he looked upon the Intereſt of the young *Orphan* Dutcheſs as his own, and ſeemed to ſet about in good earneſt to ſend her Succours. But as he knew likewiſe that a few Days before the Duke's Death, a *proviſional* Treaty had been concluded till all the King of *France*'s Pretenſions

Henry *pretends to aid the Dutcheſs.*

1488. might be ſettled, he did not queſtion but the Affair would be ended by way of Negotiation. The Buſineſs was only to hinder King *Charles* from taking Advantage of the Conſternation the *Bretons* were under at preſent. This he imagined he ſhould be able to effect, by giving out how much he ſhould make the Dutcheſs's Concerns his own. He was even perſwaded that *Charles* ſtood in fear of him, and rather then break with him, would abate a great deal of his Demands. So that his Aim was to become Umpire of this Affair, and to ſtave off a War which would have forced him to empty his Coffers.

He ſends Embaſſies to ſeveral Courts. Act. Pub. XII. 336-348. *and offers to aid* Ann.

With this View it was that he diſpatched Ambaſſadors to the King of the *Romans*, to the Archduke his Son, and to the Kings of *Spain* and *Portugal*, to make the King of *France* believe that he was labouring to form a League againſt him. He ſent an Embaſſy likewiſe to *Charles* himſelf, to preſs him to put an end to the Affair of *Bretagne* by a Treaty. At the ſame Time he ſent *Edgecomb* and *Aineſworth* to go and offer his Aſſiſtance to the Dutcheſs, and impowered them to promiſe in his Name to find her ſuch a number of Troops, upon ſufficient Security for the re-payment of the Charges. We ſhall ſee under the next Year to what all theſe Embaſſies tended. But before we leave this, it will be neceſſary juſt to touch upon the Revolution happened in *Scotland*.

Affairs of Scotland. Buchan.

The Affair of *Bretagne* having ſo much engroſſed the Kings of *France* and *England*, that *James* III could not obtain of either of them Succours timely enough againſt the Lords who had ſet the Prince his Son at their Head. The Male-contents would have been very glad to decide the Quarrel by a Battle. But the King ſtill kept in the Caſtle of *Edinburgh*, where it was not poſſible to come at him. Though *Charles* and *Henry* had promiſed Aſſiſtance, they did not much care to eſpouſe his Quarrel. Mean while, he was ſtill in hopes, and therefore kept cloſe, expecting the Performance of their Promiſes.

Whilſt

Whilſt his Affairs were in this Situation, he was adviſed to quit the Caſtle of *Edinburgh* and go to *Sterling* as the more convenient Place, and there expect the foreign Succours. *James* taking this Advice, began his March with the few Troops he had, and preſently the Lords were cloſe at his Heels. He had however ſo far got the ſtart of them as to get ſafe, if the Governour of *Sterling*, bribed by his Enemies, had not refuſed him Admittance: So being at a Loſs where to go, he reſolved to march back to *Edinburgh*. But by the way he met the Army of the Male-contents, and was forced to fight againſt vaſt odds. He was killed in the Battle which was fought in the Month of *June*. After his Death *James* IV his eldeſt Son, about fifteen Years old, was proclaimed in his Room, by the Lord who had ſet him at their Head. But all the *Scots* were not ſatisfied with this Change. There were ſeveral that refuſed to own the young Prince, whom they taxed with being the Murderer of his Father, and gave him great Diſturbance for ſome Time. In *July* the new King ſent Ambaſſadors to *Henry* to notify his Acceſſion to the Crown.

1488. James III. *is ſlain, and* James IV *his Son ſucceeds him.* ibid. p. 343.

On the 10th of *February* 1489, the Ambaſſadors that had been diſpatched to *Bretagne*, concluded a Treaty with the Dutcheſs, the main Article whereof was, that the King ingaged to ſend into *Bretagne* an Aid of ſix Thouſand Men. To conſider this Point alone, one would be apt to imagine that *Henry* acted purely from a Principle of Generoſity, or at leaſt for the Intereſt of his Kingdom. But he had no ſuch Thoughts: His ſole Aim was firſt to hinder *Bretagne* from being over-run by a ſudden Invaſion of the *French*, that there might be room to treat: In the next Place, to make Money of the Succours he ſent the Dutcheſs, the Expences whereof he was willing to advance, in order to be re-paid with Uſury. As this Treaty manifeſtly ſhows his ſelfiſh Views in this Affair, it will not be amiſs to inſert the Subſtance of each Article: The which added to what will be ſaid

1489. Henry's *Aim in his Treaty with* Ann.

1489. hereafter, will ſerve in great Meaſure to give a juſt Notion of this Prince's Character.

Treaty of Redon. Act. Pub. XII. 362.

I. The antient Treaty between *England* and *Bretagne* ſhall be obſerved.

II. There ſhall be a ſtanding Friendſhip and Alliance between the King of *England* and the Dutcheſs of *Bretagne*.

III. They ſhall maturely aſſiſt one another in Caſe either is attacked.

IV. If the King ſhall carry War into *France* for the Recovery of *Guienne* and *Normandy*, the Dutcheſs ſhall find him Troops according to her Power.

V. The King ſhall aid alſo the Dutcheſs, if ſhe wars with *France* for the Recovery of her Right, without prejudice however to the Truce concluded between *England* and *France*, which is not to expire till the 17th of *January* 1490.

VI. Neither of the two Parties ſhall admit into his Dominions the rebellious Subjects of the other.

VII. The King ſhall lend at his own Charge an Aid of ſix Thouſand Men to the Dutcheſs: Upon Condition that a ſufficient Number of theſe Troops be allotted to guard the *Cautionary* Towns which ſhall be delivered up to the King, and which ſhall be hereafter ſpecified. But the Number ſhall not exceed five Hundred.

VIII. Theſe ſix Thouſand Men ſhall ſerve the Dutcheſs at the King's Expence till the firſt of *November*.

IX. Immediately after that Day the Dutcheſs ſhall find Ships with all Neceſſaries, to tranſport the Troops back to *England*.

X. The ſix Thouſand Men ſhall be embarked at *Portſmouth* about the Middle of this Inſtant *February*, or at fartheſt, by the latter End of the ſaid Month, on board of Veſſels provided by the Dutcheſs.

XI. The Dutcheſs ingages to repay the King all his Expences, for the Tranſportation of the Troops both out and Home, and for their Maintenance whilſt

in

in her Service, as likewiſe for the Defenſe of the *Cautionary* Towns hereafter mentioned.

XII. The Re-imburſement ſhall be made in *England*.

XIII. It may be made at ſeveral Payments, the *Cautionary* Towns remaining in the King's Hands till the whole is paid.

XIV. Preſently after the Arrival of the ſix Thouſand Men in *Bretagne*, the Dutcheſs ſhall deliver up any two of the following Places the King ſhall chuſe, *Tonclaromneau*, *Hennebond*, *Avray*, *Vannes*, *Guerande*, with all their Revenues, to be kept till ſhe has repaid the King in full, without any Deduction, and then only ſhall he be obliged to reſtore them.

XV. If the King ſhall wage War with *France* upon his own Account, and the Dutcheſs find him Succours, her Expences ſhall be deducted out of what ſhe ſhall owe the King. In like manner if the King aids the Dutcheſs in an *Offenſive* War with *France*, ſhe ſhall re-pay the Charges he ſhall be at upon that Score.

XVI. If any of the Places the King of *France* is in poſſeſſion of be re-taken, the King ſhall have Liberty to chuſe one or two of theſe Places in the room of one or both of thoſe which ſhall then be in his Hands. Upon Condition however that he chuſe not *Breſt* and *Tonclaromneau* at the ſame Time.

XVII. Two *Commiſſioners* ſhall be appointed on each Side, to ſettle the Expences the King ſhall be at for the Aſſiſtance of *Bretagne*.

XVIII. The Dutcheſs ſhall ſwear before the *Engliſh* Ambaſſadors, that ſhe will not demand again the *Cautionary* Towns till the whole Debt is paid. The Marſhall of *Bretagne* with three or four of the principal Lords ſhall take the ſame Oath.

XIX. Before the *Cautionary* Towns ſhall be delivered to the King, they ſhall be furniſhed with a ſufficient Quantity of *Artillery*, and a Fortnight's Proviſions.

XX. The *Fairs* and *Markets* ſhall be kept there as uſual,

XXI. As

1489. XXI. As ſoon as Part of the King's Troops ſhall arrive in any Part of *Bretagne*, the Dutcheſs ſhall ſend to the Ships ſixteen Hoſtages, namely, ——— or at leaſt four of them to be detained till the *Cautionary* Towns are delivered up.

XXII. The Dutcheſs, the Marſhal, and three or four more of the principal Lords ſhall ſwear upon the *Holy Goſpels*, that ſhe will not make a Contract of Marriage with any Perſon whatever without the King's Conſent.

XXIII. She ſhall make no Alliance, nor hold Intelligence with any Prince, except the King of the *Romans* and the King of *Spain*, nor even with theſe without the King's Knowledge.

XXIV. She ſhall conclude neither Peace nor Truce for above two Months, without including the King.

XXV. The King promiſes the ſame Thing on his Part.

XXVI. The Treaty of Commerce between *England* and *Bretagne* of the 22d. of *July* 1486 ſhall be renewed.

XXVII. The King and Dutcheſs ſhall give mutual Security for keeping the Treaty of Commerce.

XXVIII. *Engliſh* Money ſhall paſs in *Bretagne* after this manner, —— the King ſhall be obliged to take the ſaid Money in Payment.

Remarks upon this Treaty. It is eaſy to perceive that in making this Treaty *Henry* had three different Views. Firſt, to prevent *Charles* VIII from becoming Maſter of *Bretagne*, whilſt the Dutcheſs was ſo little able to withſtand him. If *Charles* ſhould have finiſhed the Conqueſt of *Bretagne* next Campaign, as he might eaſily have done, *Henry* would have been blamed by all *Europe*. Particularly he would have had nothing to ſay in his Excuſe to the Parliament, who had granted him a very conſiderable *Subſidy* for the Defenſe of that Dutchy. His next View was to frighten the King of *France* by the ſending of *Engliſh* Troops into a Compliance to put an End to the Affair by way of Treaty. This is plain

plain from his landing the ſix Thouſand Men for eight Months only, and at a Time when they were of no Service but to prevent the Court of *France* from violating the Treaty of *Vergy* which was then in Force. His laſt and chief Aim was to ſecure the Re-imburſement of the Money he was going to advance for the Maintenance of the ſix Thouſand Men for eight Months. He had already laid a Scheme to keep for himſelf the *Subſidy* granted by Parliament for the Defenſe of *Bretagne*, in hopes of deciding the Matter by his Mediation. Mean while he ſaw plainly that the young Princeſs in the Circumſtances ſhe was under, could not ſtand againſt the King of *France*, if he ſhould take it in his Head to puſh his Conqueſt farther. Wherefore to oblige King *Charles* to enter into Treaty, it was neceſſary to let him ſee that the Dutcheſs would not want Protectors, in Caſe he pretended to continue to make uſe of Arms. He could not help therefore advancing the Money, ſince the Dutcheſs was not able to do it. But withal he took ſo great Care not to loſe his Money, that one plainly perceives in peruſing the Treaty, that his principal Aim was to be repaid his Expences. There are two Remarks more to be made upon his Conduct. Firſt, in all Appearance he did not care to lend his Troops for above eight Months, for fear the Charges ſhould run too high, and conſequently he ſhould find it a hard Matter to come at his Money. Secondly, he was willing not only to ſecure the *Principal*, but to receive it with *Intereſt*. Accordingly, after he had goten Places mortgaged for his Security, he left the Sum undetermined, in order to have it ſettled by *Commiſſioners*. He knew very well that when once he had the Towns in his Hands, *Ann* would one Day be forced to ſubmit to what he ſhould think proper, and that it would be in his Power to mount the Charges of levying and maintaining his Troops as high as he pleaſed. What I am ſaying is not a bare Conjecture, ſince we ſhall find in the Sequel that he raiſed this Expence to an exorbitant Sum. Thus *Ann* was ſo tied up by the Treaty,

1489. Treaty, that these Succours were no less expensive to her than the *French* Army itself, which lay still without attempting any Thing, though it continued all this while in the Country. *Charles* had fully designed to take Advantage of the Consternation *Bretagne* was under upon the Death of the Duke. But in a Council held upon that account, the Chancellor *de Rochefort* was utterly against it, upon the Score of *Honour* and *Equity*. His Opinion had made the deeper Impression upon the King's Mind, as he was still in fear that although the King of *England* acted at present but faintly, he would in the end alter his Mind. Besides, *Henry*'s Embassies to *Spain*, to the King of the *Romans*, and to the Archduke, gave the Court of *France* some Uneasiness. They were afraid of a Leauge which would have obstructed the Execution of the Grand Project already formed, and of which mention will be made hereafter.

Dissention in Bretagne. Argentre.

Whilst the Treaty I have been speaking of was carrying on at *Redon*, the Dutchess's Affairs were in a miserable Condition. She not only saw a *French* Army in the Heart of her Country, and in Possession of several Towns; but moreover she was destitute of *Men* and *Money*. What was still more grievous at such a Juncture, was the Dissention sprung up among her principal Lords. The Marshal *de Rieux* pretended to govern her as her Guardian. But *Philip de Montauban* her Chancellor had such an Ascendent over her, that he caused her to look upon the Marshal as an Enemy, insomuch that she flatly refused to be under his Guardianship. The pretence *Montauban* used to exasperate her was, that the *Marshal* would marry her to the Lord *d' Albret*. He represented to her that the *Marshal* intended to ruin her, by giving her a Husband who was not able to protect her. He even insinuated that the *Marshal* was brib'd by the King of *France*, whose Interest it was to marry her to a Lord who was not supported by any Prince in *Europe*. It may be the *Chancellor* was himself bribed in favour of the King of the *Romans*. Be that as it will, their Dissention

ſention was carried ſo far, that the Marſhal *de Rieux* caused the Gates of *Nantz* to be ſhut upon the Dutcheſs, and even threatned to come and beſiege her in *Rennes*. It is not then at all ſtrange that *Montauban*, who managed the Dutcheſs's Affairs, ſhould agree to ſuch a Treaty, ſince by the Arrival of the *Engliſh* Forces his Party would be very much ſtrengthned. 1489.

The *Engliſh* Succours arrived in good earneſt in the Month of *March*. The which together with *Henry*'s Embaſſies to ſeveral Courts, made King *Charles* imagine that he intended to act vigorouſly in Defenſe of *Bretagne*. In this Belief, finding he could not compaſs his Ends with open Force, without entering into a War with *England*, and drawing other Enemies, it may be, upon himſelf, he thought beſt to take ſome other Method. There was a Treaty on Foot to make Peace between him and *Maximilian*, and between *Maximilian* and the *Gantois*, by the Mediation of the *German* Princes who were aſſembled at *Francfort*. As this Affair was in a good Way, he did not Queſtion but a Peace would follow. He had in his Power *Margaret* Daughter of the King of the *Romans*, in order to eſpouſe her as ſoon as ſhe was marriageable; and he was not ignorant of the Engagements the late Duke of *Bretagne* had entered into with that Prince, on the Score of his Daughter's Marriage. So not at all doubting but his future Father-in-law, with whom he was going to conclude a Peace, would be inclined to favour him, he ſent and offered the Dutcheſs of *Bretagne* to make him Umpire of their Differences. *Ann* gladly accepted the Offer, being as it were ſure of the Favour of a Prince who was in hopes to marry her, and *Maximilian* did not want much Intreaty to become Arbitrator of an Affair, in which he himſelf was ſo much concerned. Thus *Charles*, *Ann* and *Maximilian* acted all three with Inſincerity.

The Engliſh *arrive in* Bretagne.

Charles and Ann *take* Maximilian *for Umpire.*

The Ambaſſadors of *France* and *Bretagne* being met at *Francfort*, concluded by the Mediation of the King of the *Romans*, a proviſional Treaty, importing that *Charles* ſhould reſtore the Places he had conquered

Treaty made at Francfort.

1489. upon *Bretagne*, except *Dinan*, St. *Aubin*, *Fougeres* and St. *Malo*: That these four Towns should be committed in Trust to *Maximilian* and the Duke of *Bourbon*, and that the *French* Troops should march out of the rest of *Bretagne*: That for her Part, the Dutchess should send away the *English*: That in *April* next, a Congress should be held at *Tournay* to adjust all Disputes: That in the mean Time both Parties should send their Reasons to *Avignon*, to be examined and discussed by *Civilians*, that their Opinions might be a Guide to the Mediators.

Charles he ps not the Treaty

This Treaty took not Effect, though both Parties seemed pleased with it. *Ann* was obliged by the Treaty of *Redon* to deliver up two Places to the King of *England*, and these two Places were to be kept by five Hundred *English*. By the present Treaty, she promised to send away all the *English*. But as the five Hundred Men which kept the two Places were not excepted, *Charles* pretended that he was not bound to execute the Treaty of *Francfort*, till all the *English* were gone out of *Bretagne*, which *Ann* had no Right to compel them to. So that although in *November*, pursuant to the Treaty of *Ridon*, the *English* Forces went back to *England*, the five Hundred Men stayed behind, and it was not in the Dutchess's Power to send them away, unless she re-paid the King of *England* the Charges he had been at, the which was impracticable. The Affair remained therefore in the same State it was in before the Treaty of *Francfort*, and the two Parties neither sent their Reasons to *Avignon*, nor their Ambassadors to *Tournay*.

The Dutchess is perswaded to marry Maximilian.

In the mean Time the Marriage of *Maximilian* with *Ann* was negotiating with all the Secrecy possible. *Maximilian*'s Agents represented to the young Princess, the Honour she would enjoy of being *Queen of the Romans*, and in Time *Empress*. But with this Honour she would have need of a powerful Assistance, which her *Lover* was in to Condition to give her. He could not draw any Forces out of the *Low-Countries* and send them to *Bretagne* without breaking with *France*, which

was

was included in the Peace he had juſt made with the *Gantois*. Beſides, this Peace ſtood upon ſo tottering a Foundation, that it did not laſt a whole Year. Thus *Maximilian* Son of an Emperor, himſelf King of the *Romans* and Governour of the *Low-Countries*, had nothing but empty Titles, which gave him but little Power. Nevertheleſs the young Dutcheſs was made to expect mighty Matters from him, either becauſe her Adviſers wilfully ſhut their own Eyes, or becauſe there was then no other Prince in *Europe* from whom ſhe could expect any Aſſiſtance. The King of *England* might have protected her; but he had entertained ſuch a wrong Notion of the Affair, that the Iſſue alone was capable to undeceive him. 1489.

In ſhort, the Marriage was accompliſhed in *November* with a Ceremony [then altogether new in thoſe Parts,] for the Prince of *Naſſau*, Ambaſſador and *Proxy* of *Maximilian*, put his naked Leg into the Bed where the Dutcheſs lay, to denote a ſort of Conſummation. This was done however with ſo much Secrecy, that it does not appear that either *Charles* or *Henry* knew any Thing of the Matter, till *March* 1491. It is true indeed *Argentre* Hiſtorian of *Bretagne* ſays, that ſince the Beginning of the Year 1490, all the publick *Acts* ran in the Name of *Maximilian* and *Ann*. If that were true, it would be hard to conceive how their Marriage could be kept a Secret. But it is very probable that *Argentre* was miſtaken by one whole Year. And indeed we find in the *Collection of the Publick Acts* of *England*, ſeveral *Commiſſions* of the Year 1490 in the Name of the Dutcheſs alone; and the firſt we meet with there with the Name of *Maximilian* is dated in *March* 1491. *The Marriage is ſolemnized by Proxy.*

Though the *Engliſh* Troops were returned Home, *Charles* renewed not Hoſtilities in *Bretagne*. This Forbearance made *Henry* fancy he had attained the End he had been all along driving at, that is to ſay, that he had frightened *Charles* by the bear appearance of a Rupture. The Truth is, *Charles* was ſomewhat at a Loſs. He could not think of letting go his Hold, 1490. *Charles is put to a ſtand.*

1490. and on the other Hand, he perceived it would be very difficult to compleat the Conqueſt of *Bretagne*, without drawing on himſelf a War from *England*, and perhaps from ſeveral other *States*.

Embaſſy of Ann *to* Henry. Act. Pub. XII. 387.

Mean while, *Ann* ſeeing plainly that the War would infallibly break out again as ſoon as her Marriage was made publick, us'd all her Endeavours to convince *Henry* of the Neceſſity of ſending freſh Succours to *Bretagne*, without letting him however into the true Reaſon. With this view it was that in *February* 1490, ſhe diſpatch'd to him Chancellor *Montauban* and other Ambaſſadors, with Orders to demand Succours, and an expreſs Power to promiſe in her Name, that ſhe would never marry without his Conſent. This ſhows that her Marriage with *Maximilian* was ſtill a Secret, which ſhe did not think fit to divulge. In the *Inſtructions* given to theſe Ambaſſadors, they were order'd to inform the King of her formal Proteſtation againſt the Engagement the Duke her Father had entered into on her Account, with the Lord *d'Albret*, and of all that *d'Albret* and *de Rieux* had done to compel her to ratify that Engagement. She did this to hint to him that ſhe ſtood in need of his Aſſiſtance as well againſt her own Subjects as the King of *France*, and that *Bretagne* was in danger from both.

Embaſſy from Henry *to* France. Feb. 27. p. 449.

But all this was not capable to move *Henry*. Inſtead of treating with the Dutcheſs about freſh Succours, he ſent Ambaſſadors to *France* with Power to treat with King *Charles* concerning all the Differences that Prince had with the Dutcheſs of *Bretagne*. He was ſtill of Opinion, that *Charles* dreading the Alliance of *England* with *Bretagne*, wanted only a Peace. In this Belief he reſolved to make him pay for it, by coming upon him for what he had never dreamt of till then.

He reſolves to take Advantage of Charles's *being at a ſtand.* p. 453.

He demanded the *Arrears* of the Penſion which *Lewis* XI. had bound himſelf to pay to *Edward* IV. by the Treaty of *Pequigny*, and which by a ſubſequent Treaty was to continue till the Death of the Survivor of the two Kings. Theſe *Arrears* amounted to the Sum of One Hundred Twenty-five Thouſand Crowns, which the

the Ambaſſadors had Orders to demand. From that time this Article was always inſerted in the King's *Commiſſions* to treat with *France*. *Henry* imagined that in the Treaty *Charles* ſhould make with *Ann*, of which he thought himſelf almoſt ſure, he would ſubmit to this Article, for fear it ſhould be an Obſtacle to the Peace. 1490.

He treats with Bretagne *but upon his own Affairs.* P. 394.

Whilſt his Ambaſſadors were in *France*, he could not help appointing *Commiſſioners* to treat with thoſe of *Bretagne*. But it was only to amuſe them. The Negotiation ended in a Treaty for ſecuring him better than the former, the Reimburſement of the Charge he had been at on account of the Dutcheſs. As for the Succours ſhe demanded, there was not a word about them in the new Treaty. The whole amounted to ſome verbal Promiſes on the King's Part, that he would never forſake the Dutcheſs. He believed theſe Succours were entirely needleſs in the preſent Circumſtances of the Affair, even imagining that King *Charles* was ſtrongly inclined to a Peace. Mean while, *Charles* in his Turn amuſed the *Engliſh* Ambaſſadors, reſolving to come to no Concluſion till he ſhould be able to dive into the Bottom of *Henry*'s Intentions. He had an Army in the Bowels of *Bretagne* and ſeveral Towns in his Poſſeſſion, and *Ann* was little able to drive him thence with her own Forces alone. For that Reaſon he was willing to wait for a favourable Opportunity to put an End to the Affair, otherwiſe than by the King of *England*'s Mediation, whom he very much ſuſpected. *Henry* thinking he was of another Mind, made it his chief Buſineſs to ſecure the Payment of the Money he had advanced for the Aſſiſtance of *Bretagne*. In order to that, under colour that the City of *Nantz* was in danger of falling into the Hands of the *French*, he demanded to have it delivered up to him, promiſing to reſtore it upon the firſt Requeſt. But preſently after he heard that the Lord *d'Albret* had been beforehand with him, and that having no Proſpect of marrying the Dutcheſs, he had

He demands Nantz, P. 452.

but it is taken by d'Albret.

ſided

1490. ſided with *France*, and taken that rich City, where he had met with a good Booty.

The Flemings revolt again. During theſe Tranſactions freſh Commotions broke out in *Flanders*, which were very prejudicial to the Affairs of the Dutcheſs of *Bretagne*. The Duke of *Saxony*, who commanded in *Flanders* in the Name of *Maximilian*, having publiſhed an Edict about the Money, the Inhabitants of *Bruges* refus'd to comply with it, and drew the *Gantois* into their Revolt. The King of *France*, who deſired no better Sport than to ſee War kindled in *Flanders*, ſent Succours to the Rebels under the Conduct of Marſhal *Deſquerdes* Governour of *Picardy* *. On the other Side, *Maximilian* or the Duke of *Saxony* in his Name, ſent Ambaſſadors to *Henry* to make a League with him againſt *France*.

Charles aids them.

They make great Progreſs. With the Help of the Succours from *Picardy*, the Rebels made great Progreſs, and having taken *Ipre* and *Sluce* they went and beſieged *Dixmude*. *Henry* angry with *Charles* for delaying his Anſwer ſo long, and moreover being concerned to ſupport the Archduke, reſolved to ſend him Aid. To that purpoſe he ſuddenly diſpatched [the Lord *Morley* with] a Thouſand Men to *Calais*, with Orders to the Lord *d' Aubigny* Governor of that Place, to relieve *Dixmude* if poſſible. *D'Aubigny* having added a Thouſand Men of his Garriſon to thoſe come from *England*, marched directly to *Dixmude*, which was not well inveſted. He got into the Town by Night without Oppoſition, and at break of Day ſallying out of the oppoſite Gate, he fell upon the Camp of the *French* and *Flemings*, and entirely routed them *. This Affair occaſioned a great Coldneſs between *Charles* and *Henry*. But *Charles* durſt not complain, ſince it was no more his Buſineſs to

The Lord d'Aubigny relieves Dixmude. July 16. Act. Pub. XII. 455.

* He was ſo inveterate againſt the *Engliſh*, that he us'd to ſay, *He would gladly lie in Hell ſeven Years, ſo he might but win* Calice *from the* Engliſh.

* With the Slaughter, as is ſaid, of Eight Thouſand of the Enemy, and the Loſs only of a Hundred of the *Engliſh*, among whom was the Lord *Morley*. *Bacon.*

to abet rebellious Subjects, than it was *Henry*'s to assist the Sovereign. 1490.

In the mean time the Ambassadors of *Bretagne* danced Attendance at *London* without being ever the nearer. The King gave them however good Words, which served only to engage them more and more to do his Business instead of their Mistresses. On the 26th of *July* he required of them an Acknowledgment, that he had punctually executed the Treaty of *Redon*, a fresh Engagement to reimburse all his Charges, and a Promise to deliver up to him *Morlaix* and *Concarneau*, upon the Prospect of an Aid which he never intended to give. Mean while, it would be necessary, in order to attain his Ends, to make the King of *France* believe that he really designed to assist the Dutchess of *Bretagne*, since it was the only Means to stop his Proceedings. *Charles* seemed to have some knowledge of what *Henry* had in his Thoughts, for he appeared more backward than ever, as to an Agreement with the Dutchess. He returned no direct Answer, neither did he talk of restoring what he had conquered upon *Bretagne*, or of paying the *Arrears* of the Pension payable till the Death of *Edward* IV. Wherefore, *Henry* thought it time to proceed more openly, and give that Monarch reason to fear not only the Arms of *England* but also of several other *States*. In the Beginning of this Year he had renewed the Treaties of Alliances with *Portugal* and *Denmark*. In *September* he concluded with *Maximilian* and *Philip* his Son, a League against *France* for their mutual Defence, as well as for that of the Dutchess of *Bretagne*. At the same Time he published a Treaty which he had made with *Ferdinand* and *Isabella* in *March* last Year. By this Treaty the two Kings had obliged themselves to make War upon the King of *France*, unless he would restore *Rousillon* to *Ferdinand*, and *Guienne* and *Normandy* to *Henry*. Moreover, they agreed upon a Match between *Arthur* Prince of *Wales*, *Henry*'s Son, and *Catherine*, Third Daughter of *Ferdinand* and *Isabella*, as soon as the Prince should be Fourteen, and the Princess Twelve Years

Ann enters into fresh Obligations to Henry, but without obtaining any Succours. p. 394.

Henry makes several Alliances. Act. Pub. XII. 397 --- 462.

He publishes his Treaty with the King of Spain.

1490. Years of Age. The Treaty he had made with the King of the *Romans* had relation to this. These Three Princes were to enter *France* at the same Time, each at the Head of an Army as well for their own private Interests as for the sake of the Dutchess of *Bretagne*. But by some *secret* Articles signed two Days after, there were so many Restrictions concerning the Time, Manner, and Circumstances of the War, that it plainly appear'd *Henry*'s sole Aim was to frighten the King of *France*. By one of the secret Articles, the Time of this Invasion was fixed to the 15th of *August*, 1492.

By the secret Articles the Alliances came to nothing. P. 403.

Alliance with the Duke of Milan.

On the 4th of *October*, *Henry* concluded with *John Galeazzo* Duke of *Milan* a Treaty of Alliance, containing only general Articles of Amity and good Understanding. Mean while *Henry* reaped this Benefit by these Negotiations which were carried on openly, that he put the *French* King to a stand. The Truth is, all these Treaties, the secret Articles whereof he knew not, gave him some Uneasiness. He had reason to fear, that a League was forming against him, which would prove a Bar not only to the Conquest of *Bretagne*, but also to that of the Kingdom of *Naples*, which had run in his Head some Time. It was this that kept him back from renewing the War in *Bretagne*, though the Dutchess's Circumstances were such, that it seem'd an easy Matter to dispossess her of all her Dominions. Besides, *Henry*'s Proceedings were so very extraordinary, that he knew not what to think of them. That Monarch made a great Noise about the League he was forming for the Defence of *Bretagne*, and yet sent no Succours thither. In this State of Uncertainty *Charles* resolved to send an Embassy to *England*, under colour of drawing off *Henry* from the Dutchess's Side, but in reality to know by his Answer what he was to hope or fear from him. He pitched upon for this Purpose *Francis de Luxemburg* Viscount of *Martigues*, *Valeran de Sams*, and *Robert Gaguin*, General of the *Order* of the *Trinity*. These Ambassadors being come to *London*, had their Audience of the King,

Charles's *Embassy to sound* Henry. Dec. 10. P. 432.

wherein

wherein nothing more than ordinary paſſed. Some Days after the King having nominated to treat with them *Richard Fox* Biſhop of *Exeter*, *Thomas* Earl of *Ormond*, and ſome others, in the firſt Conference they had together, the *General* of the *Order* of the *Trinity* being the Speaker, made the moſt ſubmiſſive and cringing Speech that ever came out of the Mouth of a *French* Ambaſſador to a foreign Prince, if after all the Matter is to be referred to *Henry* VII's Hiſtorian. As I have ſeveral Reaſons to ſuſpect that this Speech is rather the Hiſtorian's than the Ambaſſador's, I ſhall content my ſelf with juſt touching upon the principal Points, without ſticking to the very Words, or mentioning certain Articles which ſeem to me altogether improbable *. 1490.

The Ambaſſador's Speech.

The Ambaſſador began with ſaying, " That their " Maſter had ſent them to pray a Peace with the " King of *England*, and that the Eſteem he had for " that great Prince induced him to overlook all For- " malities, and to make Advances unuſual in ſuch " Sovereigns as He. That however, he would not " conceal from him another Motive which made him " deſirous of Peace: Which was, that having re- " ſolved to carry his Arms into remote Countries, it " could not but be for his Advantage that all the " World ſhould know he was in Friendſhip with all " his Neighbours, and particularly with the King of " *England*. Then the Ambaſſador himſelf took care " to excuſe *Henry*'s ſending Succours into *Bretagne* " and *Flanders*, though it was againſt *France*, and " owned there was not in that any juſt Occaſion of " Rupture between the two Crowns. As for *Flan-* " *ders*, he juſtified the King his Maſter's ſending " Troops thither, becauſe it was his Duty to protect " the *Flemings* his *Vaſſals*, againſt the King of the " *Romans* their Oppreſſor. After that, the Ambaſ-

* For Inſtance, the Lord *Bacon* makes the Ambaſſador deſire *Henry* that he may annul the Marriage of *Maximilian*, of which neither *Charles* nor *Henry* had yet any Knowledge.

1490. " ſador added, That King *Charles* intended to make " War upon the Kingdom of *Naples*, unjuſtly de- " tained from him by a Baſtard of the *Houſe of Arra-* " *gon*. That having an undoubted Right to that " Kingdom, he was bound in Honour to try to re- " cover it. But that his Thoughts did not reſt there, " his Purpoſe being to make the Conqueſt of *Naples* " ſerve as a Bridge to tranſport his Forces into the " *Eaſt*, and overthrow the Empire of the *Turks*. That " there could not be a fairer Opportunity, by reaſon " of the Diviſions in the *Ottoman* Family. That be- " ing thus reſolved upon putting his grand Deſign in " Execution, for the Honour and Benefit of the " *Chriſtian* Religion, he made no Scruple to beg Peace " at the Hands of all the Princes of *Europe*, that he " might not be diverted from his Purpoſe by any " Obſtacle from them.

The Ambaſſador concluded with ſaying, " That he " had one thing more to mention, not as a Matter of " Treaty, but purely to ſhow with what Earneſtneſs " the King his Maſter deſired to keep up a good Un- " derſtanding with the King of *England*; which was, " that being Sovereign Lord of *Bretagne*, and as " ſuch having a Right to the Guardianſhip of the " Dutcheſs, he requeſted the King of *England* to " conſent that he might diſpoſe of her in Marriage as " he ſhould think fit".

The Chancellor's Anſwer in the King's Name.

Some Days after the Ambaſſadors of *France* being ſent for to the *Council*, the *Chancellor* returned them the following Anſwer from the King: " That the " King his Maſter had not forgot the former Love " and Friendſhip between the King of *France* and " him. That if the Friendſhip was ſtill the ſame, " there was no occaſion to talk of it: But if it was " not, it was not Words but Deeds that muſt renew " it. That as for the Affair of *Bretagne*, he could " not help thinking it ſtrange that the King of *France* " ſhould have made him his *Inſtrument* to ruin one of " his beſt *Allies*, and ſhould farther pretend that he " was very much obliged to him for it. That as for

" the

" the Dutcheſs's Marriage, he intended not to med- 1490.
" dle with it, provided the King of *France* would
" proceed by *Law* and not by the *Sword*. That howe-
" ver, what had paſſed in *Bretagne* as well as in *Flan-*
" *ders* did not eſtrange him ſo far from the King of
" *France*, but that he would treat with him provided
" other Matters might be brought upon the Board
" at the ſame Time. That as for the War upon *Na-*
" *ples*, the King had but one Thing to ſay to it;
" which was, that as the King of *France* thought
" himſelf bound in Honour to try to recover that
" Kingdom, ſo for the very ſame Reaſon the King *He de-*
" looked upon himſelf as obliged to exert his utmoſt *mands all*
" for the recovery of *Guienne*, *Normandy*, and the France.
" Kingdom of *France* it ſelf, which of Right belong-
" ed to him. "

Henry had eaſily dived into the Bottom of this Em- *Motive of*
baſſy, and perceived that by a general Propoſal to *the De-*
live in Peace with him, *Charles* had no other Deſign *mand.*
than to ſound his Intentions with reſpect to *Bretagne*. For this Reaſon it was that purſuant to the Rule he had laid down, which was to frighten him, he threatened him with a War, not only for the ſake of the Dutcheſs of *Bretagne*, but alſo upon the Score of his own Intereſt. Nevertheleſs it is probable that he ſpoiled all in puſhing Matters too far, and that *Charles* was ſenſible that this Anſwer of his was only bare Words, which would not be followed by *Deeds*. It Charles
was not at all likely that in the Situation *France* was *diſcovers*
then in, *Henry* who tottered as it were in the Throne *it.*
of a Kingdom abounding with Male-Contents, ſhould be willing to renew a Diſpute of that Moment, of which he could not naturally expect to ſee a happy Iſſue. The Reputation he had of being one of the moſt prudent Princes of his Time, took away all Belief that he would imbark in ſuch an Undertaking. So *Charles* holding it for certain, that he intended only to frighten him, kept on his old Courſe, with reſpect to *Bretagne*, and ſucceeded in the End, as we ſhall ſee under the next Year. On the other Hand, *The Am-*
baſſadors

 Reply.

1490. his Ambaſſadors, ſurprized at the *Chancellor*'s Speech, anſwered with ſome Warmth, that the King their Sovereign was not afraid of ſuch Threats, and was able to maintain his juſt Rights againſt any Perſon whatever that ſhould diſpute them with him. The *Chancellor* calmly replied, that the King expected no other Anſwer from them; but would forthwith ſend Ambaſſadors to the King of *France* to acquaint him more fully with his Intentions. Then he asked them whether the King of *France* would agree to have the Diſpoſal of the Marriage of the Dutcheſs of *Bretagne*, with an Exception that he ſhould not marry her himſelf (*a*). The Ambaſſadors made Anſwer, that the King their Maſter was ſo far from having any Thoughts of marrying the Dutcheſs of *Bretagne*, that he had given them no *Inſtructions* upon that Head.

Queſtion put to the Ambaſſadors.

Ann *notifies to* **Henry** *her Marriage.*

During all theſe Negotiations, *Ann* was very much vexed to ſee no Succours come either from *Maximilian* or the King of *England*. She had till then kept her Marriage ſecret: But plainly perceiving ſhe could not poſſibly conceal it any longer, and that it was not fair to hide it from one whom ſhe looked upon as her chief Protector, ſhe diſpatched a ſolemn Embaſſy to *England*, conſiſting of the Prince of *Orange*, the Earl of *Dunois*, and the *Chancellor*. Their Buſineſs was to demand Succours, and apparently to make known her Marriage to the King. And indeed, it is not till after this Embaſſy which arrived in *England* in the Beginning of the next Year, that we find in the *Publick Acts*, *Maximilian*'s Name joined with hers.

1491. **Henry**'s *Embaſſy to* **Charles**.

In *February* 1491 *Henry* ſent Ambaſſadors to *France* as he had promiſed. Their *Commiſſion* was to treat about all the Differences he had with King *Charles*, and in particular about a certain Sum due to him from that Prince, as alſo touching the Affair between *Charles* and the Dutcheſs of *Bretagne*. Theſe very *Inſtructions*

ons

(*a*) If *Henry* had known *Ann* had eſpouſed *Maximilian*, he would not have offered to leave to *Charles* the Diſpoſal of that Princeſs's Marriage.

ons are a clear Evidence that *Henry* had no Intent vigorouſly to puſh his Claim to the Realm of *France*, or at leaſt to *Guienne* and *Normandy*. The Truth is, what likelihood is there that he would have comprized under the general Word *Differences* his Claim to all *France*, or to two of the richeſt Provinces, and that he would have ſpecified a Debt of a Hundred Twenty-five Thouſand Crowns, if the firſt had been the principal Point? It is manifeſt then, that he ſtill perſiſted in being deſirous to end the Affair of *Bretagne* without War, and to ſecure the Money he had advanced. 1491.

A few Days after he appointed *Commiſſioners* to treat with the Ambaſſadors that came laſt from *Bretagne*. Then it was in all appearance that the Dutcheſs's Marriage with *Maximilian* was imparted to him. Perhaps he was told of it before, though he pretended Ignorance, becauſe it had not been notified to him in *Form*. *Ann's Marriage is imparted to him.* *p.* 436.

Mean while *Charles* having at length heard of this Marriage which had been made a great Secret, reſolved to throw off all Reſtraint and be the more ſpeedy and vigorous in his Conqueſt of *Bretagne*. In all appearance, he ſaw plainly enough through all *Henry*'s Diſguiſes, and it may be was of Opinion that the Acquiſition of *Bretagne* was well worth the hazarding a Rupture with *England*. As for *Maximilian* he did not much fear him; and he had an infallible Expedient to pacify the King of *Arragon*, by giving up to him *Rouſſillon*, which was of much leſs Importance to the Crown of *France* than *Bretagne*. So without further Conſideration, he ordered *Rennes* Capital of the Dutchy to be inveſted, where the Princeſs then was. *Charles beſieges the Dutcheſs in* Rennes.

During the Siege which laſted ſome Months, *Ann* ſent to *England John Bouteiller* Lord of *Maupertuis*, and *Peter Cojalu*, to demand Succours of *Henry*. Shortly after ſhe ſent likewiſe the Counteſs *de la Val*, and the Marſhal *de Rieux* and ſome others, to inform him of the Condition ſhe was in, and to demonſtrate to him that *Bretagne* was juſt upon the Point of falling into the *Another Embaſſy from* Ann *to* Henry. May 23. *p.* 443. *Another* June 3.

1491. p. 446. July 7. the Hands of *France*. This Embaſſy furniſhed the King with a Handle to borrow Money of his Subjects to enable him to make War upon *France*. And yet though he ſeemed to be in a great Hurry, he gave no Orders for the levying of Forces. But he was very Intent upon collecting the *Loans*.

League with Ferdinand *and* Maximilian *confirmed.* Not long after the League between *Henry* and *Ferdinand* was renewed. They agreed once more, that in *May*, or at fartheſt in *June* next Year, each of them ſhould enter *France* at the Head of an Army. *Maximilian* promiſed likewiſe to do the ſame, and ſent an Aid of two Thouſand Men to the Dutcheſs his Wife. But all this tended only to make a great Noiſe in order to deter the King of *France* from his Deſign to conquer *Bretagne*. It was not the Intention either of *Henry* or *Ferdinand*, or *Maximilian* to make War upon *France*. *Ferdinand* was then wholly taken up with the War of *Grenada*, and if he leagued with *Henry*, it was purely to oblige King *Charles*, by the Terror of the League, to reſtore *Rouſſillon*, being very ready to go from it, the Moment he ſhould be poſſeſſed of that Province. The Aim of the King of the *Romans*, who had neither *Men* nor *Money*, was to engage the Kings of *England* and *Spain* in a War with *France*, and to reap all the Fruits of it himſelf, by the Poſſeſſion of the Dutcheſs and Dutchy of *Bretagne*. So that *Henry* not being able to rely in any Meaſure upon ſuch Allies, and ſeeing *Bretagne* was as good as loſt, was unwilling to ſtand up alone in its Defence. His ſole Aim was to ſecure by the Dread of that League, the Payment of what was owing to him from *France* and *Bretagne*. Mean while both *Henry* and *Ferdinand* were under a neceſſity in order to attain their Ends, to make as if they meant in good earneſt to wage War with *France*.

Motives of theſe three Allies.

Charles VIII *demands* Ann *in Marriage.* Whilſt theſe two Monarchs were taking Meaſures to accompliſh their Deſigns, and the Ambaſſadors of *Bretagne* were waiting in vain at *London*, *Charles* cauſed the Siege of *Rennes* to be carried on. But finding the Siege was in an ill Way, and the Seaſon far advanced,

he

he ſought and hit upon a ſpeedier and more effectual Way than the Sword to make ſure of the Poſſeſſion of *Bretagne*. He won by his Liberalities, all the young Dutcheſs's *Council*, and got them to perſwade her to break off her Marriage with *Maximilian*, and take himſelf for her Huſband. It may be he had formed that Project before. But however he diſcovered it not till the Siege of *Rennes*. As ſoon as he was ſure of the Concurrence of the Lords of *Bretagne*, he cauſed the Dutcheſs then not above fifteen Years of Age, to be importuned to ſuch a Degree that they did not give her a Moment's Reſpite. She ſtood out couragiouſly at firſt againſt all their Sollicitations, affirming ſhe could never bring herſelf to be falſe to a Prince whom ſhe had eſpouſed with her own Conſent. But it was repreſented to her, that *Maximilian* had forſaken her firſt. That inſtead of coming in Perſon to defend her, or at leaſt, of ſending her Succours in proportion to her Wants, he had ſat down quietly in *Germany*, as if what paſſed in *Bretagne* no way concerned him. That in the preſent Poſture of his Affairs, it was impoſſible to hinder *Bretagne* from becoming a Province of *France*, and then *Maximilian* would regard her ſtill leſs, when he ſaw her ſtript of her Dominions. That perhaps ſhe would have the Shame and Confuſion to ſee that he himſelf would break off the Match. That then ſhe would loſe at once both her Eſtate and her Spouſe, and reduce her Subjects to a wretched Slavery. That in marrying the King of *France*, ſhe might ſecure by a Treaty the Sovereignty of *Bretagne*, and preſerve the Liberties of the *Bretons*: Whereas by an obſtinate and fruitleſs Defenſe, ſhe would ruin her Subjects without reaping any Advantage her ſelf. In fine, that the King of *France* was more proper for one of her Age. That the glorious Titles of *Queen of the Romans*, and *Empreſs* ought not to tempt her, ſince that of *Queen of France*, with a real Kingdom joined to it, was not of leſs Weight. Nevertheleſs as the Dutcheſs ſtood out, *Charles* bethought himſelf of another Expedient to vanquiſh

1491.

He gains her Council.

She refuſes to comply.

1491. Charles *employs the Duke of* Orleans, vanquish her Resolution. He went himself and took the Duke of *Orleans* out of the Tower of *Bourges*, where he was confined after the Battle of St. *Aubin*, and told him, that knowing how great Confidence the young Dutchess of *Bretagne* had in him, he desired him in return for his Freedom, to go and try to perswade her to comply with his Suit. The Duke of *Orleans*, who was grown very weary of his Imprisonment, willingly accepted of the Office, and repairing to *Rennes*, he at length brought the Dutchess to agree to the Match, and the Marriage was accordingly concluded *December* the 16th 1491.

who prevails with the Dutchess, and the Marriage is concluded Argentre. Mezerai.

Whilst this Affair was in Hand, *Charles* amused the *English* Ambassadors, being unwilling to conclude any Thing or so much as treat with them till he saw the Issue of his Negotiation with *Ann*. At length, the Ambassadors hearing that the Marriage was just upon the Point of Conclusion, withdrew about the latter End of *November*, without taking Leave. Thus *Henry* saw, not without Confusion, that he had lost the Fruits of his avaritious *Politicks*, not only as he had not saved *Bretagne*, but chiefly as the Re-imbursement of the Money he had advanced, was become more precarious than ever. However, he had one After-game left, which he knew how to play with Skill, and which brought him off, if not with Honour, at least with Money in his Pocket, which was the Thing he had all along been driving at. Luckily for him, *Charles* was infatuated with his Design to conquer the Kingdom of *Naples*. As a Rupture with *England* would have laid invincible Obstacles in his Way, he thought it was his Part to leave no Stone unturned to avoid a War. *Henry* on his Part, well knowing that at the present Juncture, *Charles* would not scruple to purchase a Peace, made as if he highly resented the Affront he had received, and was bent to be revenged at any rate. The Moment his Ambassadors had told him how Matters stood, he issued out Orders to levy Forces, and get Transport-Ships ready, giving to understand, that he was going to take

The Ambassadors of England *withdraw.*

Henry *prepares for War.*

take in Hand the moſt dreadful War that had ever been waged between *England* and *France*. He ſeemed to prepare to tread in the Steps of *Edward* III and *Henry* V, and not to think of ſtopping till he had wreſted the Crown of *France* from the *Houſe* of *Valois*. We ſhall ſee preſently to what all this furious Ardour tended. 1491.

The King of the Romans *threatens high.*

Maximilian raged and fumed when he heard *Charles* had thus robbed him of his Wife. He threatened, like *Henry*, to carry Fire and Sword into the Bowels of *France*, in revenge of ſo deadly an Affront. On the other Side, the Archduke *Philip* demanded his Siſter *Margaret* who was at *Paris*, and had been contracted to King *Charles*. But the Court of *France* did not yet think fit to ſend back that Princeſs. They were afraid neither of the Father nor the Son. They were wholly intent upon laying the Storm which was gathering on the Side of *England* and *Spain*, and which appeared much more violent than it really was. But before I relate the Effects of this Quarrel, it will be neceſſary to ſay a Word of the Affairs of *Scotland*.

Affairs of Scotland. Buchan.

Since *James* IV's Acceſſion to the Crown of *Scotland*, he had been hard put to it to maintain himſelf in the Throne. The Troubles which immediately broke out, were ſtill kept on Foot by the Policy of the King of *England*, who took care to foment them. He now and then gave the *Scotch* Male-Contents ſome little Aid, which enabled them to hold up their Heads, but not to make any great Progreſs againſt their King. It is a Piece of Policy very common with Princes to foment the Troubles of their Neighbours, under a Notion that it is a moſt effectual Way to keep Peace at Home, though there are ſome who would make a Conſcience of uſing ſuch a Means. But *Henry* was not of that Number. He even ſeems to have been leſs ſcrupulous in that Point than a great many others, ſince we find in the *Collection of the Publick Acts*, that the Lord *Bothwel* and Sir *Thomas Todde*, both *Scotchmen*, had engaged to deliver into his Hands the Perſons of the King of *Scotland*, and the Duke of

Two Scotchmen *bargain to deliver up the King to* Henry. Act. Pub. XII. 440.

1491. *Ross* his Brother, the which could not be done without some notable Piece of Treachery. It even appears by the *Act*, that he had lent the Earl of *Boghan* and Sir *Thomas Todde*, 266 *l.* 13 *s.* 4 *d.* *Sterling*, to enable them to put their Design in Execution, and that *Todde* had left his Son in Hostage for Security. This *Act* is dated *April* the 17th 1491.

Truce between England *and* Scotland *in vain.*

This Project having miscarried, *Henry* who was preparing for the War with *France*, had a Mind first to screen himself from the Diversions which the *Scots* might make in *England* during his Absence. *James* for his Part desired nothing more than to deprive those of his Subjects that were in Arms against him, of the Protection they had all along met with from the King of *England*. So the two Kings having sent their Ambassadors to *Caldstream* upon *Tweed*, a Treaty of Truce was concluded there, from the 21st of *December*, to that Day five Years 1496. By this Treaty the City of *Berwick* with its District was to stand neuter, and the Lordship of *Lorn* in *Scotland*, with the little Island of *Lundey* belonging to *England*, were excepted out of the Truce. *Henry* ratified the Treaty *January* the 9th 1492. But in all appearance the King of *Scotland*, whether bribed by *France*, or from some other Motive, refused to do the same. He agreed however to a much shorter Truce, from the 21st of *February* 1492, to the 10th of *November* following.

ibid. *p.* 462.

Another Truce. *p.* 473.

1492. France *is threatened on all Sides.*

France seemed to be threatened with a furious War on all Hands. *Maximilian* egged it on to the utmost of his Power, reckoning that *Philip* his Son, then Twenty Years old, would make a powerful Diversion in *Flanders*, whilst the Allies should act in other Places. *Henry* was openly preparing for War with great Noise and Bustle. In short, *Ferdinand* and *Isabella*, who had just put a glorious Period to the War with the *Moors* by the taking of *Grenada*, publickly threatened to invade *France* from the Side of *Spain*. *Charles* therefore would have had enough upon his Hands, if this powerful League had been in reality, what it was in appearance.

pearance. After he had gotten Poſſeſſion of *Bretagne*, he turned his Thoughts to his grand Project, concerning the Conqueſt of *Naples*. But he muſt firſt diſpel the Storm that was gathering in *Spain*, *England*, and *Flanders*. Whilſt he was wholly taken up with this Affair, *Henry* was no leſs Intent upon his own Concerns. 1491.

In the Beginning of the Year 1492 he aſſembled the Parliament, and communicated to both *Houſes* his Deſign to make War upon *France*, not with intent to aſk their Advice, but to acquaint them with his Reſolution to exert his utmoſt to recover the Kingdom of *France*, which he called the Inheritance of his Anceſtors. To enflame them the more, he ſet before their Eyes the glorious Battles of *Crecy*, *Poictiers*, and *Azincourt*, where the *Engliſh* alone with a ſmall Number of Forces, vanquiſhed the ſtrongeſt Armies of *France*. He would by that inſinuate to them, that he was no leſs a Warriour than *Edward* III, the Prince of *Wales* his Son, and *Henry* V. In demanding an Aid of Money proportionable to the Greatneſs of the Enterprize, he exhorted the *Houſe* of *Commons* to ſpare the Purſes of the Poor, and to lay the Tax upon the richer Sort, not at all queſtioning whether they would grant what he required. Certainly great fault might have been found with the manner wherein he had laid out the former *Subſidy*. It was granted for the Defence of *Bretagne*, and yet the Dutchy was loſt without his having vouchſafed to uſe the leaſt endeavour to prevent it. But the Conqueſt of the Kingdom of *France* was a very proper Decoy to draw in the Parliament. The Truth is, the King had no Mind at all to imbark in ſo hazardous an Undertaking. He was very ſenſible that *France* being at Unity with it ſelf, as it then was, the Conqueſt of it would be too difficult a Task. Of his two Allies, the one had *Will* but not *Power*, and the other had *Power* but not *Will*, his Aim being by an outward ſhow of War, to come at a Peace which might procure him the Reſtitution of *Rouſſillon*. Beſides, as he had

Henry acquaints the Parliament with his Deſign to war upon France.

The King's private Aim.

1492. had but just cleared his Hands of the *Moors*, he was not in Condition to begin a fresh War with *France*. However *Henry* showed to his Parliament and Council an ardent Desire to render his Name famous by the Conquest of *France*, or at least of *Normandy* and *Guienne*. In this he had a double View of *Profit*, upon his *Subjects* by means of a *Subsidy* for the War, and upon his *Enemies* for a *Peace*, which would secure him the Payment of what was due to him. He plainly foresaw that the falling off of the King of the *Romans* and of *Ferdinand* would afford him a plausible excuse to give over a War which he was taking in Hand with so much Noise. The Archbishop of *Canterbury* and the Bishop of *Exeter* were the only Persons that knew his real Intentions. Shortly after the last was removed to the *See* of *Bath* and *Wells*.

The Parliament grants a Benevolence.

The Parliament took Fire as the King expected, and granted him a very considerable Supply of Money, the which pursuant to his Desire, was to be levied upon the *Rich* by the Name of a *Benevolence*. This sort of *Tax* was set on Foot by *Edward* IV without consent of Parliament. *Richard* III, to ingratiate himself with the People, abolished it, but this Parliament revived it, and set to it the Seal of their Authority *.

Embassy from France. Feb. 5. Act. Pub. XII. 470.

Shortly after *Henry* received Ambassadors from King *Charles*, who brought him Proposals which were not made Publick. There was Reason to believe that nothing was concluded in the Conferences which the Archbishop of *Canterbury* and Bishop *Fox* had with them, since the Preparations for War were still seen to go on. However, it is very likely that these Ambassadors laid the first Foundations of the Peace which was made before the End of the Year.

In

* Bishop *Morton* the *Chancellor* is said to make use of this *Dilemma* in his Instructions to the *Commissioners*, which some called his *Fork*, others his *Crutch*. *That if they met with any that were sparing, they should tell them, That they must needs Have, because they laid up; and if they were Spenders, they must needs Have, because it was visible in their manner of living.* Bacon.

In the Month of *June* the Queen was delivered of a Prince, who ſucceeded the King his Father by the Name of *Henry* VIII. 1491. *Birth of Prince Henry.*

The Preparations which were making in *England* came in good Seaſon for the Archduke *Philip*. Since laſt Year the *Gantois* had revolted againſt him once more, and ſet at their Head *Philip de Cleves* a great Stickler for *France*. Some Troubles in *Holland* having prevented the Archduke from endeavouring to ſtifle this Revolt in its Birth, it was the middle of this Year firſt before he marched againſt *Philip de Cleves*, and beſieged him in *Sluice*. He would have found it a hard Matter to take that Place, if *Henry* had not ſent him an Aid of Twenty-two Ships, and Two Thouſand Five Hundred Men. With theſe Succours he was enabled to compel the Rebels to ſue for Peace, and deliver up *Sluice*. *Succours ſent to the Archduke.*

As the King had no Intention to puſh vigorouſly the War with *France*, he was not over-haſty in his Preparations, being well-pleaſed to begin the Campaign late that he might end it the ſooner. Mean while, he ſent Ambaſſadors to *France* to ſhow that he was willing to try fair Means before he came to Force. But it is extremely probable, that this Embaſſy was ſent purely to finiſh the ſettling with King *Charles* the Terms of the Peace. Moreover, the King's Honour was to be ſecured, who after having made ſo much noiſe, was unwilling to give over without a ſeeming Neceſſity. To that End he muſt go Hand in Hand with the King of *France*. At the ſame Time *Henry* ſent Ambaſſadors to the King of the *Romans*, and to *Ferdinand*, to call upon them to take the Field and enter *France* according to their Treaty. But he knew well enough that they had not the Power or the Will to perform their Engagements. *Maximilian* had no Army, and *Ferdinand* was then in Treaty with *Charles* about the Reſtitution of *Rouſſillon*. And yet, *Henry* making as if he was ignorant of theſe Things, ſeemed to have great Dependence upon them. In the Beginning of *Auguſt*, he iſſued out Orders for the levying a greater Num- *The warlike Preparations go on but ſlowly.* *Embaſſy to France.* Jan. 12. p. 481. *Henry calls upon Maximilian and Ferdinand to invade France.* *He makes new Levies.*

1492. Number of Forces, and on the 22d of the same Month he appointed *Commissioners* to confer at *Caldstream* with those of *Scotland*. All this afforded him Pretences to delay his Expedition. At length, though not till the 2d of *October* *, he came to *Sandwich* in order to imbark, having constituted by *Patent* his eldest Son *Arthur* Prince of *Wales*, *Guardian* of the Realm. Such of his Courtiers who were not in his Secrets, could not forbear telling him that it was a little of the latest to begin to take the Field. But he answered them, *That he intended not to make a Summer's Business of the War, and therefore it did not signify when it began. That he had* Calais *at his back where he might Winter, in order to be in greater readiness to open the Campaign early next Spring.* He arrived the same Day at *Calais*, where his whole Army being drawn together, amounted to Twenty-five Thousand *Foot* and Sixteen Hundred *Horse*.

He passes over to Calais. P. 487.

He receives Advices, which give him a Handle to make Peace.

Before he imbarked, *Henry* had received a Letter from the Marshal *Desguerdes*, offering a Negotiation of Peace in *England*. But he thought it would look better to treat in *France* itself. Hardly was he landed at *Calais*, before the Ambassadors he had sent to the King of the *Romans* came thither, and gave him to understand that *Maximilian* was wholly unprepared to enter *France* as he had promised. This News was immediately made known to the whole Army. Some Days after he received from his Ambassadors in *Spain* Letters which were likewise made publick, importing that *Ferdinand* had concluded a Peace with the King of *France*, who had promised to restore *Roussillon*, without demanding the Three Hundred Thousand Crowns, which *Lewis* XI. had lent upon that Country. *Henry* knew all this before; but he had ordered Matters so that these Advices should come in the Neck of one another, just after his Arrival in *France*, that it might appear that he was forced to the Peace he intended to make. Upon these Advices, at which he feigned to be very

* The 6th of *October* according to *Bacon*.

very much ſurprized, he agreed that *Richard Fox* Biſhop of *Bath* and *Wells*, and the Lord *d'Aubigny* Governour of *Calais* ſhould enter into a Conference at *Eſtaples* with the Marſhal *Deſguerdes*. He himſelf however marched the 15th of *October* to go and beſiege *Boulogne*, and in four Days time ſat down before the Place. 1492. *He appoints Commiſſioners to treat.*

It muſt be remarked that King *Charles* was then at *Tours*, and though the warlike Preparations in *England* had made a great Noiſe, there was no Army in *Picardy* to oppoſe the Invaſion of the *Engliſh*; at leaſt no Hiſtory mentions any ſuch Thing. This is a clear Evidence that *Henry* in all his Proceedings had gone Hand in Hand with the King of *France*, who was not ſo unprovided with Troops but that he could have ſent an Army ſtrong enough to ſtop his Progreſs. So, this pretended Siege of *Boulogne* was only an Artifice to diſhearten the *Engliſh*, that by conſidering the Difficulties of a Siege at ſuch a Seaſon of the Year, they might be the leſs ſurpriſed to ſee a Peace concluded. At the End of Eight Days, *Henry* received at the Camp before *Boulogne* the Articles of Peace agreed upon by the *Commiſſioners* of both Parties, with the Approbation of the Two Kings, the Subſtance whereof was as follows: *Remark on the King's Conduct.*

I. That the King of *France* ſhould pay off the Debt contracted by his Queen for the Defence of *Bretagne*, which Debt, according to the *Engliſh* Ambaſſador's Account, amounted to Six Hundred and Twenty Thouſand Crowns of Gold, *French* Money. *Articles agreed upon by the Commiſſioners of the two Kings.* Act. Pub. XII. 489.

II. That the King of *France* ſhould pay the King of *England* the Arrears of the yearly Penſion of Fifty Thouſand Crowns which *Lewis* XI. paid to *Edward* IV, amounting in all to a Hundrd Twenty-five Thouſand Crowns.

III. That the King of *France* ſhould pay theſe two Debts at ſeveral Times, namely, Fifty Thouſand *Livres* every Year, or Twenty Thouſand *French* Crowns till the whole was paid.

IV. Whereas

1492. IV. Whereas in the Bond given by the Dutchess of *Bretagne* to the King of *England*, there was no Sum specified, the King of *England* should be obliged to make Proof of his Debt before Commissioners from *Bretagne* or *France*, which should be sent to *England* for that Purpose.

V. That the two Kings should name such of their Allies as they should have a mind to include in the Peace, who should be obliged to declare within four Months, whether they would be included or not.

VI. That in case the King of the *Romans*, and the Archduke *Philip* his Son desired to be included in the Treaty, and if afterwards the King of *France* should happen in any manner whatever to invade their Country, it should be lawful for the King of *England* to assist them. But if on the contrary they should fall upon the King of *France*, the King of *England* should give them no Succours.

VII. That in case the two Kings approved of these Articles, they should give each other Hostages till the Treaty was drawn up and signed in Form.

Henry asks the Opinion of his principal Officers,

As these Articles exactly corresponded with what *Henry* had proposed to himself ever since the Beginning of the War of *Bretagne*, there is no question but they were framed by himself or his own Ambassadors. And yet he would have them pass for Proposals from the *French* King, and feigned to doubt whether he should accept or reject them. To that Purpose he called a Council of all the Lords and general Officers, and sent them the Articles, with his Orders to give him their real Opinion of them. As in all appearance this Council was managed by some Person of great Credit who was in the King's Secrets, all that were present unanimously agreed that he ought to accept of the Terms. They gave their Reasons at large under all their Hands, which in short, omitting the Exaggerations, were as follow:

who advise him to Peace.

I. The

1492. *Their Reaſons for ſo doing.* p. 490.

I. The firſt Reaſon was taken from the Length of the Nights, the Coldneſs of the Weather, the Want of Proviſions which might happen becauſe they were to come by Sea, the Fear of Diſtempers, and the like.

II. The ſecond Reaſon was grounded upon the Conſideration of the Sum tendered, being larger than any that had ever been paid by *France* to the King's Predeceſſors; and likewiſe upon the Apprehenſion of the Murmurings the Refuſal of a Peace might occaſion in *England* and in the Army.

III. They alledged as a third Reaſon, the great Advantage that would accrue by the Peace to the King of the *Romans* and the Archduke: The Benefit they had already received by it in having the Town of *Sluice* reſtored to them; and laſtly, the Fruits which the *Engliſh* Merchants would reap by it, ſince the Peace would ſecure their Trade with the *Low-Countries*.

IV. They ſaid, that the King had honourably kept his Word with his Allies in ſpite of the Inſtances of his Council, who ſollicited him to put off his Expedition to a better Seaſon, and till his Allies ſhould be ready: That he had led his Army into *France*, put himſelf in a Condition to encounter alone all the Enemy's Forces, and expoſed his Perſon to the greateſt Hazards, at a Time when his Allies were fallen from their Word: That therefore, if the War was not carried on, he might very juſtly caſt the Blame upon them.

V. That the King was far from being in the ſame Circumſtances *Edward* IV was in, when he led an Army into *France*: That *Edward* was joined by the Duke of *Burgundy* with all his Forces, and by ſeveral *French* Lords who were in his Intereſt: That he was in Poſſeſſion of all the Towns as far as the *Somme*, and began the War in the midſt of Summer: That on the contrary, the King was not aſſiſted with any foreign Troops: That the Moment he was out of the Gates of *Calais*, he had entred the Enemy's Country, and was advanced as far as *Boulogne*: That he had razed ſeveral Places, as *Ardres* and *Montory*, and had ſtood

1492. Four and Twenty Hours ready for Battle, defying the whole Army of *France*.

VI. That it was very likely that the People of *England* would thank the King for a Peace which would put an end to *Taxes*, and reſtore the publick Tranquillity.

VII. They added once more, that the reſtoring the Archduke to his Dominions would redound to the King's Honour, and the Nation's Benefit, by reaſon of their Trade with his Subjects.

VIII. They ſaid, that before the Siege of *Boulogne*, it was thought to be a weak Place and eaſy to be taken: but on the contrary, it was found to be well fortified, provided with a ſtrong Garriſon, and good ſtore of Ammunition and Proviſions for a long Space. That therefore, in all Appearance if the King went on with the Siege, he would be forced to raiſe it with Diſgrace, whereas by making a Peace he could retire with Honour.

IX. Their laſt Reaſon was, that it was impracticable to continue the War during the Winter, without utterly deſtroying the Army, to the great Grief and Conſternation of the whole Kingdom.

Remarks on theſe Reaſons.

If a Man conſiders theſe Reaſons never ſo little, he will find them all falſe and illuſory, except the Article of the Money, which was the only true one. Without weighing them too particularly, I ſhall content my ſelf with obſerving, that of all the Inconveniencies alledged by the Officers, there was not one but what the King might have foreſeen, and actually did foreſee. He could blame no body but himſelf for ſetting out ſo late. All in the 5th Article relating to *Edward* IV. is evidently falſe. As for the Murmurs of the People, which they ſeemed to dread in caſe the King rejected the Peace, it was much more probable on the contrary, that the People would be diſſatisfied to ſee the Money given for a War with *France*, employed in making a diſhonourable Peace, which turned to no one's Advantage but the King's. In a Word, nothing

nothing was a plainer Sign how fully ſatisfied the King himſelf was of the little Benefit which would accrue to the Nation by this Peace, than the Precaution he took to get it approved of by the Officers of his Army. 1492.

Henry feigning to be carried by theſe Reaſons to accept the Peace, the Treaty was drawn up in Form, and ſigned at *Eſtaples* on the 3d of *November*. *Charles* ratified it the 6th of the ſame Month. He was then at *Tours*, where he was under no Concern about the Invaſion which ſeemed to hang over his Head, though, at all times, an *Engliſh* Army in *France* had made his Predeceſſors extremely uneaſy. What was peculiar to this Treaty, was, that notwithſtanding it was called a *Treaty of Peace*, it was however to expire with the Lives of the two Kings. But the Succeſſor of him that ſhould die firſt, was to ratify it within a Year after his Acceſſion to the Crown. I imagine that this was done on purpoſe to ſalve the Silence touching the Kingdom of *France*, or at leaſt of *Guienne* and *Normandy*, of which there was no mention, though the War was proclaimed purely upon that Score. Mean while, this Treaty, the main Buſineſs whereof was the Payment of two Debts, was to be approved and confirmed by the *States* of *France*, and the Parliament of *England*. This ſhows that it was looked upon only as a bare Truce, and accordingly it was called a Treaty of Peace. But on the other Hand, it is hard to conceive how they could conſider as a Treaty of Peace, a Treaty wherein the chief Point in diſpute was not ſettled, and which was to be in force but till the Death of the two Kings. Can any thing in the World be more like a Truce? Be this as it will, *Henry* took great care to ſee that the King of *France* ratified every particular Article of the Treaty, and eſpecially thoſe relating to the Payment of the Money. *Charles* was likewiſe on his Part very punctual in paying the Fifty Thouſand *Livres* every Year, as was alſo *Lewis* XII. his Succeſſor.

Treaty concluded at Eſtaples. p. 497.

1492. *Reflections on the Affair of* Bretagne.

After this manner ended the War of *Bretagne*, which had lasted ever since the Year 1487. I say the War with *Bretagne*, because that I have just been speaking of was only a Consequence of the other. *Henry* reaped the Benefit he had promised himself; that is to say, a round Sum of Money to his own private Use. In the first Place he obtained of the Parliament a *Tenth* of all the personal Estates of his Subjects, of which he laid out no more than was necessary for the levying and keeping Six Thousand Men for Eight Months. But in this he only advanced the Money, being repaid the same with Interest. We have seen that he made his Charges amount to Six Hundred and Twenty Thousand Crowns of Gold [or 124,000 *l.*] a vast Sum in those Days, when Money was much scarcer than it is at present *. In the next Place, he borrowed Money throughout the whole Kingdom, which in all appearance was never repaid. He had likewise a *Subsidy* under the Name of a *Benevolence*, which amounted to a very great Sum, much beyond what was necessary to maintain his Army, the two or three Months it was on foot. Lastly, he got a Hundred and Twenty-five Thousand Crowns [or 25000 *l.*] for the *Arrears* of the Pension due to *Edward* IV. But then he suffered *Bretagne* to be lost, to the irreparable Damage of *England*, since her Alliance with the Duke of *Bretagne* gave her such an Advantage over *France*, as could never be retrieved since. Moreover, may it not be said that the Recovery of the Money he had advanced in the Affair of *Bretagne* was owing rather to his *good Luck* than his *Policy*? Was he not entirely beholden for it to the King of *France*'s Design upon the Kingdom of *Naples*, which induced him to purchase a Peace? Had it not been for that, *Henry* would

* We may guess how far a Shilling went in those Days, when a good while after in King *Edward* the *Sixth* Reign, a large House within the Precincts of the Court in *Channon-row* in *Westminster*, was let to no less Person than the *Comptroller* of the King's *Household* for *Thirty Shillings* a Year. See *J. S.* Life of *Thomas Smith*, p. 226.

would have found it a hard Matter to recover his Money, and who knows what might have happened, had he been forced to get it by Dint of Sword? But the Advantages *Charles* reaped by this Peace were of much greater Importance. For the yearly Penſion of fifty Thouſand *Livres*, which he received with Intereſt from *Bretagne*, he annexed that Dutchy to the Crown of *France*, and deprived the *Engliſh* of their moſt conſiderable Ally. 1492.

I have dwelt the longer upon the Circumſtances of this Affair, becauſe they ſerve to diſcover fully the *Genius* and *Character* of *Henry* VII. Ever greedy of Money, and regarding nothing any farther than his own Intereſt was concerned, he deviſed Means to find his Account both in War and Peace, and to turn every Thing to his own Advantage. It was he that by his politick Views to his own private Intereſt, gave ſuch a Turn as we have ſeen to the Affairs of *Bretagne*.

The ſame Day the Peace of *Eſtaples* was ſigned, the Ambaſſadors of *England* and *Scotland* concluded at *Caldſtream* a Truce, from the 3d of *November* this Year, to the 30th of *April* 1494. *Truce with* Scotland. *p.* 465.

Henry having made a Peace with *France* according to his own Scheme, ſat out for *London*, where he arrived on the 17th of *December*. *The King returns to* England.

On the 5th of *November* the Archduke's Forces had ſurprized *Arras*, which had been fifteen Years in the Hands of the *French*. *Philip* having refuſed to be included in the Peace of *Eſtaples*, the War continued in *Flanders* till the next Year. *Affairs of* Flanders.

This very Year 1492 in the Month of *Auguſt*, *Chriſtopher Columbus* ſailed the firſt Time from *Cadiz*, with King *Ferdinand*'s Licenſe, in queſt of the *new* World. Columbus's *firſt Voyage*.

1493.

Henry imagined he might hope for the future to reign in Peace. He ſaw among his Subjects no likelihood of a Revolt. Not a Prince or Princeſs of the *Houſe of York* was in a Condition to give him any Diſturbance. He kept the Earl of *Warwick* Priſoner in the *Tower*. *Edward* IV's Daughters were in his Power,

1493. er, and there was no Lord of the *York*-Party of Authority enough to raiſe Commotions in the Kingdom. On the other Hand, he was at Peace or in Truce with his Neighbours, and in the ſeven Years and a half that he had ſat on the Throne, he had by his good Huſbandry, heaped up ſuch large Sums of Money, as none of his Predeceſſors had ever ſeen the like in their Hands at one Time. And yet this State of Proſperity was not capable of diſmaying his Enemies. Whilſt he was wholly taken up with the Affairs I have been relating, the Dutcheſs Dowager of *Burgundy* was labouring to raiſe him Diſturbances at Home, ſo much the more dangerous as he ſuſpected nothing of the Matter. This Princeſs was not ignorant, how well affected the *Engliſh* and *Iriſh* were to the Houſe of *York*; and upon this it was that ſhe chiefly built her Hopes of dethroning *Henry*. Though the Buſineſs of *Lambert Simnel* had miſcarried, ſhe did not aſcribe the ill Succeſs ſo much to the Project it ſelf, as to the Managers. Beſides, *Henry* was expoſed to the hazard of a Battle which he might have loſt, and it was not impoſſible but he might be vanquiſhed, if he ſhould be in the ſame Caſe again. Thus ſhe did not deſpair of wreſting the Crown from the *Houſe of Lancaſter*, or rather of *Tudor*, which done, ſhe reckoned it would be no hard Matter to reſtore the *Houſe of York*.

The Dutcheſs of Burgundy *labours to give* Henry *Trouble.*

She ſets up one Perkin Warbeck *to perſonate the Duke of* York.

Ever ſince *Simnel*'s Misfortune, ſhe had never ceaſed to ſpread a Report, either by herſelf or by her Emiſſaries, that *Richard* Duke of *York* ſecond Son of *Edward* IV had eſcaped the Cruelty of his Uncle *Richard* III, and was ſtill alive. This ſhe did to prepare the World to receive a ſecond *Fantom*, who was to *perſonate* the young Prince her Nephew, as *Lambert Simnel* had done the Earl of *Warwick*. In order to this, ſhe looked out carefully for young Lads of the Duke of *York*'s Age, fit for her Purpoſe. At length ſhe met with one in whom ſhe fancied ſhe beheld all the Qualities requiſite to repreſent that Prince. His Name was *Perkin Warbeck*, Son of [*John Osbeck*] a *Jewiſh-Convert* of *Tournay*, who had lived a good while

Hiſtory of Perkin.

while at *London*. *Edward* IV having occaſion to know him, and receive ſome Piece of Service from him, was pleaſed to do him the Honour to ſtand *Godfather* to one of his Children, and gave him the Name of *Peter*, from whence was formed the Diminutive *Peterkin* or *Perkin*. Some Years after *Osbeck* being returned to *Flanders*, placed young *Perkin* with one of his Relations at *Antwerp*, who kept him ſome Time. This Child was ſo handſome, and endowed with Qualities ſo far above his Birth, that many ſuſpected *Edward* IV to be his Father. And indeed it was ſomewhat extraordinary, that *Edward* ſhould ſtand *Godfather* to one of ſo mean Parentage. Be that as it will, *Perkin* going from *Antwerp* lived up and down in *Flanders*, and ſhifted Habitations ſo often, that when *Henry* in Time would have had him traced, in order to know the whole *Story* of his Life, he found it a very difficult Thing. As *Perkin* converſed generally with the *Engliſh* ſettled in the *Low-Countries*, he was ſo perfect a Maſter of the *Engliſh* Tongue, that he might eaſily be taken for an *Engliſhman*, eſpecially as he had ſpent his Childhood at *London*. 1493.

The Dutcheſs inſtructs him.

This Youth being mentioned to the Dutcheſs of *Burgundy*, ſhe commanded him to be brought privately to her Palace, and finding him fit for her Purpoſe, ſhe took care to inſtruct him in the Part he was to act. Hence we may gueſs that *Perkin* muſt needs have been a Youth of great Wit and Senſe, to be able to ſee into the Dutcheſs's Deſigns, otherwiſe it would have been in vain to give him Inſtructions. Be that as it will, ſhe ſo often deſcribed *Edward* IV, his Queen, Prince *Edward* their eldeſt Son, and the Princeſſes their Daughters, that after having ſeveral Times repeated his Leſſon to him, he could talk very pertinently of the Court, of the King his pretended Father, at leaſt as far as the Duke of *York* could be ſuppoſed to know. His natural Way of relating Circumſtances ſuitable to the Humour of Children, and ſome Particulars of *Edward*'s Court, made the Dutcheſs believe that he would not fail to gain Credit when he

1493. he came to appear in the World. Above all, she took Care to make him perfect in what he was to feign to have passed, whilst he was in the *Sanctuary* of *Westminster* with the Queen, and when he was taken from thence by the Contrivance of *Richard* III, and particularly in the manner of his escaping the Hands of the Executioners who were ordered to murder him. These were Particulars so much the easier to be feigned, as there were but few People who could contradict them. Moreover she taught him to put on the Air and Carriage of a well-bred Prince. She found the Youth to be so apt a Scholar that she herself was surprized at it. In a short Time, *Perkin* accustomed himself so to *talk* and *act* like a Prince, that one would have sworn he had been born of Royal Parents, and educated in a Palace.

It is not known for certain, when the Dutchess of *Burgundy* took *Perkin* Home to instruct him. But it is very likely that it was not long after the Battle of *Stoke*, wherein the Earl of *Lincoln* and *Lambert Simnel* were overthrown. However that be, the Affair of *Bretagne* giving that Princess a Prospect that it would not be long before *Henry* would break with *France*, as he himself would have had it believed, came to a Resolution to set up *Perkin* by the Name of the *Duke of York*, as soon as the War was begun. Mean while, being very sensible that if he appeared first in *Flanders* or in any Town of the *Low-Countries*, the World would not fail to suspect her. She sent him into *Portugal* *, where he lived *incognito* about a Year. At length in 1492 the War between *England* and *France* seeming to be unavoidable, she dispatched Orders to *Perkin* to repair to *Ireland*, where in all appearance she had already been tampering with several Persons of note. *Perkin* instantly obeyed, and arriving at *Cork*, gave out that he was the Duke of *York*, Son of *Edward* IV, in which he was countenanced by the *Mayor*,

She sends him to Portugal,

* With the Lady *Brampton* an *English* Lady, with one to have an Eye over him. *Bacon.*

Mayor, who in all likelihood was in the Plot. A few Days after, he wrote to the Earls of *Deſmond* and *Kildare*, great Sticklers for the *Houſe of York*, acquainting them with his Arrival, and deſiring them to come and join him. 1493.

Henry was then buſy in making Preparations for his Expedition againſt *France*. As the Dutcheſs of *Burgundy* had conjectured that he would ſet out in the Spring, ſhe had expected that he would be embarked in the War with *France* by the Time *Perkin* ſhould appear in *Ireland*, in which ſhe was miſtaken. The Report that the Duke of *York* was come from *Portugal* to *Ireland*, cauſed no Alteration in the King's Meaſures. He imagined it to be only a Contrivance to take him off from his Expedition. Preſently after he was told, that the Duke of *York* who had appeared in *Ireland* was gone from thence in order to repair to *France*, the which made him not a little uneaſy. And indeed the News was but too true. It fell out ſome Time before, that one *Frion* Secretary to the King for the *French* Tongue, had withdrawn from Court and fled to *Paris*, where he was very well received. This *Frion*, who followed King *Charles*'s Court, having heard that the Duke of *York* was in *Ireland*, told that Monarch of it, and hinted to him, that he might make that Affair turn to ſome Account. What Opinion ſoever *Charles* might be of concerning the Pretender, he really thought that ſuppoſing he was an Impoſtor, he might however be ſerviceable to him in making a Peace with *Henry*. In this Belief he ſent *Frion* into *Ireland* to invite the Pretender in his Name to come to him, with Promiſe of his Protection and Aid to recover the Crown of his Anceſtors. *Perkin* ſeeing himſelf invited by a Prince ſo great and well able to aſſiſt him, departed without a Moment's Conſideration. As ſoon as he was arrived in *France*, he went and waited upon the King, who gave him a very civil Reception, treated him as *Duke of York*, lodged him in his Palace, and aſſigned him a Guard, under Colour of doing him Honour, but in reality to hinder

Charles VIII ſends for Perkin to Paris.

He receives him as Duke of York.

1493. the King of *England* from causing him to be carried off. The Courtiers in Imitation of their Master, strove who should be most forward in paying the same Respects to *Perkin* as they would have done to the Duke of *York*. Shortly after, above a hundred *Englishmen* dissatisfied with the King, repaired to *Paris* with Offers of their Service to the Pretender. But the Honours *Perkin* received at the Court of *France* were not long-lived. As soon as *Charles* was almost sure of a Peace, he dismissed him for fear *Henry* who had insisted upon it already, should make it one of the Articles of the Treaty. He did not care to have it said that he had insnared the young Man in order to betray him into the Hands of his Enemy, as on the other Side, he was not willing the Peace should miscarry upon his Account.

but dismisses him when sure of a Peace.

Perkin thought himself very happy to come off so cheap. He was afraid of worse Usage, when he heard that a Peace was negotiating between the two Kings. Having readily quitted the Court of *France*, he retired into *Flanders* to the Dutchess of *Burgundy*, taking great Care not to discover that he had ever seen her before. At their first meeting, *Margaret* acted her Part extremely well: She treated him somewhat roughly, and seemed very much surprized that in her Presence he should have the Face to call himself *Duke of York*. She said publickly, that having been already imposed upon by a *Counterfeit*, who pretended to be the Earl of *Warwick*, she should be more upon her Guard, and it would be no easy Matter to deceive her a second Time. That therefore she advised him to march off, lest he should bring upon himself the Punishment due to his Boldness. *Perkin* seemed not at all confounded at these Threats, and confessing she was in the Right to doubt, he persisted however in affirming that he was the Duke of *York* her Nephew. The Dutchess, making as if she had a Mind to prove him a Cheat before her whole Court, put certain Questions to him which she knew well enough he could make pertinent Answers to. Accordingly

Perkin *goes to the Dutchess of* Burgundy.

who feigns to take him for a Cheat;

ingly he replied in so natural and unaffected a manner, that the Dutchess seemed amazed at it. In short, they played their Parts so well, that the Dutchess pretending she could not stand out against such evident Proof, owned him for her Nephew, assigned him a Guard of thirty *Halberdiers*, and gave him the Title of the *white Rose*, which was the Badge of the *House of York*. *Perkin* on his Part laboured to convince the World that he was the real Duke of *York*, by his natural Way of relating the principal Passages of his Life. If at any Time his being dismissed from the Court of *France* was objected to him, he answered with a Sigh, that it was no great Wonder a young Prince persecuted by Fortune should fall a Sacrifice to the *Policy* of two powerful Monarchs. That this very Thing was a strong Argument on his Side, since the Peace between *Charles* and *Henry* could not be established but upon his Ruin. What *Perkin* said, added to the Dutchess's publickly owning him, satisfied the whole Court that he was the true Duke of *York*, and from thence the Rumour spread throughout all the *Low-Countries*, and at last over all *Europe*.

1493. *but at last owns him.* *He behaves very prudently.*

News being brought into *England*, about the Beginning of the Year 1493, that the Duke of *York* was in *Flanders*, and owned by the Dutchess of *Burgundy*, it occasioned a great stir in *England*. The Thing was presently credited by an infinite Number of People, some of whom were dissatisfied with the King, and others were greedy of Novelty. Some blindly followed their Leaders, and others, whose Fortunes were desperate, wished for a Change in the Government. The King was not generally beloved. The Loss of *Bretagne*, his late Peace with the King of *France*, the uncivil Usage the Queen and the whole *House of York* had received and daily did receive at his Hands, and lastly, his unnecessary Taxes, were but too apt to make the People wish that what was reported might prove true.

Many in England *believe the Duke of* York *to be alive.*

1493. *The King's Conduct.*

The King was ſurprized to ſee with what Greedineſs the News was ſwallowed. It made him ſenſible that he had reaſon to fear the worſt from the *Yorkiſts*, and that they would be always ready to embrace all Opportunities to ruin him if it was in their Power. He appeared however unconcerned leſt his Fears ſhould encourage his Enemies, ſo continuing to act as uſual, he waited till they ſhould be more open in their Deſigns.

He ſends the Garter to the Duke of Calabria. *Act Pub.* XII. 517. Mar. 5.

In the Beginning of the Month of *March*, *Henry* ſent the *Order* of the *Garter* to *Alphonſo* Duke of *Calabria*, eldeſt Son of *Ferdinand* King of *Naples*. *Alphonſo* had been extremely deſirous of this *Honour*, to inſinuate to the Princes of *Italy*, that he had in the King of *England* a Protector that would not ſuffer him to be oppreſſed. He would by that have induced them to make a League with the King his Father, againſt *Charles* VIII, who was juſt upon the Point of undertaking the Conqueſt of the Kingdom of *Naples*.

He concludes a perpetual Peace with Ferdinand *and* Iſabella. ibid. Mar. 8.

A few Days after, *Henry* concluded at *London* a Treaty of perpetual Peace and Amity with *Ferdinand* and *Iſabella* King and Queen of *Caſtile* and *Arragon*. This Alliance, which ran that they ſhould be obliged to aſſiſt one another upon all Occaſions, was particular in that it extended not to all the Kings of *England* and *Spain* without Diſtinction, but only to all their Succeſſors ſprung from them. In this ſame Treaty, the Marriage-Articles between Prince *Arthur* and *Catharine*, Daughter of *Ferdinand* and *Iſabella* were confirmed and renewed.

Conſpiracy againſt the King.

Mean while the King's Enemies, not content with countenancing the Report concerning the Duke of *York*, laboured to form a Conſpiracy to dethrone him. His covetous Temper had diſguſted ſeveral of thoſe that had been faſt Friends to his Perſon and the *Houſe of Lancaſter*. *William Stanley* Lord *Chamberlain*, Brother of the Earl of *Derby*, the Lord *Fitz-Walter*, Sir *Robert Clifford*, Sir *Simon Montfort*, Sir *Thomas Thwaites*, *William Barley*, were the chief Heads of the

Names of the chief Conſpirators.

Conſpiracy,

Conſpiracy. The Lord *Chamberlain* had greatly contributed to his gaining the Battle of *Boſworth*, by declaring for him at ſo critical a Minute. The King owned as much: but he thought he had well rewarded him for it, by ſuffering him to appropriate to himſelf almoſt all the *Spoils* of *Boſworth-Field*, and by the Office of Lord *Chamberlain*. But *Stanley* thinking all this too little, was not ſatisfied. Sir *Robert Clifford* was Son of him that murdered the young Earl of *Rutland*, Brother of *Edward* IV. at the Battle of *Wakefield*, and that afterwards loſt his Life in fighting for the *Houſe of Lancaſter*. Apparently, *Henry* had forgot the Affection that Family had all along expreſſed for his *Houſe*, and neglected to give him a Share in his *Favours*. *Clifford* and *Barley* were deputed by the Conſpirators to go into *Flanders*, and concert Meaſures with the Dutcheſs of *Burgundy* and the pretended Duke of *York*, in order to accompliſh their Deſigns. The Dutcheſs gave them a very civil Reception, deeming it a *good Omen* that the profeſſed Enemies of her *Houſe* ſhould be the firſt to come and offer their Service. Shortly after their Arrival, *Clifford* writ to his Friends in *England*, that the Duke of *York*, Son of *Edward* IV. was in *Flanders*, and that he knew him perfectly well. This News ſet the Conſpirators all on Fire, and from that time they left no Stone unturned to win People to the Intereſt of the pretended Duke of *York*.

1413.

Clifford *and* Barley *go over to* Perkin.

Clifford *ſends back word that the Duke of* York *is really alive.*

Whilſt the King's Enemies were hard at work to create him freſh Troubles, he himſelf was no leſs Intent upon deviſing Means to prevent the impending Storm. His main Buſineſs was to undeceive the People, and to that end he ſtood in need of two ſorts of Proofs. Firſt, it was neceſſary to make appear that the Duke of *York* was dead; in the ſecond Place, that ſuppoſing he was alive, the Perſon that borrowed his Name was a *Counterfeit*.

Henry *ſeeks how to undeceive the People.*

To

1493. *He orders the Murderers of the Duke of* York *to be examined.*

To prove that the Duke of *York* was not living, it was neceſſary to produce the Evidences of thoſe who had taken away his Life, or had ſeen him dead, and who were but Four in all, namely, Sir *James Tyrrel*, who was ordered by *Richard* III. to put that Prince to Death; *John Dighton*, whom *Tyrrel* employed to do the Fact; *Miles Foreſt* his Servant who aſſiſted him, and the *Prieſt* who buried the two Princes. Of theſe four Perſons, the Prieſt and *Foreſt* were dead, and there remained only *Tyrrel* and *Dighton*. Theſe two were taken up by the King's Order and ſent to Priſon. Then, after a private Examination of theſe Witneſſes, it was given out, that they agreed in their Depoſitions, namely, that *Dighton* and *Foreſt* had ſmothered the two Princes in their Bed: that they ſhowed their dead Bodies to *Tyrrel*, and that the *Prieſt* buried them under a Stair-caſe. That ſoon after *Richard* ordered them to be removed elſewhere, by the ſame Prieſt who was ſince dead, without having diſcovered to any Perſon the Place where he laid them. It is likely however, that *Tyrrel*'s Evidence was not ſo much for the King's Purpoſe as *Dighton*'s, ſince he was detained in Priſon, whereas *Dighton* was releaſed, apparently that he might divulge his own *Story*.

Objections againſt the Depoſitions.

The Publiſhing of theſe *Evidences* had not the Effect the King expected. The Truth is, what Proof could a *Confeſſion* amount to, taken at a private Examination, and publiſhed by him whoſe Intereſt it was to make it appear for his Turn? Then the removal of the Bodies from the Place where they were firſt interred, to another unknown, gave ground for ſtrong Suſpicions. Had it not been for that Removing, nothing would have been more eaſy than to prove the Fact, ſince they would have found the Bodies ſtill under the Stair-caſe. Wherefore People imagined that the King, wanting ſo natural a Proof as this, had invented this ſame Removal, on purpoſe that it might not be thought ſtrange that he ſhould not make uſe of ſo convincing an Argument. Beſides, the Teſtimony

of

of two Villains who confeſſed themſelves guilty of ſo black a Crime, and whoſe *Evidence* made ſo much for the King, could not be of any great Weight. And therefore the King, finding that this Method was not ſufficient to undeceive the People, made it his chief Buſineſs to diſcover who this Impoſtor really was, that pretended to be the Duke of *York*. 1492.

The King ſends ſpies into Flanders,

To bring about this Deſign, he found no better way than to bribe ſeveral Perſons, who repaired to the pretended Duke, under colour of offering him their Service. He charged them to uſe all their Endeavours to find out who and whence he was, and to trace him from his Birth to the Day that he came to the Dutcheſs of *Burgundy*. At the ſame time he ordered them to make ſtrict Inquiry after his Aſſociates in *England*, and to obſerve narrowly every thing that paſſed about him. Eſpecially he enjoined ſome of the craftieſt, to ſpare no Pains to win Sir *Robert Clifford*, very much miſtruſting that he had a Share in all the Secrets. 'Tis ſaid, that in order to make Diſcoveries, he bribed the Domeſticks, and even the very *Confeſſors* of the great Men he ſuſpected. And to procure his *Spies* in *Flanders* the better Credit, he uſed to have them pronounced *Excommunicate* every *Sunday* at St. *Paul*'s by virtue of Pope *Innocent* VIII's *Bull*. Theſe *Spies* played their Part ſo well, that in ſhort he came to know that the pretended Duke of *York* was no other than *Perkin Warbeck*. He had perfect Information of his Birth, Life, Actions, Profeſſion, and of all the Places he had lived at from his Childhood; all which Particulars were inſtantly divulged throughout the whole Kingdom. Mean while, as theſe Circumſtances were given out by the King, the principal Party concerned, the Generality of People did not think themſelves obliged to believe them upon his bare Word. Their Prejudice made them require more evident Proofs.

and cauſes them to be excommunicated, the better to conceal them.

He learns the whole Story of Perkin, *and publiſhes it.*

Whilſt the King's *Spies* were at work in *Flanders* and *England*, he had two Affairs upon his Hands which he wanted to be clear off, in caſe any Troubles ſhould

ariſe

1493. ariſe in the Kingdom on account of the pretended Duke of *York*. The firſt was to make Peace with *Scotland*: the ſecond, to get the Peace of *Eſtaples* confirmed by the Pope, as had been agreed with the King of *France*. To that Purpoſe he ſent Ambaſſadors to *Edinburgh* and *Rome*. The former concluded with King *James* a Truce from *April* the 30th 1494 to that Day ſeven Years 1501, upon the ſame Terms with that of *Caldſtream*, which expired the Day that this was to begin. It appears by the Ambaſſadors *Inſtructions*, that he wiſhed to make a Match between the King of *Scotland* and *Catharine* Daughter of the Counteſs of *Wiltſhire*, and Grand-Daughter to the Duke of *Somerſet*. But this Matter was not propoſed, or at leaſt did not ſucceed.

A ſeven Years Truce with Scotland Jan. 25. Act. Pub. XII. 533.

As to the Affair of *Rome*, the Ambaſſadors preſented to Pope *Alexander* VI a Petition for a *Bull* of *Excommunication* againſt him of the two Kings that ſhould not keep the Treaty of *Eſtaples*. The Pope owned it was one of the Articles of the Treaty, and anſwer'd, that he was ready to grant ſuch a *Bull*, provided the King of *France* was not againſt it, an Inſtrument whereof he ordered to be given to the Ambaſſadors.

He demands the Pope's Bull *for the Peace of* Eſtaples. *p.* 531. *The Pope's Anſwer.* Jun. 13.

The Emperour *Frederick* dying in *Auguſt* this Year, *Maxmilian* his Son, who was King of the *Romans*, aſcended the Imperial Throne in his Room.

The 21ſt of the ſame Month *John Morton* Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, was made *Cardinal* of St. *Anaſtaſius*.

Morton *made a Cardinal.*

Henry having had exact Information of every Thing relating to *Perkin Warbeck*, ſent Ambaſſadors to Archduke *Philip* to deſire him to deliver him up. He repreſented to him that it was contrary to the Law of Nations and the Alliance they had made together to protect a *Counterfeit* who ſought to rob him of the Crown by a bare-fac'd Impoſture. That he was informed of all the Circumſtances of *Perkin*'s Life from his Cradle, and offer'd to produce authentick Proofs of

The King demands Warbeck *of the Archduke.* *p.* 554. Bacon.

of the Cheat as well as of the Death of the Duke of *York*, whoſe Name *Warbeck* had borrowed. That *Perkin* being only a Mock-Perſonage ſet up by the Dutcheſs of *Burgundy*, he hoped the Archduke would make no Scruple to deliver him up into his Hands. *Philip* being ſtill under Age, his *Council* told the Ambaſſadors that the Archduke's Intention was to keep always a good Underſtanding with the King of *England*, and to that end would give no manner of Aſſiſtance to the pretended Duke of *York*. But that the Lands which the Dutcheſs of *Burgundy* held in the *Low-Countries*, were aſſign'd to her for her *Dowry*, with the Right of Sovereignty, which ſuffered not the Archduke to meddle with her Affairs, or to hinder her from doing what ſhe thought fit. 1493.

The Archduke's Anſwer.

Philip believed he had the leſs reaſon to regard the King of *England*, as he had juſt made a Truce with *Charles* VIII, by a Treaty concluded at *Senlis* the 23d of *May*. *Charles* had reſtored to the Archduke his Siſter *Margaret*, with the Earldoms of *Artois* and *Burgundy*; but he had kept back ſome Towns with Promiſe to deliver them up as ſoon as *Philip* ſhould be of Age.

Treaty of Senlis *between* Charles VIII *and* Philip.

The Ambaſſadors brought *Philip*'s Anſwer to the King, and withal gave him to underſtand, that the Dutcheſs of *Burgundy* and he played Booty together. *Henry* was ſo provoked at this Proceeding, that he broke off all Commerce with the Archduke, and baniſhed all the *Flemings* out of his Kingdom. The Archduke did the like by the *Engliſh* which were in *Flanders*. But the Animoſity between theſe two Princes went no farther, each being apprehenſive that he might one Day ſtand in need of the other's Aſſiſtance.

Rupture between Henry *and* Philip.

Mean while, *Henry* having at length won Sir *Robert Clifford*, who was entruſted with *Warbeck*'s and the Dutcheſs's Secrets, had exact Information of the Friends they had in *England*. As it could not but be dangerous

Henry *wins* Clifford, *who betrays* Warbeck's *Secrets*.

1493. dangerous to let the Evil encreaſe, he reſolved to apply proper Remedies. To that Purpoſe he cauſed to be apprehended in one and the ſame Day, and almoſt at the ſame Inſtant, the Lord *Fitz-Walter*, *John Ratcliff* *, *Montford*, *Thwaites*, *D' Aubigny*, *Robert Ratcliff*, *Thomas Creſſenor*, and *Thomas Aſtwood*. All theſe were convicted and condemned for *High-Treaſon*, in adhering and promiſing Aid to *Perkin*. The Lord *Fitz-Walter* was ſent Priſoner to *Calais* with ſome Hopes of having his Pardon. But his Impatience having put him upon attempting to make his Eſcape, he was diſcovered and beheaded. *Montford*, one of the *Ratcliff*'s, and *D' Aubigny* were executed immediately after their Condemnation. The reſt were pardoned, and thoſe that had been apprehended upon the ſame Account, among whom were certain *Dominican* Fryars, and [*William Worſeley*] Dean of St. *Paul*'s, were ſet at Liberty. *William Stanley* Lord *Chamberlain*, was not medled with at that Time, either becauſe he was not informed againſt, or becauſe the King had a Mind to ſtay till he had ſtronger Proofs againſt him.

Some of the Conſpirators are put to Death.

On the 1ſt of *November*, *Henry* wrote to the King of *France*, deſiring to be included in the Peace of *Senlis*, as it was allowed him by the Treaty. On the 17th of the ſame Month he ſent him Word, that the ſame Thing was deſired by *Ferdinand* King of *Naples*, and *Alphonſo* Duke of *Calabria* his Son, who were expreſsly included in the Peace of *Senlis*, on the Part of the Emperour and Archduke. But that cauſed not King *Charles* to give over his Project of conquering *Naples*.

Henry notifies to the King of France *that he would be included in the Peace of* Senlis. Act. Pub. *p.* 550.

1494. *England* was pretty quiet during the Year 1494. *Perkin Warbeck* kept all the while in *Flanders* without offering to ſtir, the Execution of his Adherents having made him ſenſible that the King knew more of

Henry *takes care of* Ireland.

* He was the ſame with the Lord *Fitzwalter*. Bacon.

of his Affairs than he had imagined. Mean Time, *Henry* laboured underhand to inform himſelf more and more about the Circumſtances of the Conſpiracy, and what the Dutcheſs of *Burgundy* was hatching in *England* and elſewhere. In this Sir *Robert Clifford* whom he had gained was very ſerviceable to him. He learnt by his Means that *Perkin* had ſtill ſome Hopes in *Ireland*, and that he had writ to the Earls of *Deſmond* and *Kildare* when he landed there from *Portugal*. This Diſcovery made him reſolve to look to the Affairs of that Iſland which he had much neglected hitherto. To this Purpoſe he made *Henry* his ſecond Son, then but two Years old, Lieutenant or Governour of *Ireland*. But he appointed for Deputy Sir *Edward Poynings* a Man train'd up in Affairs, and who had been employed in ſeveral Embaſſies. He gave him a large Power as well over the *Militia*, as the *Civil* Government, that he might ſet Things upon a good Foot. 1494.

He makes his Son Governour Sept. 11. *and* Edward Poynings *Deputy.* Sept. 13.

Poynings upon his Arrival in *Ireland* made ſtrict Enquiry againſt ſuch as were ſuſpected of not being well affected to the King; particularly he briſkly attacked the Earls of *Deſmond* and *Kildare*. The firſt took care to keep out of the reach of the Lord Deputy: But the Earl of *Kildaire* was ſent Priſoner to *England*, from whence the King ſent him back very ſoon into his own Country, with Marks of Eſteem and Good-Will. As he was afraid of freſh Troubles in *Ireland* where a Rebellion would have been of very ill Conſequence in his preſent Circumſtances, he thought it his beſt way to prevent them by Acts of *Grace*, rather than by Severity. To that end he ſent thither a Commiſſioner with a General Pardon in Form, as well for the Earl of *Deſmond*, as for all the *Iriſh* Rebels, that he might if poſſible, ſtifle all the Seeds of Rebellion in the Iſland, where the *Houſe of York* had but too many Friends.

1494. *A famous Parliament in* Ireland. Poynings *Law.* *Hist. of* Irel.

Whilst *Poynings* was in *Ireland*, he held a Parliament famous for the *Statutes* which were made to the Advantage of the Crown of *England*, and of the *English* settled in the Island. One of these *Statutes*, which is still called *Poynings Law* *, ran, that the Parliament of *Ireland* should not be assembled before the Lord Lieutenant and Council had acquainted the King with the Reasons of its Meeting, and obtained the Royal License under the *Great Seal*. It was also enacted, that all the *Statutes* of *England* concerning the Publick, should be observed in *Ireland*. These two *Statutes* are still in Force to this Day.

Henry *exacts Money by unlawful Ways.*

Tho' *Henry* had given several Proofs of his selfish and covetous Temper, yet might they be disguised with some Colour, because the secret Springs of his Policy were not yet fully known. But the Case was different with regard to what he did this Year, when he began to pull off the Mask. The Pretence of Foreign Affairs failing him, he extorted large Sums from private Persons, by far-fetched Accusations *, the sole Aim whereof was to fill his Coffers. This way of Proceeding was the more displeasing to the People as they plainly perceived it sprung from his natural Disposition, seeing he was not driven by any Necessity to make use of such extraordinary Methods. He was in Peace with all the Princes of *Europe*. He had drawn from the Parliament two very considerable *Subsidies*, of which he had not expended a Fourth Part, and even that was repaid him with Interest. Moreover, besides the Benefit of divers Confiscations, he received every Year fifty Thousand *Livres* of the King of *France*. All this added to the usual Revenues of the Crown, which

* My Lord *Bacon* calls that *Poynings Law* whereby all the *Statutes* of *England* (to the 10 of *Hen.* VII.) were made to be of Force in *Ireland*.

* Particularly by Forfeitures upon *Penal Laws*. Bacon.

which were no leſs than in former Reigns, ſeemed to enable him to eaſe his Subjects, inſtead of oppreſſing them with frivolous Accuſations on purpoſe to drain their Pockets. The firſt he attacked in this manner was Sir *William Capel* Alderman of *London*, who was fined two Thouſand ſeven Hundred Pounds, and forced to compound with the King for ſixteen Hundred. The Archbiſhop of *Canterbury* was taxed with being the Contriver of theſe Methods to help the King to Money. But whether *Henry*'s Avarice daily increaſed, or whether the *Miniſters* which came after that Prelate had leſs Conſcience than he, People had but too much reaſon to lament him after his Death. 1494.

Towards the End of this Year, *Henry* gave a freſh Inſtance of his Greedineſs after Money, which proved very injurious to his Good Name, eſpecially as he endeavoured to cover it with the Cloak of Juſtice. By ſecret Advices from Sir *Robert Clifford* he was informed that the Lord *William Strange* High-Chamberlain, was one of *Perkin Warbeck*'s Adherents. Though that Lord had done him the greateſt Service that a Man can do his Prince, ſince he had procured him the Victory which lifted him into the Throne, he reſolved to ſacrifice him to his Avarice, under Colour of puniſhing his Crime. I ſay, to his Avarice, and not to Juſtice or Revenge. For if we may judge by his uſual Way with regard to the State-Criminals of whom nothing was to be got, there is no queſtion but he would have pardoned the Lord *Strange*, if the greedy Deſire of having his Eſtate had not rendered him inexorable.

To compaſs his Ends, he order'd *Clifford* who was ſtill in *Flanders*, to repair privately to *England*. As ſoon as he heard that the *Informer* was arrived, he went and lodged in the *Tower*, that the *Great Ones* which ſhould be accuſed might be arreſted the more conveniently and without Noiſe. *Clifford* being come

to

1494. to *London* without discovering himself, the King assembled the *Council* in the *Tower*, and sent for Sir *Robert*, who falling down at his Feet craved the King's Pardon, offering to declare all he knew of the Conspiracy. The King immediately pardoned him; but on express Condition that he would conceal Nothing of what was come to his Knowledge. Whereupon *Clifford* impeached several Persons, and among the rest the Lord *Chamberlain*. The King seeming to be extremely surpriz'd, bid him take Care what he said, since his Life lay at Stake in case the Impeachment proved false. *Clifford* persisting in it, the Lord *Chamberlain* was apprehended upon the Spot. Next day he was examined by the *Council*, where he confessed enough to condemn him. The great Service he had done the King, and the Interest of the Earl of *Darby* his Brother, made him hope that he should not be treated with the utmost Rigour. But two Things rendered his Crime unpardonable. The first was his immense Riches, which gave the King the Prospect of a fat Confiscation *. The second, that he was accused and apparently convicted, of having said, speaking of *Perkin Warbeck*, that *if that young Man were really King* Edward's *Son, he would never bear Arms against him.* This was wounding the King in the most sensible Part, since he seemed to acknowledge that the *House of York* had a better Right than the *House of Lancaster*. Had he been guilty of no other Crime, there is room to Question whether the Judges would have sentenced him to Death: but in all Appearance, he was convicted of having acted more directly against the King, by holding Intelligence with *Perkin Warbeck* and the Dutchess of *Burgundy*. All the Favour he could obtain was a

* There was found in his Castle of *Holt*, 40,000 Marks in Money and Plate, besides *Jewels*, *Houshold-stuff*, *Stock* upon his Grounds and other personal Estate, exceeding Great. He had likewise in *Land* 3000 *l.* a Year of old Rent. *Bacon.*

Delay

Delay of ſome Weeks, to prepare himſelf for Death, which he ſuffer'd not till the Beginning of the next Year. The King's Severity on this Occaſion ſeem'd too great. All the World imagined he would pardon a Lord, to whom he was ſo much obliged, and who had even put it in his Power to exerciſe Acts of Mercy, by procuring him the Crown. Beſides, he was Brother to the Earl of *Darby*, a zealous Servant, and Father-in-law of the King. 1494.

Great Terror in England.

The Execution of the Lord *Chamberlain* ſpread a Terror over the whole Kingdom. He was condemn'd for a Crime of which few *Engliſhmen* were innocent, that is to ſay, for having preferred the Title of the *Houſe of York* to that of the King in Being. But what cauſed ſtill more Dread, was that it plainly appear'd, the King had Spies about the Lord *Chamberlain* to watch his Motions, and that every Body might be in the ſame Caſe. The great Men durſt no longer ſpeak their Minds to one another, for fear thoſe whom they counted their beſt Friends, were Spies of the King's. But they made themſelves amends in ſome Meaſure for this Reſtraint by Swarms of *Libels* againſt the Judges, the *Council* and the King himſelf. This Liberty put the King in ſo ill an Humour, that he ordered five Perſons convicted of diſperſing theſe *Libels* to be executed.

Libels againſt the King.

Richard Fox, Biſhop of *Bath* and *Wells*, one of the King's Favourites, was tranſlated this Year to the *See* of *Durham*. Act. Pub. XII. 565.

It was likewiſe this Year that *Henry* the King's ſecond Son, two Years Old, was created *Duke of York*. Bacon.

Negotiation with Scotland.

Though there was a Truce concluded with *Scotland* to the 30th of *April* 1501, there ſtill remain'd ſome Diſputes between the *Engliſh* and *Scots* about certain Lands ſituate on the Borders of the two Kingdoms, and about the Fiſhery of the River *Eske*. *Henry*, ever in fear of ſome Inſurrection in the Kingdom, was extremely deſirous to have no Conteſts with Act. Pub. XII. 554.

1494. with his Neighbours. For this Reason he had in *May* this Year, mov'd that those Differences between *England* and *Scotland* might be made up. King *James* seeming to desire the same Thing, they both sent Ambassadours to *Caldstream*, to see to agree upon some Expedient. *Richard Fox* was at the Head of the *English* Ambassy. But with all his Address he could not get an Affair to be decided which in itself seem'd to have no great Difficulty. This made the King suspect that the King of *Scotland* reserved it for an Occasion of Quarrel, and caused him to order the Earl of *Surrey* to be upon his Guard in the North.

Charles VIII. *undertakes the Conquest of* Naples.

Charles VIII took in hand this Year the Conquest of the Kingdom of *Naples*, which he had been long meditating. This Affair is so well known that it would be needless to relate the Particulars. It is necessary however to mention in a few Words the Rise and principal Events of it.

Abstract of the Succession of the King of Naples. Colien. Capac. Summ. &c.

The Posterity of *Charles* of *Anjou*, first King of *Sicily* of the *House* of *France*, was divided into two Branches, whereof one reigned in *Naples*, the other in *Hungary*. After sundry Revolutions, the Crown of *Naples* fell at length to *Joan* the first of that Name. But in 1380 *Charles* of *Durazzo* of the Branch of *Hungary*, laying claim to the same Crown, and repairing into *Italy*, attacked Queen *Joan*, who finding herself hard pressed, adopted *Lewis* I. Duke of *Anjou*, Uncle of *Charles* VI. King of *France*. From that time there was a continual War between the two *Houses* of *Anjou*. At last *Charles* of *Durazzo* remain'd in possession of *Naples*, and was succeeded by *Ladislaus* his Son, who dying in 1414, left the Crown of *Naples* to *Joan* II. his Sister. Mean time *Lewis* I. Duke of *Anjou* and *Lewis* II. his Son always stiled themselves *Kings of Sicily*, and kept up their Pretensions to *Sicily on this side the Pharo*, or the Kingdom of *Naples*. *Lewis* II, who died in 1417, left

left three Sons, namely, *Lewis* III, *Renè*, and *Charles*. 1494.

In 1421. *Lewis* III. led an Army into *Naples* to dethrone *Joan* II, who, in order to be ſupported, adopted *Alphonſus* King of *Arragon*. *Alphonſus* coming into the Kingdom of *Naples*, forc'd *Lewis* III. to quit the Country, and retire to *France*. Shortly after, upon ſome Quarrel between *Joan* and *Alphonſus*, *Joan* revoked the Adoption of *Alphonſus*, adopted the ſame *Lewis* of *Anjou*, who would have depriv'd her of the Crown, and declared him her Heir-apparent and Succeſſor; but *Lewis* died without Iſſue in 1431. *Joan* departed this Life the next Year, having made a *Will* in favour of *Renè* of *Anjou*, Brother of *Lewis* III.

Renè made ſome Attempts to take Poſſeſſion of the Kingdom of *Naples*; but it was to no Purpoſe. *Alphonſus* King of *Arragon* kept the Crown till he died in 1458. He left the Kingdom of *Arragon* to *John* his lawful Son, and that of *Naples* to *Ferdinand* his Baſtard.

In 1474 *Renè* made a *Will*, and appointed for his Heir *Charles* Earl of *Main* his Nephew, Son of *Charles* his younger Brother, ſetting aſide *Violante* his Daughter, who was Dutcheſs of *Lorrain*, and *Renè* Duke of *Lorrain* his Grandſon. Mezerai.

Charles Earl of *Main*, Nephew and Heir of King *Renè*, died in 1481. leaving *Lewis* XI. King of *France* his ſole Heir. By virtue of which *Will* it was that *Charles* VIII. Son of *Lewis* XI. pretended that the Kingdom of *Naples* was fallen to him. *Foundation of* Charles VIII's *Claim.*

If a Man conſiders never ſo little what has been ſaid, he will doubtleſs perceive that *Charles*'s Title to the Kingdom of *Naples* was very diſputable. To decide this Caſe in a judicial Way, it would have been neceſſary to examine two Points of equal Importance in this Matter. Firſt, whether *Joan* II. had Power to revoke the Adoption of *Alphonſus* King of *Arragon*, and to adopt *Lewis* of *Anjou* in his Room. It is true indeed, the *French* Hiſtorians pretend that *Alphonſus*

1494. would have dethroned his Benefactreſs, and, if that were the Caſe, the Reaſon of revoking the Adoption ſeems to be juſt. But the *Arragoneſe* deny the Fact. They aſcribe it to *Joan*'s Levity, who was of a fickle and inconſtant Temper. In the next Place, ſuppoſing that the *Houſe* of *Anjou*'s Title was better than the *Houſe* of *Arragon*'s, this ſecond Point muſt have been examined, whether King *Renè* could ſet aſide *Violante* his Daughter and her Heirs, and give the Kingdom of *Naples* to *Charles* Earl of *Main* his Nephew. It could not be alledged in Favour of this *Will*, that the Kingdom of *Naples* was a *Fief-Male*, ſince the *Houſe* of *Anjou*'s Title was derived from a Woman. So *Charles* VIII. could not pretend to that Kingdom but on Suppoſition that the Laws decided theſe two Points in his Favour, the which was very doubtful, not to ſay worſe. Beſides, the *Houſe* of *Arragon* had another Title founded upon a Sixty Years Poſſeſſion. But what made this Buſineſs very perplexed was, that the Popes, as ſovereign Lords of *Naples*, ſeemed to have determined it in Favour of the *Houſe* of *Anjou*, by inveſting the Princes of that *Houſe* with that Kingdom.

Cauſes of the War of Naples. Mezerai.

But it was not ſo much the Claim which *Charles* VIII. had to the Kingdom of *Naples*, that induced him to this Conqueſt, as the preſent Juncture of Time and Situation of the Affairs of *Italy*. *Ferdinand* King of *Naples* had two Sons, namely, *Alphonſus* who bore the Title of *Duke of Calabria*, and *Frederick*. *Alphonſus* had a Son called *Ferdinand*, after his Grandfather. Theſe *Arragoneſe* Princes were not beloved in *Naples*, nor in the reſt of *Italy*. Beſides, the old King *Ferdinand* had baniſhed the Prince of *Salerno*, and all the reſt of the Heads of the *Angevin* Faction. And theſe Exiles it was that ſtirred up *Charles* to the Conqueſt of *Naples*. But however, that alone would not have been enough to determine him to this Undertaking, if he had not been ſpurred on likewiſe by *Ludovico Sforza*, Uncle of the Duke of *Milan*. The Occaſion was this:

The

The Dutchy of *Milan* was gone from the Family of the *Viſconti*'s to that of the *Sforza*'s, *Philippus Marius Viſconti*, laſt Duke of that *Houſe*, having adopted *Francis Sforza*, who had married *Blanch* his only Daughter. 1494.

Affairs of Milan. Bern. Corio. Hiſt. di Milan.

Francis Sforza, having been Duke of *Milan* after the Death of his Father-in-law, died in 1466, leaving two Sons, *Galeazzo* who ſucceeded him, and *Ludovico* ſirnamed *the Black*. *Galeazzo* having been aſſaſſinated, *John Galeazzo* his Son ſucceeded him under the Guardianſhip of his Mother, a Woman infamous for her Lewdneſs, and of *Ludovico* his Uncle. Some time after the young Duke married *Iſabella*, Daughter of *Alphonſus* Duke of *Calabria*, eldeſt Son of *Ferdinand* King of *Naples*. *John Galeazzo* being a Prince of a poor Genius, *Ludovico* his Uncle engroſſed the whole Power, leaving to his Nephew only the bare Title of Duke, without his being much concerned at it. But *Iſabella* his Dutcheſs, not being able to bear to ſee the Duke her Spouſe without any Authority, complained to the Duke of *Calabria* her Father of this ill Uſage. Shortly after, the Duke perſuaded *Ferdinand* his Father to proclaim War aginſt *Ludovico*, to compel him to deliver up the Reins of the Government to his Nephew.

In order to avoid this War it was that *Ludovico* ſtirred up *Charles* VIII. to undertake the Conqueſt of *Naples*, by putting him in hopes that he would aſſiſt him with all his Forces. He had alſo a further Deſign to make uſe of *Charles*'s Aid, to become Maſter of the Dutchy of *Milan*, and to diſpoſſeſs *John Galeazzo* his Nephew. He had already taken ſome private Meaſures to that End with the Emperour *Maximilian*, to whom he had given *Blanch* his Niece in Marriage, with a Dowry of Four Hundred Thouſand Crowns, and *Maximilian* had privately inveſted him with the Dutchy of *Milan* for him and his Heirs.

Upon the Rumour that was ſpread of *Charles* VIII's Preparations for the Conqueſt of *Naples*, the old King *Ferdinand* offered him a yearly Tribute of Fifty Thou-

1494. fand Crowns: but the Offer was rejected. *Ferdinand* died a little before *Charles*'s Expedition, and was ſucceeded by *Alphonſus* his eldeſt Son.

The War of *Naples* ſeems at firſt Sight to be entirely foreign to the Hiſtory of *England*. However, as it was the Source of many great Occurrences which happened in *Europe* during the next *Century*, I thought it was not improper to ſhow the Riſe of it, and for the ſame Reaſon it is neceſſary to relate the principal Events.

Charles's *Departure and Journey to* Rome.

Charles VIII. ſet out from *Paris* in the Month of *July* 1494, and came to *Aſti* in *Piedmont*, where he fell ill of the Small-Pox. His Sickneſs having detained him at *Aſti*, he departed not from thence till the ſixth of *October*, to go to *Turin*, where he was forced to borrow the Dutcheſs of *Savoy*'s Jewels, ſo ill provided was he of Money for an Enterprize of that Moment. *Ludovico Sforza* made haſte to meet him, and accompanied him as far as *Pavia*, where they found Duke *John Galeazzo* out of order, upon his having eat ſomething that *Ludovico* his Uncle had cauſed to be given him. When they came to *Plaiſence* they heard of *John Galeazzo*'s Death. Then *Ludovico* left the King in order to go and take Poſſeſſion of the Dutchy of *Milan*, though the late Duke his Nephew had left a Son. *Ludovico* having obtained what he wanted, was no longer ſo great a Friend to the King of *France* as he had been before. On the contrary, he thought of nothing but how to drive him out of *Italy*, by means of a League of which he was the chief Promoter.

1495. Mean while *Charles* purſuing his March entered the State of *Florence*, and compelled *Peter de Medicis* the Duke to deliver him four of his ſtrongeſt Towns, and to lend him a Sum of Money. He made his Entry into the City of *Florence* the 17th of *November*, and publiſhed a *Manifeſto* about the War of *Naples*. Then he went on to *Rome*, and all the Places in the Pope's Dominions ſtrove who ſhould be moſt forward to bring him their Keys. *Alexander* VI. upon the King's Approach,

proach, desired Prince *Ferdinand*, Son of the King of *Naples*, to depart from *Rome*, where he had received him some Time before. On the other Hand, *Frederick* Brother of *Alphonsus* who was upon the Coast of *Genoa* with a Fleet, came to *Naples* where all were under the greatest Consternation. Thus *Charles* having passed through *Italy* without meeting the least Opposition, entered *Rome* the 28th of *December*, whilst the Pope in a Fright shut himself up in the Castle of *Angelo* for the Security of his Person. It is Time now to return to the Affairs of *England*. 1495.

Precaution of Henry *against* Scotland.

Henry perceiving that the Negotiation with *Scotland* went on heavily, without his being able to discover any visible Reason of it, was apprehensive that King *James* would take Occasion from their Disputes about the *Fishery* of the River *Eske*, to break the Truce. So not to be taken unawares, he sent the Earl of *Surry* Orders to levy Troops for the Defence of the *North*, against the Attempts of the *Scots* and *Irish*. These Attempts which he pretended to be afraid of, were only a Pretence to be in a Posture of Defence, in Case the King of *Scotland* should have a Mind to attack him.

The Duke of York *is made Governour of the North.*

Shortly after he made the Duke of *York* his second Son President of the northern *Marches*, though he was but three Years old. He had made him last Year Lord Lieutenant of *Ireland*, and by that means he kept to himself the Salaries of these two Posts, which must have been given to two several Lords. Never Prince better understood the Art of husbanding his Money and making every Thing turn to his Advantage.

Death of the Dutchess of York.

The Dutchess of *York* Mother of *Edward* IV, and *Richard* III, died this Year in a very advanced Age *.

In

* She had lived to see three Princes of her Body crowned, and four murdered. She was buried at *Fotheringham* by her Husband.

1495. *The Pope's* Bull *about the Rebels.* Act. Pub. XII. 573.

In the Month of *July*, *Alexander* VI sent into *England* a *Bull* impowering all the Bishops of the Kingdom to absolve the Rebels, which by *Innocent* VIII's *Bull* the Archbishop of *Canterbury* alone had Power to do.

Perkin's *Attempt upon the Court of* Kent *miscarries.*

Hitherto *Perkin Warbeck* had not ventur'd to attempt any Thing in *England*, well knowing that the King was informed of all his Correspondents. But as the Dutchess of *Burgundy* could not find in her Heart to give over the Hopes she had entertained of gaining some Advantage from the *Phantom* she herself had spirited up, she resolved at length to send him into *England*. She judged it necessary to sound the People's Affections for the *House of York*, without staying any longer for the Assistance of the *Great Men*, who were too narrowly watched. Besides, she plainly perceived that in Case the People seemed ready to rise, there would be no want of great Men to countenance and head them. With this View, she gave Orders for drawing together some Forces and Ships, and caused *Perkin Warbeck* to imbark in order to go and make a Descent in the County of *Kent*. Mean while *Henry* knowing nothing of these Preparations which were making in *Flanders*, resolved to go in Progress to *Yorkshire* to visit the Countess his Mother, the which seemed to be a Juncture very favourable to *Perkin*'s Design. But as the projected Descent miscarried, it was not doubted but the King being informed of the pretended Duke of *York*'s Intent, had taken that Journey on Purpose to draw him into the Snare; so much were People possessed with the Notion that he did nothing without a *politick* View.

Perkin, pursuant to the Dutchess of *Burgundy*'s Directions, arrived upon the Coast of *Kent*, near *Sandwich*, and landed some of his Men to sound the Temper of the Inhabitants. These Troops made great Boasts of the powerful Armament the Duke of *York* had made in *Flanders*, pretending that the Ships in sight were but a very small Part of the Fleet which would soon appear. But the People perceiving that

that the Men were almoſt all Foreigners, ſo far were they from joining them, that they adviſed with the *Gentlemen* of the *County* to know how they ſhould behave. And it was reſolved, that they ſhould make as if they were willing to aſſiſt *Perkin*, that they might allure him to land and take him Priſoner. Purſuant to this Reſolution, the People took up Arms and appeared on the Coaſt, making divers Signals to invite *Perkin* and his Men on Shore. But *Perkin* and his Counſellor *Frion* ſuſpecting the Contrivance, kept on Board, expecting the return of ſome of their People to inform them how Matters went on land. At laſt, the *Kentiſhmen* finding they could draw in no more, fell upon thoſe that were already landed, and cut them in Pieces, except about a hundred and fifty, who being taken alive, were all hanged by the King's Order. *Perkin* being Eye-witneſs of his People's Misfortunes, weighed Anchor and returned to *Flanders*. *Henry*, who was then upon his Progreſs, hearing of the Deſcent was about to turn back towards *Kent*: But as he preſently after received News of what had paſſed, he continued his *Progreſs*, and went and ſpent ſome Time with the Counteſs his Mother at the Earl of *Derby*'s Houſe *. He had a Mind by that to make a ſort of Excuſe to that Lord for having put his Brother to Death, and to give him withal a Proof of the Continuance of his Favour. 1495.

The 13th of *October* the King called a Parliament, wherein it was enacted, that no Perſon ſhould be impeached or attainted for aſſiſting the King for the *Time being*. It is eaſy to ſee that the Deſign of this *Act* was to hinder the Subject from too cloſely examining the King's Title to the Crown, ſince let what would happen, thoſe that ſhould ſerve him would be always ſafe *1. The Truth is, the Precedent he himſelf *Remarkable Statute* Bacon.

* At *Latham*.

*1 My Lord *Bacon* obſerves, that though this Law ſeemed to aim more at the People's Safety than the King's, yet did it take off from

1495. ſelf had given, by cauſing thoſe to be condemned that had bore Arms for *Richard* III, muſt needs have made his Friends apprehenſive of being in the ſame Caſe, if the like Revolution ſhould happen. But the *Clauſe* which was added in the Body of the *Statute*, that if any *Act of Attainder* ſhould paſs againſt ſuch as had aſſiſted the King for the *Time being*, it ſhould be of no Force, this *Clauſe* I ſay, was void and of no Effect. For how could an *Act* of this Parliament limit the Power of a *future* Parliament, and cauſe that which in its Nature is revocable, not to be ſo? Nevertheleſs this *Statute*, which ſeemed to be made purely for the People's Safety, but was however only for the King's Security, diſcovered a little the Uneaſineſs and Uncertainty *Henry* was under on the Score of his Title.

Another to pay the Benevolence

There was alſo an *Act* paſſed to oblige thoſe who had not paid their Quota of the Tax called *Benevolence*, to pay the Arrears by ſuch a Time. This *Act* brought in large Sums to the King, the Arrears of this Tax being very conſiderable, becauſe the War with *France* not having laſted any Time, many Perſons had declined to pay either in Full or in Part. It appears in the *Collection of the Publick Acts*, that the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury* was indebted fifteen hundred Pound *Sterling*.

Warbeck *comes to* Ireland.

During the Seſſion of the Parliament the King received Advice that *Perkin Warbeck* was landed in *Ireland*. As it could not be but with ſome ill Deſign, he gave order that the Coaſt ſhould be ſtrictly guarded, to be in a readineſs to oppoſe a Deſcent in what Part ſoever it might be made. It was but too true that the Dutcheſs of *Burgundy* had ſent *Perkin* to *Ireland* to try to bring the Inhabitants to revolt. To that End ſhe had privately treated with the King of *Scotland*, who in all appearance had promiſed to aid him.

from his *Party* that great *Tye* and *Spurr* of Neceſſity, to Fight and go *Victors* out of the Field, conſidering their Lives and Fortunes were in Safety, whether they ſtood or run away.

him. The common Opinion is, that the Emperour, the Archduke *Philip*, and the King of *France*, were likewiſe in the Plot: The two firſt out of Revenge for *Henry*'s prohibiting all Commerce with the *Low-Countries*, and the other, to hinder him from entering into the League that was forming in *Italy*, to which he was ſtrongly ſollicited. Be that as it will, it is very probable that *James*, in promiſing to eſpouſe the Intereſts of the p etended Duke of *York*, had been induced thereto by ſome private View, or by the Inſtances of ſome other Prince. 1495.

Mean while, ſince *Poyning*'s coming into *Ireland*, Things were upon a very different Foot from what they were before. Wherefore *Perkin* not finding Matters favourable to his Deſigns, departed thence for *Scotland*, where in all appearance he knew he ſhould be welcome. As ſoon as he came to *Edinburgh*, he demanded an *Audience* of the King, by the Name of the Duke of *York*. *James* feigning an extreme Surprize, gave him a ſolemn Reception in the Preſence of the whole Court. *Perkin* made a long Speech, recounting his pretended Adventures, and how he eſcaped the Cruelty of *Richard* III. Then he inveighed againſt *Henry Tudor* who had uſurped the Crown of *England*, and unjuſtly with-held it from the lawful Heirs of *Edward* IV. He enlarged upon the Methods he had uſed to try to recover his Kingdom. He concluded with ſaying, that ſundry croſs Accidents having prevented him from ſucceeding, he was come to throw himſelf upon his Protection, in hopes that with the help of ſo generous a Prince he ſhould expel the Uſurper, and aſcend the Throne of his Anceſtors. That then he ſhould always regard him as a Brother, and never miſs any Opportunity of ſhowing his Gratitude. *Warbeck goes to Scotland, and King James marries him to one of his Relations.*

James ſeemed to be moved at *Perkin*'s Misfortunes, and told him, whoever he was he ſhould not repent of putting himſelf into his Hands. However he pretended to have ſome Doubts ſtill, that he might let the World ſee he was not ſatisfied of the Truth but

1495. upon mature Examination. Shortly after he publickly owned him for *Duke of York*, and gave him in Marriage *Catharine Gordon* Daughter of the Earl of *Huntley*, and one of the handſomeſt and moſt accompliſhed Ladies in *Scotland*.

Buchan.

Henry *projects to marry his Daughter to the King of* Scotland Act. Pub. XII. 572.

Henry earneſtly wiſhed to live in a good Underſtanding with the King of *Scotland*, whether he had received ſome private Advice of what was contriving againſt him, or whether it was the pure Effect of his Foreſight. In order to that it was that he had impowered his Ambaſſadors, who were to go to *Caldſtream*, to treat about the Marriage of *Margaret* his eldeſt Daughter with that Prince. Which Marriage was indeed brought about ſome Years after. But in all likelihood, there was no mention of it at the Congreſs, the Ambaſſadors of *England* having doubtleſs perceived that ſuch a Propoſal would be unreaſonable.

Continuance of the War of Naples.

The 28th of *January* 1495 *Charles* VIII ſet out from *Rome*, having cauſed the ſtrongeſt Towns of the Pope's Dominions to be put into his Hands, with Cardinal *Cæſar Borgia* in Hoſtage. Whilſt he was upon the March, the Ambaſſador of *Ferdinand* King of *Spain* told him from his Maſter, that when he promiſed not to moleſt him in the Conqueſt of *Naples*, he did not underſtand that the Conqueſt was to extend to all *Italy*. That notwithſtanding he beheld him in Poſſeſſion of *Florence*, *Piſa*, and all the Pope's Dominions. That therefore he let him know that he did not look upon himſelf as bound to keep their Treaty, and accordingly the Ambaſſador tore it in Pieces before his Face. *Charles* who was going on with a proſperous Gale, made a Jeſt of theſe Threats, and purſued his March.

Mean while *Alphonſus* the new King of *Naples*, finding himſelf attacked by a powerful King who was already upon the Borders of his Dominions loſt all Heart. As he knew he was not beloved by his Subjects, he reſigned his Crown to *Ferdinand* his Son, and withdrew to a Monaſtery, where he died this very Year. The new King reſolving to defend his Kingdom

dom, advanced towards the Frontiers to endeavour to ſtop the King of *France*. But he ſaw himſelf all on a ſudden deſerted by his own Troops. In this Extremity he would have gone back to *Naples*, but he found the Gates ſhut. In ſhort, he was forced to ſeek for Shelter in the little Iſle of *Iſchia*, having firſt left Garriſons in the Caſtles of his Metropolis, where he could enter without going through the City. 1495.

In the mean Time *Charles* ſtill continued his March. *Trivulce* a *Milaneſe*, who was in the Service of the King of *Naples*, having ſurrendered *Capua*, all the reſt of the Towns ſent him Deputies with Offers of Submiſſion. At laſt he entered *Naples* the 22d of *February*, and a few Days after he became Maſter of the Caſtles.

Such a Torrent of Succeſs blinded the young Monarch and his Council to that Degree, that they omitted to take any Meaſures to ſecure their Conqueſt. By Degrees the Towns that had ſubmitted, returned to the Allegiance of their Sovereign, his Army which was not very numerous being unable to furniſh every Place with Garriſons. Beſides, the *French* made themſelves ſo odious to the People of *Naples*, that they ſoon repented of letting them in.

But what imbroiled the Conqueror's Affairs the moſt, was a League concluded againſt him between the Pope, the Emperour, the King of *Spain*, the Archduke, the King of *Naples*, *Ludovico Sforza* new Duke of *Milan*, and the Republick of *Venice*. This League which was for Twenty-five Years, was ſigned the 25th of *March* 1495, and at the ſame Time the Confederates began to draw together their Forces.

Charles found then it was Time to think of his Return. But he was reſolved firſt to make a Triumphant Entry into *Naples*, from whence he departed the 20th of *May* in order for *France*, leaving but few Troops to defend his Conqueſt. But the Allies did not intend to let him return thus peaceably. They went and expected him upon his Rout, with an Army of forty Thouſand ſtrong, and poſted themſelves at

1495. *Fornova* in order to oppose his Passage. Though *Charles* had great Odds against him *, he was determined to give them Battle, being very sensible that he must either conquer or be ruined. The Battle was fought on the 6th of *July*, and the Issue proved favourable to the King of *France*, who defeated that formidable Army and came to *Asti* on the 15th of the same Month.

Battle of Fornova.

Whilst he was retiring through *Italy*, *Naples* submitted again to *Ferdinand*, and almost all the rest of the Towns that were still in the *French* Interest followed her Example. The Duke of *Montpensier*, whom *Charles* had left at *Naples* with a few Troops, withdrew to the Castle of *le Ovo*, where after having held out a Siege of three Months, he was fain at last to capitulate. Thus *Charles* who had conquered the Kingdom of *Naples* in the Space of three Weeks, lost it again as soon. He formed afterwards several Projects to recover his Conquest, but the Obstacles he met with caused them to come to nothing.

Philip *the Archduke assumes the Government of the* Low-Countries.

This Year the Emperour *Maximilian* returned to the *Low Countries*, and delivered up the Government to *Philip* his Son, though he wanted some Years of being of *Age*. After that he went back to *Germany*. *Philip* being no longer under the Guardianship of the Emperour, sent about the End of the Year Ambassadors to *Henry* to renew the Trade between *England* and the *Low Countries*.

1496. *Treaty between* Engiand *and* Flanders. Feb. 24. Act. Pub. XII. 576--578.

The Ambassadors found it no hard Matter to succeed in their Negotiation. The renewing of the Commerce which they came to demand was no less necessary for the *English* than for the *Flemings*. So on the 24th of *February* 1496 was concluded at *London* a Treaty of Peace and perpetual Friendship between *Henry* and *Philip*, and the Trade between the two Nations was settled to the Satisfaction of both Sides.

Among

* He had but 5000 Men.

Among the Articles of this Treaty, there were Two particularly remarkable. By the firſt, the two Princes were bound to give neither Aid nor Refuge to the rebellious Subjects of either. Particularly, *Philip* obliged himſelf expreſsly to hinder the Dutcheſs Dowager of *Burgundy* from ſheltering the King's rebellious Subjects in the *Lands* ſhe was poſſeſſed of, by what Title ſoever ſhe held them, whether of *Dower* or otherwiſe. That in caſe ſhe acted contrary to the Prohibition, he promiſed to out her of all ſhe poſſeſſed in the *Low-Countries*. 1496.

By another Article it was expreſsly agreed, that any Veſſel ſuffering Shipwrack on the Coaſts of either of the two Princes, ſhould not be liable to Confiſcation, provided there was left alive a Man, a Dog, a Cat, or a Cock.

The *Flemings* called this Treaty [*Intercurſus Magnus*] or *the Great Treaty of Commerce*, not only on the Score of the great Number of Articles, but chiefly with reſpect to another which was made afterwards, and which not being ſo much to their Advantage, was termed [*Intercurſus Malus*] or *the Bad Treaty*. Bacon.

We find in *the Collection of the Publick Acts*, that on *March* the 5th this Year the King granted a *Patent* to *John Cabot* * a *Venetian*, and to three of his Sons, to go upon the Diſcovery of new Lands with *Engliſh* Colours. The Terms were, that after all the Charges were deducted, they ſhould give the King a Fifth of the Profit. *Patent to* John Cabot. Act. Pub. XII. 595.

Mean while the King of *Scotland*, not content with having given Sanctuary in his Dominions to the pretended Duke of *York*, was bent likewiſe to undertake to ſet him on the Throne of *England*. It had been intimated to him, that as ſoon as he ſhould appear in that Kingdom at the Head of an Army, all the Friends of the *Houſe* of *York* would riſe in favour of the *Pretender*. *The King of* Scotland *and* Warbeck's *Invaſion.* Buchan. Bacon.

* My Lord *Bacon* calls him *Sebaſtian Gabato*, an Inhabitant of *Briſtol*.

1496. *Proclamation in the Name of the Duke of* York.

tender. With this view it was that immediately after his Arrival in *England* he took care to cause a *Proclamation* of the pretended Duke's to be dispersed, wherein the King was termed *Usurper*, *Tyrant* and *Murderer*. Moreover, he promised all sorts of Favours to such as would join the *lawful Heir*, in order to to pull down him that wrongfully detained the Crown.

The English *do not join him.*

But this *Proclamation* proved fruitless, not a Soul offering to join the *Scots*. The Truth is, *Henry* was not beloved, especially in those Parts. But as since *Perkin* had begun to appear by the Name of *Duke of York*, abundance of People were undeceived, and others were in doubt on his Account. They did not think it proper to venture their Lives and Fortunes without some better Proof that he was really the Son of *Edward* IV. Besides, the Execution of the Lord *Chamberlain* made every body tremble, no one being able reasonably to expect the King's Pardon, since he had not spared that Lord. At length, *James* seeing that he expected in vain that the *English* would take up Arms in favour of his Duke of *York*, and being unwilling wholly to lose his Labour, ravaged *Northumberland* and got a great Booty. Then *Perkin* feigning to be extremely touched with the Calamities the *English* suffered, conjured that Prince, before his whole Court, to spare his wretched Subjects. This was a cunning Fetch enough to make the World believe that he was in Truth what he pretended to be. *James* replied with a Smile, that he thought him very generous to be so very careful of what was none of his, in order to save it for his Enemy. Mean while, the News that an *English* Army was advancing to give him Battle, made him resolve to return back, being unwilling to put the great Booty he had got to the Hazard of a Battle. Thus the Expedition, from which he had expected such mighty Matters, ended only in the Ruin of the People of *Northumberland*.

James *ravages* Northumberland.

Warbeck's *Cunning*.

Whilst

Whilſt theſe things paſſed in *England*, *Charles* VIII. fearing that *Henry* would enter into the League of *Italy*, took care to have the Peace of *Eſtaples* confirmed by the *States*, as he was bound to do by the Treaty, the which he had neglected hitherto, though the Parliament of *England* had confirmed it laſt Year. However, as he thought not proper to convene the *States General*, he got the Peace approved by the *States* of each Province, with which in all appearance *Henry* was ſatisfied. We find in *the Collection of the publick Acts*, the Approbations of the *States* of *Languedoc*, *Normandy*, and ſeveral other Provinces, as likewiſe of particular Towns of little Note, ſigned by great Numbers of common People, as Tradeſmen and Husbandmen.

1499. Charles VIII. *cauſes the Peace of* Eſtaples *to be confirmed by the States.* Act. Pub. XII. 552. &c.

Though the King of *Scotland*'s Invaſion had produced no great Effect, *Henry* was however apprehenſive of the Conſequences. He knew his Subjects were not pleaſed; that the *Yorkiſts* were very numerous; that *Ireland* was not well-affected; and that *Perkin Warbeck* was in *Scotland* ready to take advantage of theſe Things. And therefore, to obviate the Danger which might ariſe from all Sides, he granted in the firſt Place a General Pardon to all the *Iriſh* who had taken the pretended Duke of *York*'s Part, leſt the Dread of Puniſhment ſhould carry them to revolt. In the ſecond Place, he commiſſioned *Richard Fox* Biſhop of *Durham* to try, as of himſelf, to enter into Negotiation with the King of *Scotland*, to treat about the Marriage of his eldeſt Daughter *Margaret* with that Prince. Laſtly, he ſent Ambaſſadors to *Ferdinand* and *Iſabella*, to confirm the Alliance he had made with them, and to ſecure, by freſh Engagements, the Marriage of *Arthur* his eldeſt Son with *Catherine* their Third Daughter.

The King's Precautions. Act. Pub. XII. 634. Ibid. 636. *Embaſſy to* Spain. Sept. 22.

Some time before he had diſpatched to *Rome Robert Sherburn*, who had in his Name entered into the League of *Italy* againſt *Charles* VIII. and on the 23d of *September* he ratified what his Ambaſſador had done. By that he appeared to be ſufficiently enough ſupported.

He enters into the League of Italy. p. 638.

1496. ported. The Truth is, he had nothing to fear from the King of *France*, who had his Hands full elsewhere, and the most potent Princes of *Europe* were his Friends and Allies. As for the King of *Scotland*, he could easily withstand him in case he was attacked by him. However, though he had already taken Measures to make Peace with that Prince, and had reason to hope he should succeed, yet he believed he ought not to let slip this Opportunity to demand an Aid of Money of the Parliament, as well to put himself in a Posture of Defence, as to be revenged of the Insults of the *Scots*. With this view he called a Parliament on the 16th of *January* following. It was however easy to foresee that the King of *Scotland* being backed neither by *France*, nor the Archduke, nor the Dutchess of *Burgundy*, would not undertake to maintain alone a War for the sake of *Perkin Warbeck*, supposing he was prepossessed enough to believe him the real Duke of *York*.

Marriage of the Archduke with Jane *of* Arragon, *and of* Margaret *of* Austria *with the Prince of* Spain.

In *October* this Year, *Jane*, Second Daughter of *Ferdinand* and *Isabella*, came into *the Low-Countries* to marry the Archduke *Philip*, with whom she had been contracted. *Isabella* her eldest Sister had been married 1490. to *Alphonsus* King of *Portugal*, who died shortly after. The same Ships that had brought *Jane* into the *Low-Countries*, served to carry *Margaret* of *Austria*, Sister to *Philip*, into *Spain*, to consummate her Marriage with Prince *John*, Heir-apparent of *Castile* and *Arragon*.

1497. *The Parliament meets.* Bacon *Subsidy given for the* Scotch *War.*

The Parliament being assembled in the Beginning of the Year 1497, the King made a Speech to the *Two Houses*, wherein he highly aggravated the Affront he had received from the King of *Scotland*. He represented to them in very moving Terms, the Calamities his *Northern* Subjects had endured, at a Time when the Truce should have screened them from such Outrages. In short, he told them that his Honour and the Protection he owed his People, would not suffer him to let such Affronts pass without a signal Revenge. The Parliament taking him right, gave

gave him a *Subſidy* *, whereupon they were immediately diſſolved, as having been called purely for that Purpoſe. 1497.

The King haſtens the levying the Subſidy.

Though *Henry* expected great Matters from his Negotiation with the King of *Scotland*, he plainly perceived he ſhould not neglect to prepare for War. Otherwiſe Negotiations generally prove fruitleſs. The levying the *Subſidy* granted by the Parliament was the firſt and principal Preparation to begin with. The Neceſſity of a War with *Scotland* afforded the King a Handle to haſten that Buſineſs, from whence he hoped for the ſame Advantage as from that of *Bretagne*; that is to ſay, to put the whole *Subſidy* into his Coffers. To that End, it was neceſſary the Whole ſhould be levied before the Peace was concluded with *Scotland*, elſe the People would grudge to pay their Money. As the King ſet his Heart upon this Buſineſs, he gave very ſtrict Orders to the *Commiſſioners*, who were to gather the *Subſidy* in the ſeveral *Counties*.

Rebellion in Cornwal.

The Commiſſioners proceeding with great Rigour, met in the County of *Cornwal* with Oppoſitions they little expected. The *Corniſhmen* being a Race of Men leſs tractable than thoſe of other *Counties*, loudly complained, that for ſome petty Damage done to the other End of the Kingdom, they were robbed of their neceſſary Subſiſtence. Theſe Murmurings were encouraged by one *Michael Joſeph*, a *Farrier* of *Bodwin*, and *Thomas Flammock*, a *Lawyer*. *Flammock* affirmed, that the Crown had *Funds* aſſigned for ſuch Wars, by means of the *Fiefs* annexed: That the Perſons who were poſſeſſed of theſe *Fiefs*, held them on Condition to be always ready to defend the Borders, and to thoſe the Government was to apply, and not make uſe of the *Scotch* Invaſion as a Pretence to fleece the whole Kingdom: That it would be a ſhame to

* Limited to the Sum of 120.000 *l.* beſides Two *Fifteens*. *Bacon* obſerves upon this Occaſion, that his *Wars* were always to him a *Mine* of *Treaſure* of a ſtrange *Ore*, *Iron* at the Top, and *Gold* at the Bottom.

1497. ſubmit to ſuch an Oppreſſion, and that all the Miſchief proceeded from the King's *Miniſters*, who made their Court at the poor People's Coſt: That to free themſelves from theſe Grievances, they muſt take up Arms, and without injuring any Perſon, go and preſent a *Petition* to the King, to pray him to deſiſt from the Tax, and to puniſh his evil Counſellors, as a Warning to others how they gave him ſuch Advice for the future: That they could not do a greater Piece of Service to the whole Nation, than to deliver the People from ſuch *Harpies*, who ruined them under colour of procuring the King's Good. *Flammock*'s chief Aim was at [*Morton*] Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, and *Reginald Bray*, becauſe they were generally the King's Inſtruments in Affairs of this Nature.

The Rebels march towards London. *Flammock* and *Michael* perceiving the People began to take Fire, offered to lead them, till ſome Perſon of Quality ſhould come and head them, which, as they ſaid, would not be long firſt. And indeed, it plainly appeared afterwards, that they were egged on by Perſons of greater Note. This was enough to ſtir up all the Rabble of the Country to an Inſurrection; and having armed themſelves in the beſt Manner they could, they marched under the Conduct of theſe two *Incendiaries* into *Devonſhire*, and from thence into *Somerſetſhire*. The Number of the Rebels daily increaſed, by abundance of People flocking to them from the Places they paſſed through, who had nothing to loſe, and were ſpurred on by the King's ſecret Enemies. At *Taunton* they killed a *Commiſſioner*, who had ſignalized himſelf for his Rigour, in levying this *Subſidy*. This was all the Harm they did in their March. Then they went on to *Wells*, where the Lord *Audley*, a Nobleman of an unquiet and diſcontented Spirit came and joined them, and was immediately accepted as their General. *Audley* ſetting himſelf at their Head led them directly to *Salisbury*, and from thence to *Wincheſter*, without letting them do the leaſt Miſchief in their March, and forcing them to be ſatisfied with a bare Subſiſtence. When they came

The Lord Audly *heads them.*

to

to *Wincheſter*, inſtead of going on to *London*, as they intended at firſt, they conſtrained their General to lead them into *Kent*. *Flammock* having told them, that the Men of that County were very fond of Liberty, they fancied they ſhould be immediately joined by them, in Defence of the Rights and Privileges of the Nation. But upon their Arrival there, they fell ſhort of their Expectations. By the Diligence of ſome *Kentiſh* Lords, not a Soul offered to take up Arms in their Favour. This Backwardneſs diſheartened many of the Rebels, who foreſeeing that their Enterprize would not be crowned with Succeſs, returned quietly to their Homes. But thoſe that ſtayed, being encouraged by the King's Remiſſneſs, who had ſuffered them to proceed ſo far without attacking them, made their Boaſts that they would give him Battle, or take *London* before his Face. In this Reſolution they went and encamped between *Greenwich* and *Eltham*, within a few Miles of *London*.

1497. *They march into* Kent, *where no Body joins them.*

They march to London.

When the King received the firſt News of this Inſurrection, he was under ſome Conſternation. A War with *Scotland*, a Rebellion in the Kingdom, and a Pretender to the Crown, ſeemed to him to be three Things of the laſt Importance, eſpecially as they came upon him at once. Beſides, his inward Uneaſineſs about the Doubtfulneſs of his Title, helped to magnify Objects in his Eyes. He was apprehenſive that the *Corniſh* Rebellion was the Beginning of a general Conſpiracy, whereof *Perkin* was waiting the Iſſue in *Scotland*. Luckily for him, this Rebellion happened at a Time when he had an Army in readineſs, which was to march into the *North*, under the Command of the Lord *d'Awbeny*. But the News of the Inſurrection made him keep his Forces about *London*, not thinking fit to let them march into the *North* at ſuch a Juncture. He contented himſelf therefore with detatching the Earl of *Surrey*, and ſending him towards the Borders of *Scotland* to oppoſe King *James*, in Caſe he thought of making a ſecond Inroad into *England*. Mean while the Rebels ran through the

The King's Meaſures againſt the Rebels.

1497. *Counties*, and the King made no Motion to ſtop them. This Management ſurpriz'd all the World, conſidering it was his Cuſtom to march with all Speed to the Place where Danger began to ſhow its Head. But upon this Occaſion he thought beſt to act otherwiſe for ſeveral Reaſons. Firſt, he was very well pleaſed that the Rebels went ſo far from their Homes, and harraſſed themſelves with long Marches. In the ſecond place, he did not ſee there was any Neceſſity to be in haſte to fight them, ſince they committed no Outrages. Beſides, he could not find that their Numbers increaſed. But the chief Reaſon of his ſlowneſs was that he had a Mind to ſee if they had any Friends in other *Counties*, that he might divide his Army upon Occaſion, or run to the Relief of the Weakeſt. In fine, Age and the continued Enjoyment of a Crown had doubtleſs rendered him leſs in Love with Danger. Any other way ſeemed to him leſs hazardous than a Battle, to remedy Misfortunes of this Nature.

The King reſolves to give them Battle.

But when the Rebels were encamped upon *Black-Heath*, from whence they might have a Proſpect of the City of *London*, the King could no longer Delay attacking them. He would have given Ground to ſuſpect that his Backwardneſs proceeded from Fear, the which might have produced very ill Effects among the People. However, as he had much the Odds of the Male-Contents both in Number of Troops and Skill in the Art of War, he reſolved to order Things ſo as to leave little to *Hazard* or *Fortune*. To that End, he divided his Army in three Bodies, the firſt whereof commanded by the Earl of *Oxford*, went behind the Hill where the Rebels were encamped, to cut off their Retreat and to attack them in the *Rear* if neceſſary. The ſecond led by the Lord *Dawbeny*, was appointed to charge them in the Front. The King kept the Third about his own Perſon, and encamped in St. *George's Fields*, that in Caſe of ill Succeſs he might be ready to renew the Fight, or throw himſelf into *London* and ſecure the City as he ſhould think

Diſpoſition of his Troops.

think fit. Beſides, he was not ſo far off, but that he could ſuccour his People during the Battle. 1497.

Battle of Black-Heath, where the Rebels are worſted. Jun. 22.

Every Thing ſucceeded as the King expected. The Rebels ſuffered themſelves to be deceived by a Report he had cauſed to be given out, that he intended to attack them on the *Monday* following, whereas he fell upon them on the *Saturday*, which of all the Days of the *Week* he fancied to be the moſt lucky. As they expected no ſuch Thing, they were taken ſo unawares that hardly had they Time to draw up in Array. On the other Side, for want of Intelligence, they ſuffered themſelves to be ſurrounded by the Earl of *Oxford*, who having poſted himſelf behind them, hindered them from retreating. So of the ſix Thouſand * they conſiſted of, two Thouſand were ſlain on the Spot, and the reſt were forced to ſurrender at Mercy, there being no Way to Eſcape. The King for this Time, cauſed to be executed only the Lord *Audley* *1, *Flammock* and the *Farrier* *2 who were taken alive. But he gave the Priſoners to thoſe that had taken them, with leave to compound with them for their Ranſoms as they ſhould judge fit. It is not unlikely that the Moderation the Rebels uſed in their March from *Cornwal* to *London*, tempered the King's Severity; eſpecially as they had not aſſerted the Title of the *Houſe of York*, a Crime which he never forgave. Be that as it will, he was ſatisfied with theſe three Victims as an Atonement for this great Rebellion.

The Lord Audley *and two others executed.*

The King's Moderation.

New Treaty of the Archduke. July 7. Act. Pub. XII. 654.

Shortly after the Battle, the Archduke's Ambaſſadors ſigned at *London* Articles of Agreement, whereby in explaining the late Treaty of Commerce, the Archduke deſiſted from the Right of a *Florin* which he

* *Bacon* ſays 16000.

*1 He was led from *Newgate* to *Tower-Hill* in a *Paper-Coat* torn and painted with his own *Arms* reverſed, where he was beheaded.

*2 He is ſaid to pleaſe himſelf with the Notion that *he ſhould be Famous in After-Ages.* He with *Flammock* was drawn, hanged and quartered at *Tyburn*. The *Corniſhmen* are ſaid to ſhoot Arrows of a Yard long.

1497. he demanded before for every Piece of *English* Cloth that came into his Dominions.

p. 658. On the 18th of *June Henry* ratified the Marriage-Articles between *Arthur* his eldest Son, and *Catharine* of *Arragon*. This Marriage had been concluded in 1491, and confirmed *October* 1. 1496.

p. 667. Aug 28. About the same Time *Charles* VIII sent an Embassy to *England* on purpose to confirm the *Peace of Estaples*, by the Reparation of certain Outrages committed on both Sides.

But whilst *Henry* was taken up against the *Cornish* Rebels, the King of *Scotland* thinking it a fair Opportunity, made a second Irruption into *England*, and came and appeared before the Castle of *Norham*. But the Earl of *Surrey* who was then in *Yorkshire* hastening to its Relief, *James* raised the Siege and returned back to *Scotland*. The Earl of *Surrey*, not satisfied with driving him out of the Kingdom, pursued him into *Scotland* and took the little Town of *Aton*. This War was inconvenient to the King upon several Accounts. First, he could not continue it, without using all the Money given by the Parliament, which he would very fain avoid. Besides, *Perkin Warbeck* made him uneasy, and he plainly perceived it would be much easier to get him out of *Scotland* by way of Treaty than by Force of Arms. He would not however make the first Advances towards a Peace: but wanted to have it come from another Hand, to avoid the Disgrace of a Refusal, in Case the King of *Scotland* was not in the same Mind.

Henry employs the Spanish Ambassador to make Peace with Scotland.

Whilst he was musing on these Things, he bethought himself that *Don Pedro d' Ayala*, the *Spanish* Ambassador would be a proper Instrument to bring about this Affair. *Ayala* willingly undertook to go to the King of *Scotland*, and propose to him as of his own Head, an Accommodation with the King of *England*. He used for Pretence, that King *Ferdinand* his Master could receive no greater Satisfaction than to see the two Kings his Friends and Allies, live in Peace and Good-Neighbourhood. This Expedient succeed-

ed

ed according to *Henry*'s Expectation. The Ambaſſadors found the King of *Scotland* in ſo good a Temper, that he writ the King Word, that if he pleaſed to enter into Negotiation, he did not queſtion the Succeſs. Whereupon the two Kings ſent their Ambaſſadors to *Aton* to treat of a Peace, *Ayala* performing the Office of Mediator. The greateſt Difficulty that occurred in this Negotiation was on the Score of *Perkin Warbeck*, whom *Henry* demanded, and the King of *Scotland* would not give up. The Biſhop of *Durham* perceiving he could not gain that Point, propoſed an Interview between the two Kings at *Newcaſtle*. But upon mention of it to the King of *Scotland*, he ſaid, that although he was very deſirous of a Peace, he was not in a Humour to go and beg it of his Enemy. At length an Expedient was found out which was agreeable to both Parties. And that was, that the King of *Scotland* ſhould honourably diſmiſs the pretended Duke of *York*, before the Negotiation of a Peace ſhould be carried any farther, leſt it ſhould be believed that he was forced to it; that then the Treaty ſhould go on as if *Perkin* had never been in *Scotland*.

1497.

Difficulty on account of Perkin.

Expedient to remove it.

Purſuant to this Agreement, *James* gave the pretended Duke to underſtand, that he had done for him all that lay in his Power: That at two different Times he had entered *England* at the Head of a powerful Army, to try the Temper of the *Engliſh*: That not having found Matters as was expected, there was no Proſpect that with his Forces alone, he ſhould be able to ſet him on the Throne, and pull down a King ſo firmly ſettled: That his Misfortune proceeded ſolely from the *Engliſh* having refuſed to eſpouſe his Quarrel, and his being forſaken by thoſe who had engaged him in the Undertaking, whilſt the *Scots* expoſed their Lives for his Sake: That for all theſe Reaſons he adviſed him to ſeek his Fortune elſewhere; but nevertheleſs he would make good what he told him at firſt, *That he ſhould not repent of putting himſelf into his Hands.* *Perkin* ſeeing the King of *Scotland*

James *ſends away* Perkin *to* Ireland.

1497. *Scotland* bent to dismiss him, thanked him for the Protection he had given him hitherto, and for all his other Favours, entreating him to convey him to *Ireland* with his Wife; which Request the King immediately granted.

A Truce of 7 Years between Scotland *and* England. Act. Pub. XII. 673.

As soon as *Perkin Warbeck* was gone from *Scotland*, there were no farther Obstacles to a Peace. The Ambassadors who were met at *Aton*, signed a Truce for seven Years, to begin the 29th of *September*, the Day of the signing the Treaty. It was expressly agreed that neither of the two Kings should make War upon the other, either by himself or by his Subjects, or by any other Person, whereby *Perkin Warbeck* was plainly enough understood without naming: That with respect to certain Points which the Ambassadors could not agree upon, the two Kings referred it to the Decision of *Ferdinand* and *Isabella*. Afterwards the Truce which was limited to seven Years, was prolonged till a Year after the Death of the Survivor of the two Princes. In fine, each of the two Kings gave *Letters Patents* to the Mediator, desiring him to report to *Ferdinand* and *Isabella* the Differences which were left undecided, promising to stand to their Determination. These Letters were full of Expressions of Esteem and Acknowledgments for the Ambassador, and the two Kings showed how well satisfied they were with his Equity, Wisdom, Impartiality, and the Trouble he had readily taken upon him. Nothing could be more honourable for *Ayala*, whom the *English* and *Scotch* Writers call *Hialas* or *Elias*, than the perfect Confidence these two Monarchs placed in him. But then it may be said, that he had the good Luck to find them equally inclined to a Peace so necessary for both.

The two Kings make Ferdinand *and* Isabella *Umpires.*

First Proposal of the Marriage of Margaret *with the King of* Scotland.

I observed that in 1495 and 1496 *Henry* had empowered his Ambassadors to treat of a Marriage between *Margaret* his Daughter and the King of *Scotland*. But it does not appear that this Affair was brought upon the Board in any of the former Negotiations, or even in this I have been speaking of. It is however

however very probable, that *Henry*, who was very eager for this Marriage, did not fail to cauſe the ſame to be inſinuated by the *Spaniſh* Ambaſſador, who was his Friend and Confident. It was a very proper Occaſion, ſince *Ayala* might make the Overture as from himſelf, without naming *Henry* in caſe of Refuſal. It went no farther for this Time. But we ſhall ſee preſently the happy Iſſue of this Overture which gave Birth to the Union of the two Kingdoms. 1497.

Death of the Prince of Spain. Mayern.

In the Beginning of the Year *Margaret* of *Auſtria*, Siſter of the Archduke, went into *Spain* to *Don John* her Huſband. The Nuptials were celebrated with great Solemnity and Magnificence. But in a few Months after *Don John* died, leaving the Princeſs big with Child, who was brought to Bed of a ſtill-born Infant.

Marriage of Iſabella *his Siſter with the King of* Portugal.

By the Death of *Don John*, *Iſabella* his Siſter, Widow of Prince *Alphonſus* of *Portugal*, became Heir-Apparent of the Kingdoms of *Caſtile* and *Arragon*. Since the Death of the Prince her Spouſe, ſhe had been contracted with *Don Manuel* new King of *Portugal*, who hearing of *Don John*'s Sickneſs, was ſo preſſing that the Marriage was conſummated before that Prince expired.

Affairs of France.

Ever ſince the laſt Year *Charles* VIII had loſt the Kingdom of *Naples* as was related. Though the Diviſions which reigned among the Princes of *Italy*, ſeemed to invite him to a freſh Conqueſt, he could never bring himſelf to it, becauſe he had turned all his Thoughts to Love and Pleaſure. He duly paid *Henry* Twenty-five Thouſand *Livres* every half Year, as he was bound by the Treaty of *Eſtaples*, for fear of drawing upon himſelf new Troubles from *England*.

1498. *Diſpoſition of* Charles *and* Henry *to one another.*

After the Treaty of *Eſtaples*, there was neither War nor Quarrel between *France* and *England* during the reſt of *Henry* VII's Reign. *Charles* and *Henry* ſtood in awe of one another. *Charles*, who at firſt had formed vaſt Projects, perceived that the King of *England* was the only Prince that could lay Obſtacles in his Way. Afterwards, when he had given over the

1497. *Italian* War and indulged his Pleaſures, he was ever in Fear that a War with *Henry* would interrupt his Eaſe. *Henry* on his Part dreaded all foreign Wars, eſpecially with *France*, on account of the domeſtick Enemies he had in the Kingdom. Thus the two Monarchs having the ſame Intereſt, lived in Peace till *Charles*'s Death, which fell out *April* the 6th 1498. The Duke of *Orleans* who ſucceeded him by the Name of *Lewis* XII, was no leſs careful to keep up a good Underſtanding with *England*. As he turned all his Thoughts to *Italy*, it was his chief Buſineſs to keep fair with *Henry*, who would have it in his Power to overthrow all his Projects if he ſhould make a Diverſion in *Picardy*. As ſoon as *Lewis* was on the Throne, he cauſed his Marriage with *Jane* Daughter of *Lewis* XI to be annulled, in order to eſpouſe *Ann* of *Bretagne* Widow of his Predeceſſor. Otherwiſe he would have run the Risk of ſeeing *Bretagne* once more ſevered from *France*, and in the Hands of a foreign *Houſe*.

Death of Charles VIII. Lewis *ſucceeds him.* Mezerai. Act Pub. XII. 683.

Freſh Troubles in England.

Though *Henry* had nothing to fear from Abroad, ſince he was in Peace with all the Princes of *Europe*, the Caſe was not the ſame with regard to his own Subjects. Before he could attain to that perfect Tranquillity which he ſo earneſtly longed for, he had a freſh Attack to withſtand from the *Corniſhmen*. *Perkin Warbeck* himſelf, who having been uſed to live like a Prince, could not find in his Heart to return to his primitive State, laid hold on this Opportunity to create him new Troubles.

Inſurrection in Cornwal.

The *Corniſh* Rebels had met with milder Treatment than they had Reaſon to expect, conſidering the Nature of their Crime, which Sovereigns never pardon willingly. Moſt of them had compounded for two or three Shillings a Man, ſo miſerably poor were they. Theſe Men being returned Home, publickly gave out, that if the King had treated them with Lenity, it was not from a Motive of Clemency, but becauſe he was ſenſible that in Caſe he puniſhed all thoſe that were of their Mind, he muſt hang up three Parts in four of his Subjects. This ſort of Talk having made

made their Friends and Neighbours believe that the whole Kingdom was ready to riſe, they began to flock together, and ſhow that the Battle of *Black-Heath* had not diſheartened them. At laſt ſome of the hotteſt hearing that *Perkin Warbeck* was in *Ireland*, propoſed to ſend for him and ſet him at their Head. The Propoſal meeting with Applauſe, they ſent Word to *Warbeck*, that if he would pleaſe to come among them, he ſhould find no diſpiſeable Aſſiſtance, and that with the Help of the reſt of the honeſt *Engliſhmen*, they hoped to ſet him on the Throne. 1498. *The Rebels ſend for* Perkin.

Perkin being without any Remedy in *Ireland*, and expecting nothing either from *Scotland* or *France*, or the *Low-Countries*, gladly accepted the Invitation. He had with him for Counſellors, *Hern* a broken *Mercer*, *Skelton* a *Taylor*, and *Aſtley* a *Scrivener*, who were great Promoters of the Matter. They told him, that he had committed a great Overſight in truſting to the Dutcheſs of *Burgundy*, and the Kings of *France* and *Scotland*, who minded only their own Intereſts without any regard to his: That he had been ill-adviſed when he made a Deſcent upon *Kent*, which was too near *London*; but if he had been ſo lucky as to be in *Cornwal* when the *Corniſhmen* took up Arms, he had been crowned at *Weſtminſter* before now: That the *Scots* were not proper Inſtruments to place him on the Throne, by Reaſon of the Averſion the *Engliſh* had for them; but his Buſineſs was to throw himſelf entirely upon the People of *England*, who alone were capable of helping him to the Crown: That therefore they adviſed him to repair into *Cornwal* where he was expected. *He comes and heads them.*

Purſuant to this Advice, *Perkin* embarked for *Cornwal*, having with him about Seventy Men * on Board four ſmall Veſſels, and arrived in *September* at *Whitſand-Bay*. As ſoon as he had landed his little Troop, he came to *Bodmin*, the *Farrier*'s Town ſpoken of before, who was hanged after the Battle of *Black-*

* *Bacon* ſays 120 or 140 fighting Men.

1498. *He takes the Title of King,*

Heath. There it was that having drawn together about three Thousand Men, he issued out a *Proclamation* wherein he assumed the Title of *King of England*, by the Name of *Richard* IV. He launched out into Reproaches and Invectives against *Henry* and his Government, promising Mountains to such as should take up Arms to pull down the Usurper. After publishing his *Proclamation*, he formed a Design to become Master of *Exeter*, as well to make it serve for a Magazine, as a Retreat in Case of Need. At first, he tried to bribe the Inhabitants with promising them the Preservation and Augmentation of their *Privileges*. But finding they would not hearken to him, he resolved to Storm the City. As he had no *Artillery*, he was forced to Scale the Walls, and at the same Time he attempted to set Fire to one of the Gates. But the Attempt miscarried, and he lost two Hundred Men in the Assault.

and besieges Exeter.

The King orders his Troops against him.

Henry having received Advice that *Perkin* had headed the *Cornish*-Rebels and was before *Exeter*, said merrily, that *he hoped now to have the Honour to see him which he could never yet do.* He gave to understand withal, that he should receive with Pleasure and Thankfulness, the Services the Nobility should do him upon this Occasion. Whereupon several Lords and Gentlemen of *Devonshire* and the Neighbourhood drew some Forces together, and put themselves under Arms, before they had Orders from Court *. On the other Hand, the King caused the Lord *D'Awbeny* to relieve *Exeter*, and gave out that he was coming in Person at the Head of a numerous Army.

Perkin flies to Sanctuary

Perkin, upon News of the Preparations that were making against him, raised the Siege of *Exeter*, and retired to *Taunton*, where he ordered all Things as if he intended to fight. But that very Night he fled to *Bewley* Monastery in the *New Forest*, where he and several

* As the Earl of *Devonshire* and his Son, with the *Carews* and *Fulfords*, and likewise the Duke of *Buckingham*, with many brave Gentlemen. *Bacon.*

veral of his Company regiſtred themſelves *Sanctuary-Men.* The Lord *D'Awbeny* hearing that *Perkin* had forſaken his Army, detached three hundred *Horſe* to purſue him, and prevent his eſcaping by Sea. The Purſuers coming too late at *Bewley*, contented themſelves with beſetting the *Sanctuary* till further Orders. Mean while *Perkin*'s Troops, which were increaſed to Six Thouſand ſtrong, ſeeing themſelves without a Leader, caſt themſelves upon the King's Mercy, who pardoned them all except a few Ring-leaders who were hanged for an Example. Preſently after he ſent a Detachment of *Horſe* to St. *Michael*'s *Mount*, to bring away *Perkin*'s Wife who had retired thither, leſt if ſhe was with Child and ſhould happen to eſcape, the Buſineſs which ſeemed to be at an End, might ſtill be attended with fatal Conſequences. This virtuous Lady, who loved her Huſband entirely though unworthy of her, gained ſo upon the King's Good-will by her Modeſty, that he gave her a very gracious Reception. He comforted her himſelf in a very affectionate Manner, had her conducted to the Queen, and gave her an honourable Allowance, which ſhe enjoyed during the King's Life and many Years after. She was called *the White Roſe*, as well on the Score of her *Beauty*, as becauſe of the Name which the Dutcheſs of *Burgundy* had given her Huſband.

1498.

His Army ſubmits.

Henry *ſeizes his Wife, and uſes her well.*

Though *Perkin* was in a Place from whence he could not eſcape, the King however went on to *Exeter*, in order to examine more cloſely into the Cauſes and Origin of the Rebellion. As he made his Entry into the City, he took off his Sword and gave it to the *Mayor*, with a command that it ſhould always be carried before him, honouring by that Mark of his Diſtinction the Zeal which the Citizens had ſhown for his Service. On the Morrow he cauſed ſome of the Rebels to be hanged in Sacrifice to the Inhabitants of *Exeter*, and as a ſort of Satisfaction for what they had ſuffered. As for the reſt who had thrown themſelves upon his Mercy, he gave them indeed their Lives; but withal appointed *Commiſſioners* to puniſh them by *Fines*.

He goes on to Exeter.

Some of the Rebels are executed, and others fined.

Act. Pub. XII. 696.

1498. *Fines.* He was exceeding rigorous upon this Occasion. One would have thought that he repented of giving them their Lives, and had a mind to starve the miserable Wretches by freeing them from the Gallows.

Debates about Perkin. This done, he advised with his *Council* about what should be done with *Perkin*, who was all this while beset in his *Sanctuary*. Some were for having him taken out by force and put to death, not at all questioning but after the Thing was done, the King might easily make up Matters with the Pope. Others on the contrary believed, that according to the Leave granted by *Innocent* VIII's *Bull*, it was enough to have him narrowly watched, and that such an Advantage should not be given to the Pope without Necessity. Moreover, that the King ought to be very careful how he made himself looked upon as a Violator of *Sanctuaries*, of which his Enemies would not fail to take Advantage. In short, some there were that told the King plainly, he would never persuade the People that *Perkin Warbeck* was an Impostor, unless he himself would freely undeceive those that had been seduced by his Artifices: That therefore the best Method that could be taken was, to pardon him, and get him to make a Confession of his Crime. The King taking this Advice, sent some to offer *Perkin* his Life, if he would voluntarily surrender himself. *Perkin* readily complied with the Offer. He saw himself so strictly watched and guarded, that he had no hopes of making his Escape: Besides, supposing he could have got off, he had no Remedy left, after having tried so many ways and all to no Purpose.

He surrenders himself to the King.

He is carried to London, *and confined in the Tower.* Shortly after, the King ordered *Perkin* to be brought to Court, as if he had been entirely at Liberty, but however he was attended by several Persons who were commanded to look narrowly to him, lest he made his Escape. Every body might see and talk with him: but he could never get leave to throw himself at the King's Feet, though the King, to satisfy his Curiosity, saw him without being seen. After that, *Perkin* was conducted to *London*. He saw himself

himſelf all the way expoſed to the Inſults and Deriſion of the People: but he ſeemed to bear all with great Firmneſs of Mind. Never did he act the Prince better than upon this Occaſion, without affecting too great an Inſenſibility on one hand, or ſhowing too much Dejection on the other. As ſoon as he was come to *London*, he was made to ride through the City twice, that People might have an Opportunity of viewing him well, which done he was ſhut up in *the Tower* *. A few Days after was executed one of his chief Confidents, who not caring to take *Sanctuary* with him in *Bewley*, choſe rather to wander up and down the Country in a *Hermit*'s Dreſs *1. This Execution being over, *Perkin Warbeck* was privately examined, and his *Confeſſion* publiſhed, giving an exact Account of all his Actions, and the Places where he had lived ever ſince he was born. But all the World were ſurprized to find no Particulars of the Conſpiracy or its Authors. The very Dutcheſs of *Burgundy* was not ſo much as named. Some took occaſion from thence to confirm themſelves in the Belief that the Perſon called *Perkin Warbeck* was the true Duke of *York*. They were perſuaded that ſome Myſtery lay hid under this affected Silence, and that the King durſt not inſert in *Perkin*'s pretended *Confeſſion* any of the Circumſtances relating to foreign Princes, for fear of being publickly contradicted by Perſons who would not have the ſame Regard for him as his own Subjects. As for what was publiſhed concerning *Perkin*'s Life and Kindred, nothing, as they ſaid, was eaſier than to invent ſuch Stories. Some however were of Opinion, that the King by this Silence had a mind to keep fair with the King of *France*, the Emperour, Archduke, Dutcheſs of *Burgundy*, and King of *Scotland*: And that ſome *Engliſh* Lords were engaged in 1498.

* It does not appear that he was committed to *the Tower* till after he had attempted to eſcape.

*1 He was Farrier to the King's Stables, and accompanied *Perkin* in his Proceſſion through the City, bound Hand and Foot upon a Horſe. *Bacon.*

1498. in the Plot, againſt whom he did not think fit to proceed.

Shene-*Palace burnt, and* Richmond *built.* Bacon. Baker.

The Year 1498. ended with an ugly Accident, which gave the King no ſmall Vexation. Whilſt he was at his Palace of *Shene*, a Fire broke out on the 21ſt of *December* with that Violence, that in a few Hours the Building was entirely conſumed with all the rich Furniture. As *Henry* was very fond of that Palace, he cauſed it to be rebuilt from the Ground not long after, calling it *Richmond*, which Name it retains to this Day *.

Death of Iſabella *Queen of* Portugal. Michael *her Son Heir of* Spain.

This ſame Year *Iſabella* Queen of *Portugal* was ſolemnly acknowledged *Heir-Apparent* of *Caſtile* and *Arragon* by the *States* of theſe two Kingdoms. But ſhortly after ſhe died in Childbed at *Saragoſſa*, after ſhe had been delivered of a Prince who was named *Michael*, and proclaimed preſumptive Heir of *Ferdinand* and *Iſabella*.

Since *Lewis* XII aſcended the Throne of *France*, he was taken up in contriving how to recover the Dutchy of *Milan*, to which he laid Claim in Right of *Valentine* of *Milan* his Grandmother.

1499. *Quarrel between the* Engliſh *and* Scots. Bacon.

The Truce beetween *England* and *Scotland* being concluded, as was ſaid, to the Satisfaction of both Kingdoms, the *Scots* converſed familiarly with their Neighbours the *Engliſh*, particularly with the Inhabitants of *Norham*. This Town, which was fortified with a good Caſtle and a ſtrong Garriſon, is ſituated on the little River *Twede*, which parts the two Kingdoms. It happened one Day that as ſome *Scotchmen* were walking out of the Town, they ſtood looking attentively upon the Caſtle, which cauſing Suſpicion in the Soldiers of the Garriſon, they ſent them word to withdraw. The *Scots* taking it ill to be ſuſpected, returned an angry Anſwer, and in ſhort, falling from Words to Blows, ſome of them were killed. The Matter being brought before the *Wardens* of the *Marches*,

* He gave it that Name from his having been *Earl of Richmond*. Camb.

Marches, was neglected a pretty while, insomuch that after many Delays, the King of *Scotland* sent Ambassadors into *England* to demand speedy Satisfaction. *Henry*, who had no mind to quarrel with *James*, replied, that what had happened was a mere Chance and without his Privity: Nevertheless, he was ready to make all convenient Satisfaction, and to that End would send Ambassadors to the King of *Scotland*. *Buchanan* and my Lord *Bacon*, *Henry the Seventh*'s Historian, affirm, that the first Overture of the Marriage between King *James* and the Princess *Margaret* was made during this Negotiation, and that *James* himself proposed it to *Richard Fox* Bishop of *Durham*. Whereas it appears by *the Collection of the Publick Acts*, that above four Years before *Henry* had projected this Match, the Thoughts of which, in all appearance, he caused the King of *Scotland* to be inspired with by some indirect Means, as I said before. As the Bishop of *Durham* could not be ignorant of the King's Mind, seeing he had been twice commissioned to treat of this Marriage, he failed not to put King *James* in hopes that the Business would be ended to his Satisfaction. Shortly after, the Ambassadors of the two Kings meeting at *Sterling* to decide the *Norham* Affair, renewed the former Truce, adding certain Articles to prevent the like Accidents. After that *Henry* appointed the Bishop of *Durham* to go and settle with the King of *Scotland* the Articles of the intended Marriage. This Matter was not however finished till *Jannary* 1502.

1499. *The King of* Scotland *demands Satisfaction.*

Treaty of the Marriage of Margaret *with* James IV. Act. Pub. XII. 721.

P. 722.

Perkin Warbeck, accustomed to live like a Prince, was heartily tired of *the Tower*, where doubtless he was not treated as such. Though in all appearance the King had ordered him to be strictly guarded, he found Means to make his Escape and get into *Kent*, where he hoped to meet with some Ship to carry him out of the Kingdom. But hearing that Orders were every where sent to apprehend him, he thought it better to fly to the Monastery of *Bethlehem* *, which

Perkin *escapes out of the Tower,*

and flies to Sanctuary.

* Built by *Henry* V. at *Shene*, and was called the *Priory of Shene*.

1499. had the Privilege of *Sanctuary*. It was a troubleſome Buſineſs for the *Prior* of the Monaſtery to protect ſuch a one as he, and yet he could not find in his Heart either to let him go elſewhere, or to violate the Privilege of the *Houſe*, by giving him up to the King. In this Streight he choſe to wait upon the King, and acquainting him that *Perkin Warbeck* was in his Hands; he petitioned for his Pardon, promiſing to deliver him up upon that Condition. The King plainly ſaw that he ſhould not be able to get *Perkin* out of the Monaſtery to put him to death, without making a great Noiſe. And therefore, on pretence of his great Reſpect for the *Prior*, who was a Perſon very much eſteemed, he granted the Priſoner his Life. But he ordered him to be ſet in the *Stocks* a whole Day together in the Palace-Court at *Weſtminſter*, and next Day at the *Croſs* in *Cheapſide* *, from whence he was conveyed to *the Tower*. Such a Priſoner naturally ſhould have been thrown into ſome Dungeon, and yet his Confinement was not the moſt rigorous, ſince he had the Liberty to converſe with the reſt of the Priſoners.

He is pardoned and ſent to the Tower.

After he had remained ſome time in this State, he found Means to gain four Servants of the Lord *Digby*, Lieutenant of *the Tower*, with whom he plotted to kill their Maſter, ſeize the Keys of *the Tower*, and make off with the Earl of *Warwick*, who had ſuffered himſelf alſo to be prevailed upon to come into the Plot, out of hopes of recovering his Liberty, which he had been ſo long debarred of without any juſt Cauſe. But unluckily for them, the Matter was diſcovered before they were able to put it in Execution. Scarce any body doubted but that the King himſelf was the Contriver of the Plot, and that his Aim was to draw at the ſame time *Perkin Warbeck* and the Earl of *Warwick* into the Snare, in order to put

Perkin's and the Earl of Warwick's Plot diſcovered.

* In both which Places he read his *Confeſſion*, of which the *Reader* may ſee a Copy in *Hollingſhead*, p. 786.

put them both to death. And indeed there were several Reaſons to induce People to be of that Opinion. In the firſt Place, it was very ſurprizing that *Perkin* ſhould not have been more cloſely confined, after he had attempted to make his Eſcape. Then it was not at all likely that in the Circumſtances he was in, unable to reward Sir *John Digby*'s Servants, they ſhould be willing to run ſo great a Hazard for his Sake. In the next Place, *Perkin* was too cunning to join with the Earl of *Warwick*, who would have been but a Hindrance to him, ſuppoſing they had been ſo lucky as to eſcape. In ſhort, granting that they had killed the Governour without being diſcovered, and had got the Keys of *the Tower*, how could they expect that the Guards would have opened the Gate, or ſuffered it to be opened in the Night, without examining thoſe that were coming out, or without the Governour's expreſs Order. But what further confirms this Suſpicion againſt the King, was, that about the ſame time a young Man, one *Wilford* a Shoemaker's Son, gave himſelf out to be the Earl of *Warwick*. He was attended or rather guided and directed by an *Auguſtin Friar* called *Patrick*, who had the Boldneſs to preach publickly in ſome Town in *Kent* that *Wilford* was the Earl of *Warwick*, and to exhort the People to take up Arms in his Favour. They were both apprehended, and *Wilford* was hanged, but the *Friar* had his Pardon *. This gave Occaſion to believe that *Wilford* had been ſeduced by the *Friar*, and by the King's particular Direction, that the World might not think it ſtrange that he was jealous of the Earl of *Warwick*, under colour that he was the Cauſe of freſh Troubles. 1499.

One pretending to be the Earl of Warwick is hanged.

However that was, it is certain the King was reſolved to rid himſelf at once of all his Uneaſineſſes on the Score of *Perkin Warbeck* and the Earl of *Warwick*. Though one cannot ſay poſitively that he laid a Snare for them, at leaſt this Plot furniſhed him with a Handle to deliver them up to Juſtice. *Perkin* was con-

* He was condemned to perpetual Impriſonment. *Bacon.*

1499. Perkin *is condemned to be hanged.*

demned by *Commiſſioners* [of *Oyer* and *Terminer*] to be hanged, and was executed accordingly, together with the Mayor of *Cork* and his Son, who had been his conſtant Companions in all his Adventures. Of eight others that were condemned with them, among whom were Sir *John Digby*'s four Servants, there were but two executed. Such was the End of *Perkin Warbeck*, who had been acknowledged for lawful *King* in *Ireland*, *France*, *Flanders*, *England*, *Scotland*, and had made *Henry* ſhake in his Throne. Perhaps he would have carried his Point, had he had to deal with a leſs Politick Prince. But however, it is certain that the King was not careful enough to undeceive the Publick, and that the Proofs he produced to ſhow that *Perkin* was an Impoſtor, being taken only from a private Examination, ſeemed not ſufficiently evident.

The Earl of Warwick *is condemned and beheaded.*

In a few Days after *Perkin*'s Death, the Earl of *Warwick* was brought before *the Houſe of Peers*, the Earl of *Oxford* exerciſing by Commiſſion the Office of *High-Steward*. He was impeached not for attempting to eſcape, which could not be conſtrued as *High-Treaſon*, ſince he was not impriſoned for any Crime of that Nature, nor indeed for any Crime at all, but for conſpiring the King's Death together with *Perkin Warbeck*. The poor Prince confeſſing that he was conſenting to the Project laid by *Perkin* and *Digby*'s Servants, was condemned to loſe his Head, and the Sentence was executed accordingly on *Tower-Hill**. He was the only *Male* left of *the Houſe of York*, and his being ſo was in reality the Thing that coſt him his Life, the King chuſing rather to ſacrifice his own Reputation, than to miſs an Opportunity of ſecuring the Crown both to himſelf and his Heirs. To take off in ſome Meaſure from the Horror People had of this Deed, the King was pleaſed to have it publiſhed, that King

* He was four and twenty Years old, and had been a Priſoner 15 Years, and kept ſo from the Company of Men and Beaſts, that he is ſaid not to know a Duck from a Hen. He was buried at *Biſham*. *Stow*'s An.

King *Ferdinand* had positively declared that he would never consent to marry his Daughter *Catharine* to Prince *Arthur*, as long as the Earl of *Warwick* was alive. Strange sort of *Apology* tending to make it believed, that the Marriage of the Princess of *Spain* was so necessary for *England*, that it must be purchased with such a Crime! But if this Match was not requisite for the *State*, it was at least very beneficial to the King, who was to receive Two Hundred Thousand Crowns of Gold for *Catharine*'s Dowry. This alone would have been enough to induce him to sacrifice the Earl of *Warwick*, supposing he should have got nothing more by his Death. From a like Motive it was that he had beheaded the Lord *Chamberlain*. But after all, it is very probable that what was published concerning King *Ferdinand* was only a mere Pretence to excuse *Henry*, since *Arthur*'s Marriage with *Catharine* was solemnized by *Proxy* on the 19th of *May* this very Year before the Earl of *Warwick*'s Death *. 1499. Act. Pub. XII. 754.

Lewis XII. had solemnly ratified and sworn to the Peace of *Estaples*, a little after his Accession to the Crown. But being desirous to let *Henry* see that he really intended to keep it, he caused it to be approved and ratified by the *States* General, who were assembled at *Nantz* in the Beginning of the Year. Then he sent Ambassadors to the Pope, praying him to confirm it by his Authority. The Pope seeing no longer any Obstacle from *France*, issued out a *Bull* of *Excommunication* against him of the two Kings that should not keep the Treaty. *The Peace of* Estaples *confirmed by the States of* France. p. 706. P. 736.

It was not for nothing that *Lewis* had a mind to keep the Peace his Predecessor had made with *England*. He had formed a Design to seize the Dutchy of *Milan*, and to that End had made a League with the *Venetians*, who were to have for their share all that Part of the *Milanese* situate beyond the *Adda*. This same Year the *Lewis XII. becomes Master of* Milan.

* It is reported, that *Catharine*, upon *Henry* VIII's divorcing her, should say, *That she had not offended: but that it was a Judgment of God, for that her former Marriage was made in Blood*. Meaning the Earl of *Warwick*'s. Bacon.

1499. the Confederates attacked the Dutchy of *Milan*, and *Ludovico Sforza*, the most perfidious of Men, being forsaken by all the World, saw himself constrained to fly for Refuge to the Emperour, after having lost all his Places, except the Castle of *Milan*. *Genoa*, which he was in Possession of, followed the Example of the *Milanese*, voluntarily surrendring itself to the King of *France*.

The King of Naples *is included in the Peace of* Estaples. p. 720.

Frederick King of *Naples*, who had succeedud *Ferdinand* his Nephew, fearing that the Preparations which were making in *France* were designed against him, gave *Henry* speedy notice that he desired to be included in the Peace which he had lately renewed with *France*. But it was not with him that *Lewis* intended to deal this Year. He reserved the War of *Naples* after the Conquest of the *Milanese*.

1500. *A Jubilee furnishes the Pope with means to raise Money.*

Alexander VI. having published a *Jubilee* for the Year 1500, which was the last of the *Century*, had granted by his *Bull* to all *Christians* living at a Distance from *Rome*, the Privilege of the *Jubilee*, without being obliged to come and visit the Churches of that City. This was an infallible way to get Money from all the States of *Christendom*, where he had sent *Commissioners* to levy it. The Commissioner appointed for *England* was *Jasper Pons* a *Spaniard*, who wisely discharged his Commission without Noise and Scandal, and carried a round Sum of Money to his Master.

A Crusade intended with the same view. The Pope's Project.

Besides this Business, he was charged with another which seemed of great Moment, but tending, like the first, only to fill the Pope's Coffers. He had orders to acquaint the King, that the Pope had resolved to publish a *Crusado* against the *Turks*: That therefore he had agreed with the Ambassadors of sundry Potentates, that the *Hungarians*, *Polonians*, and *Bohemians* should make War upon the *Turks* in *Thrace*, the *French* and *Spaniards* upon *Greece*, and himself with the King of *England*, the *Venetians* and Princes of *Italy* who were most powerful at Sea should go and attack *Constantinople*: That in Pursuance of this Resolution,

ſolution, he had ſent *Nuncio's* to all the Courts, to exhort the Sovereigns amicably to put an End to their private Quarrels, that all the Forces of *Chriſtendom* might be united together in ſo pious an Undertaking. *Alexander* VI. was too well known every where, for People to believe that he acted upon this Occaſion from a Motive of Religion and Zeal for the Glory of God. Conſequently, it was eaſy to ſee that the ſole Deſign of this *Cruſado* was to heap up Money by voluntary Contributions, as well from private Perſons as from Sovereigns. But however, as *Henry* was not willing to ſhow any Diſlike of this Project, which in all probability would meet with Obſtacles enough elſewhere, he told the *Nuncio*, That no Prince in all *Chriſtendom* ſhould be more forward than himſelf, to put his helping Hand to this Affair, to the Glory of God and the Good of the *Church:* but as his Dominions were at a vaſt Diſtance from *Conſtantinople*, as he had no *Galleys*, and as his *Mariners* were not well enough acquainted with the *Mediterranean Sea*, he judged it more proper that the Kings of *France* and *Spain* ſhould accompany his *Holineſs* by Sea: By which means, not only all Things would be ſooner got ready, but the Jealouſy might be wiſely avoided, which would infallibly ariſe between theſe two Monarchs, in caſe they ſhould go together by Land, without having any body above them: That for his Part, he would freely contribute both Men and Money towards the Undertaking: But if the Kings of *France* and *Spain* ſhould refuſe to accompany the Pope, he would go himſelf and command under him, provided all Differences between the *Chriſtian* Princes were firſt ſuppreſſed and ended, to the accompliſhing of which he ſhould be no hindrance, ſince he was in Peace with all the World. In fine, he demanded that ſome good Towns on the Coaſt of *Italy* might be put into his Hands to ſerve for a Retreat in caſe of Need. 1403.

King's Anſwer.

The

1500. *The Project comes to nothing.*

The Pope easily perceived the Meaning of this Answer, and as in all likelihood the rest of the Princes would return the like, the *Crusado* vanished into Air. Mean while *Henry*, to display his Zeal, appointed Ambassadors to go to *Rome* to treat with the Pope about that Affair. But I cannot tell whether these Ambassadors ever went from *London*. *Henry*'s Answer being made Publick, the *Knights of Rhodes* elected him for *Protector* of their *Order*, imagining there was no Prince in *Christendom* more zealous than himself for *Religion*.

Henry *is chosen Protector of the Order of St.* John. Act Pub. XII. 747.

The Plague having for some Time raged in *England*, the King, after frequent shifting of Habitation, resolved to go and make some stay at *Calais* with his Family, till the Violence of the Plague should be over. Upon his Arrival there, the Archduke *Philip* sent Ambassadors to him to welcome him into those Parts, and to let him know that he should be glad to wait upon him. But withal he prayed him to appoint for their Interview, some Place that was not a walled Town, not but that he had a perfect Confidence in him, but because he had refused to confer with the King of *France* in a fortified Place. *Henry* very civilly accepted of his Compliment, and appointed the Place to be at St. *Peter*'s Church without the Gates of *Calais*. Then he sent Ambassadors to *Philip* to return his Compliment, and to tell him with what Impatience he expected his Coming. Some Days after, being inform'd that the Archduke was near *Calais*, he rid out of the Town to go and receive him. When *Philip* saw him he alighted from his Horse and came and offered to hold his Stirrop. But *Henry* not permitting him, they embraced one another, and then withdrew into the Church, where they had a long Conference. The Archduke willing to wipe out the Impression which his protecting *Perkin Warbeck* might have made in the King's Mind, showed an ardent Desire to live in a good Understanding with him, calling him his *Patron* and *Father*. This appeared by a Letter of the King's to the Mayor

He goes to Calais *because of the Plague.*

Interview between Henry *and the Archduke.*

Mayor of *London*, acquainting him with what paſſed at the Interview. It is ſaid likewiſe, that Overtures were made of Croſs-Matches between *Henry* Duke of *York* the King's ſecond Son, and *Margaret* Siſter of *Philip* and Widow of the Prince of *Spain*; and between *Charles* Son of *Philip*, and *Mary* the King's ſecond Daughter. *Charles* was born the 24th of *February* this Year, and by the Death of Prince *Michael* of *Portugal*, which fell out about the ſame Time, he was become Heir-Apparent of the Crowns of *Caſtile* and *Arragon*. 1500. *Projects of Marriages.* Bacon.

This ſame Year the Pope at the Requeſt of *Lewis* XII himſelf gave a *Bull*, whereby that Prince was declared *Excommunicate*, if he failed in his Payments contained in the Treaty of *Eſtaples*. Bull *upon the Peace of* Eſtaples July 14. *p.* 763.

The Ambaſſadors of *England* and *Scotland*, having at length agreed upon the Terms of the Marriage between King *James* and *Margaret*, the Pope granted a Diſpenſation to accompliſh the Matter. But as the Princeſs was but between ten and eleven Years old, it was not conſummated till three Years after. *Diſpenſation for the* Scotch *Marriages* July 28. *p.* 765.

Henry was then in Peace with all the Princes of *Europe*, and there was no Appearance of any Troubles in his Kingdom. Conſequently he had no ſort of Pretenſe to demand of his Parliament new *Subſidies*. This way of raiſing Money, which he was ſo greedy after, failing him, other Means were to be deviſed. *Perkin Warbeck*'s Affair was a plentiful Fountain which was not yet exhauſted. The *Commiſſion* he had ſet on Foot whilſt he was at *Exeter*, regarded properly ſuch only as had actually taken up Arms againſt him. But although that *Commiſſion* had brought him in very large Sums, he was not yet ſatisfied. Under Colour that thoſe who in any way ſoever had adher'd to *Warbeck*'s Party, were ſtill liable to the Rigour of the Law, he was pleaſed to grant them a Pardon which they ſued not for. But it was upon Condition that they paid the *Fines* laid upon them. To that Purpoſe he appointed new *Commiſſioners* to make Inqueſt of thoſe that had aſſiſted *Michael* the Farrier, *The King inquires after* Warbeck's *Adherents. p.* 766.

1500. Author of the firſt *Corniſh* Revolt, and *Perkin Warbeck* the Impoſtor, with Power to pardon them upon their paying ſuch *Fines* as the *Commiſſioners* ſhould think fit. He ordered likewiſe the Eſtates of ſuch as were dead to be ſeized and ſold, in Caſe the Heirs refuſed to make a reaſonable *Compoſition*. It is eaſy to ſee from hence, that if the King had kept ſome Meaſures with the Rebels during the Troubles, it was only out of Fear of driving them to Deſpair, whilſt they were yet heated, ſince he ſpared them not, as ſoon as he believed they could do him no further Harm.

Death of Cardinal Morton.

Cardinal *Morton* Archbiſhop of *Canterbury* was blamed as the Author of theſe Oppreſſions. But it was perceived in Time, that they ſprung from the King himſelf. The Archbiſhop died the latter End of this, or the Beginning of the next Year, little regretted by the *Engliſh*, who were greatly prejudiced againſt him. *Henry Dean* Biſhop of *Salisbury* ſucceeded him, though he was not put in Poſſeſſion of the Archbiſhoprick till the *Auguſt* following. Before we cloſe this Year, it is neceſſary for the Sequel to ſay a Word of what paſſed in *Italy*.

Dean *ſucceeds him.* *p.* 772.

Lewis XII *and* Ferdinand *ſhare the Kingdom of* Naples. Mezerai.

After *Lewis* XII was become Maſter of the Dutchy of *Milan*, he turned his Thoughts to the Conqueſt of *Naples*. Though in all Appearance he would alone have been powerful enough to ſubdue that Kingdom, he made however an Alliance with the King of *Arragon*, whereby they agreed to join their Forces together, and to ſhare the Conqueſt between them. *Ferdinand* was to have *Apulia* and *Calabria*, and *Lewis* the City of *Naples*, *Abruzzo* and *Terra di Lavoro*. This Treaty being ſigned, *Ferdinand* ſent an Army into *Italy* under the Command of the famous *Gonzolvo*, commonly called the *Great Captain*. *Lewis* gave the Conduct of his Army to *d' Aubigni*, to the Earl of *Gaïazzo* and *Cæſar Borgia* the Pope's Baſtard, who having quitted the *Cardinalate*, was become Duke of *Valentinois*. The *French* Fleet was commanded by *Philip* of *Cleves* Lord of *Ravenſtein*. In a very ſhort Space

Space each of the two Kings became Maſter of his Share ſet out by the Treaty, and the unfortunate *Frederick* King of *Naples* ſaw himſelf conſtrained to caſt himſelf upon the Mercy of *Lewis* XII, who ſent him to live in *France* with a Penſion of thirty thouſand Crowns. 1500. *The King of* Naples *gives himſelf up to* Lewis

Henry having no War upon his Hands, liv'd in great Tranquillity, eſpecially as he ſaw in *England* no Lord in Condition to create him any Uneaſineſs. The Ability he had ſhown in ſundry Affairs, as well Foreign as Domeſtick, which had come upon him ſuddenly, kept his Neighbours in Awe, and his Subjects in Obedience. So that which way ſoever he turned his Eyes, he ſaw nothing capable of diſturbing his Quiet. And yet when he leaſt expected it, he thought a new Storm was gathering againſt him; but he was more afraid than hurt. The Earl of *Suffolk* * Nephew of *Edward* IV and *Richard* III, and Brother of the Earl of *Lincoln*, ſlain at *Stoke-field*, having quarrelled with a Man, had the Misfortune to kill him. This Accident might have given the King a Handle to rid himſelf of the Earl who could not but be odious to him, ſince he was deſcended by his Mother of the *Houſe of York*. But however whether the Action in its ſelf was not ill, or for ſome other Reaſon, the King was pleaſed to forgive him, on Condition he ſhould openly plead his *Pardon*. The Earl more offended at this *Ignominy*, than grateful for the Favour granted him, went away ſhortly after, and withdrew into *Flanders* to his Aunt the Dutcheſs of *Burgundy*. *Henry* was ſtartled at his going off, imagining that he was gone into the *Low-Countries* on purpoſe to hatch ſome Plot againſt him. The conſtant Uneaſineſs he was under with reſpect to his Crown, made him apprehenſive that the leaſt Beginnings would be attended with fatal Conſequences. And therefore not to give the Earl of *Suffolk* the 1501. *The Earl of* Suffolk *withdraws into* Flanders. *The King finds means to make him return.*

* Son of *Elizabeth*, *Edward*'s eldeſt Siſter by *John de la Pole* Duke of *Suffolk* her ſecond Husband.

1501. leiſure to concert new Projects with the Dutcheſs of *Burgundy*, he diſpatched to *Flanders* Meſſengers who knew how to work upon him ſo, that they brought him back to *England*, where he was readily taken into Favour. The Dutcheſs of *Burgundy* was grown old, and tired with having made ſo many fruitleſs Attempts to dethrone *Henry*. Beſides, ſhe could expect no further Aſſiſtance from the Archduke, who was willing to live in good Underſtanding with *Henry*.

Several Marriages. This Year abounded in Marriages, and Projects of Matches of Conſequence. The Archduke going into *Spain* by Land, had an Opportunity to confer with *Lewis* XII, and to conclude with him a Marriage between *Charles* his Son with *Clauda* eldeſt Daughter of that Monarch.

Marriage of Arthur *with* Catharine *conſummated.* Act. Pub. XII. 780.

On the other Hand, *Margaret* of *Auſtria* the Archduke's Siſter and Widow of the Prince of *Spain*, married *Philibert* Duke of *Savoy*.

In fine, *Catharine* of *Arragon*, Daughter of *Ferdinand* and *Iſabella* arrived in *England* in the Month of *October*, and her Marriage with *Arthur* Prince of *Wales* was ſolemnized on the 14th of *November*. Though the Prince was but ſixteen Years old, no Body thought of queſtioning whether the Marriage was conſummated. The Prince himſelf next Morning ſaid ſeveral Things which left no room to doubt it. And yet there were afterwards very warm Diſputes upon that Subject, *Catharine* or her Council affirming, the Wedding was never conſummated. But it is not Time yet to ſpeak of this Matter.

Diſpenſation granted to Thomas Wolſey. *p.* 783.

Thomas Wolſey, who was afterwards Archbiſhop of *York*, and Cardinal, and made ſo great a Figure in *England*, was at the Time I am ſpeaking of, Rector of the Pariſh-Church of *Lemington* in the *Dioceſe* of *Bath* and *Wells*. We find in the *Collection of the Publick Acts*, that in *November* this Year, the Pope, in Conſideration of his diſtinguiſhed Merit, granted him a *Diſpenſation* to hold two *Benefices* that were Inconſiſtent.

Though

Though the *Diſpenſation* for the King of *Scotland*'s Marriage was come, *Henry* was in no great haſte to finiſh that Buſineſs, by Reaſon of his Daughter's tender Age. At length, the Princeſs having entered upon her thirteenth Year ſince the 21ſt of *November* 1501, *James* ſent Ambaſſadors to *London*, where every Thing relating to the Marriage was ſettled, and the Contract drawn up in Form the 24th of *January* 1502. *Henry* gave with his Daughter thirty thouſand Crowns *, payable in three Years. *James* ſettled upon the Princeſs his Spouſe, a *Jointure* of two Thouſand Pounds *Sterling* a Year in Land, of which however he was to receive the Income during his Life, and to allow her only a Hundred a Year *1 at her own Diſpoſal. It was farther agreed, that ſhe might have Twenty-four *Engliſh* Servants, and when one of them ſhould die, ſhe might appoint another in his Room: That the Marriage ſhould be performed *per verba de Præſenti*, about the Feaſt of *Purification*: but that the King of *Scotland* ſhould not pretend to have *Margaret* put into his Hands till *September* the 1ſt, 1503. That then *Henry* ſhould cauſe her to be conducted, at his Expence, to the Borders of the two Kingdoms. Before this Contract was ſigned a *Privy-Counſellor* repreſented to the King, that it was not impoſſible but this Marriage might one Day give *England* a *Scotch* Sovereign *2. Whereupon the King replied, that ſuppoſing what he ſaid ſhould happen, the *ſtrongeſt* would carry it from the *weakeſt*, and *Scotland* would be annexed to *England*, and not *England* to *Scotland*, the which fell out accordingly.

1502. *The laſt Agreements about* Margaret's *Marriage with* James IV. p. 787.

The ſame Day were ſigned alſo two other Treaties, one of perpetual Peace and Amity between *Scotland* and *England*, and the other on Account of the Outrages which might be committed on both Sides contrary to the Peace.

Two Treaties between England *and* Scotland. 793, 800.

Whilſt

* *Nobles*, *Engliſh* Money, or 10,000 *l.*

*1 500 *Marks*, or 333 *l.* 6 *s.* 8 *d.* *Bacon* ſays, 1000 *l.* a Year.

*2 In Caſe *Arthur* and *Henry* died without Iſſue.

1502. *Death of Prince* Arthur.

Whilst the Court was rejoycing on the Score of the Marriage of the Queen of *Scotland*, Prince *Arthur* her Brother was seized with a Distemper which laid him in his Grave. He died the 2d of *April*, about five Months after his Marriage, and in the seventeenth Year of his Age *. As the Princess his Widow might be with Child, the King stayed two or three Months before he created *Henry* his second Son *Prince of Wales*. My Lord *Bacon* says in his History, that *Henry* was not made *Prince of Wales* till *February* 1503 *1. But we find in the *Collection of the Publick Acts*, *Letters Patents* of the 22d of *June* 1502, wherein he is stiled *Prince of Wales*, a clear Evidence that he was then invested wirh that *Principality*.

Henry *his Brother made Prince of* Wales.

Henry *makes the Emperour a Present of Money.* Act. Pub. XIII. 3.

Shortly after, *Henry* received an Embassy from the Emperour *Maximilian*, to propose a League against the *Turks*. This Embassy was properly only a Pretense to demand of the King an Aid of Money which the Emperour promised to repay punctually. But the King knowing *Maximilian* to be always in Want, chose rather to make him a Present of ten Thousand Pound, than to lend him the Sum he requested. As for the League proposed by the Emperour, *Henry* did not think fit to ingage in it, contenting himself with stipulating that the Sum he gave should be employed in the War against the *Infidels*. He concluded with him however a Treaty of Commerce, and another of Friendship and Alliance, which was to last one Year after the Death of the longest Liver. Moreover it was agreed, that *Maximilian* and the Archduke his Son, should be admitted into the *Order of the Garter*, and *Henry* into that of the *Golden Fleece*. Pursuant to that Agreement, *Henry* sent Ambassadors to

Treaties between the Emperour and Henry. *p.* 6--22.

* He died at *Ludlow-Castle*, where he was sent to keep his Residence as Prince of *Wales*, and was buried in the *Cathedral* Church at *Worcester*.

*1 *Bacon* says, it was half a Year's Time between *Henry*'s Creation and *Arthur*'s Death. And just after he says, the *February* following (that is, *ten Months*) *Henry* was created Prince of *Wales*, and Earl of *Chester* and *Flint*.

to *Maximilian* with the *Order of the Garter*, and to see him swear to the Treaties. 1502.

About the same Time *Ladislaus* King of *Hungary* finding himself hard pressed by the *Turks*, and having sent to demand Assistance of the *Christian* Princes, *Henry* dispatched Ambassadors to treat with him about that Matter. But their Power was limited to the promising in his Name a Sum of Money to be employed against the *Infidels*. *Embassy to Hungary. p.* 10.

During the rest of the Year nothing extraordinary passed in *England*. *James* and *Henry* were entirely taken up with confirming and ratifying the three Treaties they had lately concluded, and swearing to the Performance of them. We find in the *Collection of the Publick Acts*, that the Ambassadors of the King of *England* having put into King *James*'s Hands a Writing, containing the Oath he was to take, and he having read it as it was, gave unawares to *Henry* the Title of *King of France*. But afterwards perceiving his Errour, he took publickly another Oath, wherein the Words, *and of France*, were omitted, and made that his authentick Act. He was afraid no doubt that the King of *France* would take it ill that he should give *Henry* that Title, though in the main it signified but little. *Confirmation of the Treaty between England and Scotland. p.* 43. *ibid.*

We see likewise in *the Collection*, that on the 9th of *December*, *Henry* gave a *Patent* to *James Elliot* and *Thomas Ashurst* Merchants of *Bristol*, to *John Gonsalez* and *Francis Fernandez* Natives of *Portugal*, to go with *English Colours* in quest of unknown Countries, upon certain Terms expressed in the *Patent* *. *Patent for Discovering new Lands. p.* 37.

Elizabeth Henry's Queen died the 11th of *February* 1503, without being much lamented by the King, who 1503. *The Queen's Death.*

* About this Time were brought to Court three Men taken in the new-found Islands by *Sebastian Gabato* mentioned in 1498. They were clothed in Beasts Skins, and spoke a Language unknown. Two of them were seen two Year's after at *Westminster*, dressed like *Englishmen*, neither could they be discerned from such. *Stow's An.*

1503. who never loved her *. On the contrary, he grieved and mortified her in a very sensible Manner. His Aversion for the *House of York* reached his Wife, especially as he always considered her as a dangerous Rival. The Vexation he gave her by confining the Queen her Mother to a *Convent*, and confiscating all her Estate, plainly showed how little Regard he had for her.

The King oppresses his Subjects by Empson *and* Dudley.

At this Time, the King's Affairs were in so prosperous a State, that he seemed to have nothing more to wish for. He was in Peace with all the Princes of *Europe*, and all Things quiet at Home, without the Appearance of any Thing being able to give him Disturbance. But his Subjects were not the happier for it. As his Avarice was insatiable, he was continually seeking new Ways and Means to heap up Riches which he wanted not, since it was not to use them, and since never Prince was a greater *Oeconomist* than himself. The Instruments he made use of for his Purpose were two infamous *Ministers*, *Empson* and *Dudley*, who regardless of their own and the Kings Reputation, minded only how to gratify his Humour, and devise new Methods to fill his Coffers. *Dudley* was of a good Family, well skilled in the Laws of the Land, and able to give a specious Turn to the most hateful Actions. *Empson* was sprung from the Dregs of the People *, impudent to the last Degree, and so little ashamed of the unjust Things he committed, that he used to glory in them. These are some of the Means they put in Practice to draw Money from the People into the King's Treasury, besides numberless others too long to be recounted.

Their Character.

Sundry Means used by them to procure Money. Bacon.

In the first Place, They caused such as were counted Rich to be indicted of sundry Crimes; and when the *Bills* were found by the *Grand-Jury*, they *committed* them, without bringing them to their *Tryal*, till of themselves

* She died in Childbed, having been delivered of a Daughter called *Elizabeth* in the *Tower*, who died soon after her Mother. The Queen was buried at *Westminster*. *Stow's Ann.*

*1 He was a *Sieve-Maker's* Son. *Bacon.*

themſelves the Parties accuſed deſired to *compound* with the King: If it was a good while before they took that Step, the *Miniſters* found Means to terrify them by their Emiſſaries, who made them believe that their Lives were at Stake. By which Means the Parties were forced at length to come to a *Compoſition*, which tore from them the beſt Part of their Eſtates, and which the *Miniſters* termed however *Mitigations*, as if the King had done them a Favour in abating the too great Rigour of the Law. 1503.

2. They carried Matters ſo far at length, that they proceeded without obſerving any Form of Juſtice at all. They ſent forth their Orders to *attach* and *cite* People before themſelves, at their own private Houſes, in a *Court* of *Commiſſion*, and there after a *ſummary Proceeding* by *Examination*, without *Evidences* or *Witneſſes*, paſſed *Sentence* and condemned them in large *Fines* to the uſe of the King. Thus without vouchſafing to make uſe of *Juries*, and the Methods preſcribed by the *Law*, they took upon themſelves to deal as well in *Controverſies Civil*, as in *Pleas* of the *Crown*. One would have thought that all *Criminal Cauſes* had belonged to that kind of *Juriſdiction*, which having been very rare in the former Reigns, was grown common in this.

3. They charged the *Subjects* Lands with *Tenures in Capite*, by finding *falſe Offices*, refuſing upon divers Pretexts and Delays to admit People to *traverſe* thoſe *falſe Offices* according to *Law*. Hence they formed abundance of *Proceſſes*, whereof they themſelves were the Judges, and which were always decided in Favour of the *Crown*.

4. When the *King's Wards* had attained to their *full Age*, they could never have *Livery* of their Lands without paying exceſſive *Fines*, contrary to the expreſs Tenour of *Magna Charta* *.

* They vexed Men alſo with *Informations* of *Intruſion* upon ſcarce colourable *Titles*. Bacon.

1503. 5. When Men were *Out-lawed* in *Perſonal Actions*, the *Miniſters* would not permit them to purchaſe their *Charters* of *Pardon*, unleſs they paid great and intolerable Sums; ſtanding upon the Rigour of the *Law* which upon *Out-lawries* gives *Forfeiture* of *Goods*. Nay, contrary to all Law and Colour, they maintained that the King ought to have the half of Men's *Lands* and *Rents* during the ſpace of full two Years, in Caſe of *Out-lawry*.

6. They would alſo threaten the *Jurors*, and force them *to find* as they ſhould direct; and if they refuſed to act ſo unjuſtly, they cited, impriſoned and fined them *.

It is needleſs to repeat any more of their Courſes. Theſe I have mentioned are ſufficient to ſhow that Men of this Stamp made no Conſcience of committing the moſt flagrant Acts of Injuſtice, provided it turned to the King's Benefit. For which they were leſs blameable than the King himſelf, who ſuffered them to abuſe thus his Name and Authority.

Remarkable Inſtance of the King's Rigour. Bacon.

We do not find in the Life of this Monarch, that he ever exerciſed one Act of Favour in the Matter of *Fines* or *Confiſcations*. On the contrary, he was always inflexible upon that Score, even with regard to his moſt faithful Servants. His Hiſtorian relates a Particular well worth noting, as it ſerves to diſcover plainly the Character of this Prince. The Earl of *Oxford* of all the Lords of the Kingdom was the Perſon in whom he had the moſt Confidence, and who had indeed done him the greateſt Services, as well in War as in Peace. One Day the King went to viſit him at his Caſtle [at *Henningham*] and was entertained by him with all poſſible Splendour and Magnificence. When the King was ready to go away, he ſaw

* My Lord *Bacon* obſerves, that their principal working was upon *Penal Laws*, wherein they ſpared neither Great nor Small, nor conſidered whether the Law was *poſſible* or *impoſſible*, in *uſe* or *obſolete*: And had ever a Rabble of *Promoters* and leading *Jurors* at Command, ſo as they could have any Thing *found* as they pleaſed.

ſaw a great Number of Men dreſſed in rich Liveries, and ranged on both Sides to make him a Lane. The Earl it ſeems had forgot that ſeveral *Acts of Parliament* had forbid the giving of *Liveries* but to *Menial* Servants, as it has been obſerved before, but the King remembered it very well. Wherefore turning to the Earl, he ſaid, *My Lord, I have heard much talk of your Magnificence and Hoſpitality: but I find they exceed all Report. Theſe handſome Gentlemen and Yeomen I ſee on both Sides of me are ſure your Menial Servants.* The Earl not perceiving the King's Drift, anſwered ſmiling, that he did not keep ſo many Domeſticks, but that theſe People were only his *Retainers*, come to do him Service on ſuch extraordinary Occaſions. The King ſtarted a little and ſaid, *By my Faith, my Lord, I thank you for your good Cheer; but I muſt not ſuffer to have my Laws broken before my Face. My Attorney-General muſt talk with you.* The Hiſtorian adds, that this Treſpaſs coſt the Earl fifteen Thouſand Marks *. 1503.

The ſame Hiſtorian ſays, that he had ſeen a Book of Accounts of *Empſon*'s that had the King's Hand almoſt to every Leaf, by way of *Signing*, and was in ſome Places *Poſtilled* in the *Margin* with the King's Hand likewiſe, where among many others was this *Memorandum:*

Item, Received of ſuch a one, five Marks for the Pardon to be procured; and if the Pardon do not paſs, the Money to be repaid; except the Party be ſome other way ſatisfied. And over-againſt this *Memorandum* of the King's own Hand, was written by him in the *Margin, Otherways Satisfied.* He was unwilling to pardon the Man, and yet could not find in his Heart to reſtore the five Marks. Hence it is plain he did not neglect ſmall Profits.

* It is ſaid in the *Original* 1500, but I ſuppoſe it an Errour of the Printer, for my Lord *Bacon* ſays, 15000.

1503. *The Earl of Suffolk's Conſpiracy.*

It is eaſy to gueſs that the King's and the Miniſtry's Management bred great Diſcontents and Murmurings among the People. The great Men themſelves meeting with no more Quarter than the meaneſt, groaned under the Oppreſſions of *Empſon* and *Dudley*, two *Blood-Suckers*, who ſpared neither Friend nor Foe. The Earl of *Suffolk* whom the King had lately pardoned, fancied that theſe Diſcontents would raiſe in the End ſome violent Storm againſt the King, if the People could find a Perſon of Note to head them. As he was of the *Houſe of York* by his Mother, he imagined the Time was come to aſſert his Rights, and that the People would not fail to declare for him. In this Belief he perſwaded ſeveral Lords and Gentlemen to promiſe to ſtand by him at a proper Seaſon, and then withdrew into *Flanders*, from whence he made his Friends expect a powerful Aid by Means of the Dutcheſs of *Burgundy*.

He withdraws into Flanders.

Henry diſcovers his Secrets.

The King, ſurprized at the Earl of *Suffolk*'s going away, made no queſtion but that he had contrived ſome Plot in *England* before his Departure, and that he was not without his Accomplices. In order to have full Information of Matters, he believed the beſt way would be to uſe the ſame Arts he had done with reſpect to *Perkin Warbeck*. To that End he diſpatched Orders to Sir *Robert Curſon* Governour of the Caſtle at *Hammes* near *Calais*, one that he knew to be fit for his Purpoſe, and entirely at his Devotion. Purſuant to his Inſtructions, *Curſon* relinquiſhing his Government, under Colour of ſome Affront the King had deſignedly put upon him, came to the Earl of *Suffolk* with Offers of his Service. He played his Part ſo well, that the Earl let him into all his Secrets. By which Means the King came to know that *William Courtney* Earl of *Devonſhire*, married to *Catharine*, *Edward the Fourth*'s Daughter, *William de la Pole*, Brother of the Earl of *Suffolk*, Sir *James Tyrrel*, Sir *John Windham*, and ſeveral other meaner Perſons, were concerned in the Plot. They were all apprehend-

His Accomplices are apprehended.

ed

ed in one and the ſame Day *. But as apparently there was not ſufficient *Evidence* againſt the two firſt, the King was contented with keeping them in Priſon. The which gave Occaſion to think they were not guilty, but that the King uſed that Pretenſe to ſecure them, becauſe their Relation to the *Houſe of York* made him uneaſy. As for *Tyrrel*, againſt whom the Blood of *Edward* V and the Duke of *York* cried for Vengeance, he was beheaded with *Windham* his Accomplice. The reſt of meaner Quality died the Death of Traitors. 1503.

The King uſes an extraordinary Method to deceive him.

Mean while, *Henry* wanting to know more of the Earl of *Suffolk*'s Secrets, took Care to keep up *Curſon*'s Credit with him by an extraordinary Method. He cauſed *Innocent* VIII's *Bull* of *Excommunication* to be publiſhed at *Paul's-Croſs*, againſt all Perſons that ſhould diſturb him in the Poſſeſſion of the Throne, and particularly againſt the Earl of *Suffolk* and Sir *Robert Curſon*. But as ſoon as he had got from the Earl all his Secrets, he returned to *England*, where he was graciouſly received by the King, but the People looking upon him with Horror, loaded him with Curſes. The Earl of *Suffolk*'s Meaſures being entirely broken by *Curſon*'s Flight, he roved up and down for ſome Time in *Germany*, and at length returned to *Flanders*, where the Archduke, notwithſtanding the Treaties he had made with *Henry*, took him under his Protection.

Project of Marriage between the Princeſs of Wales and Prince Henry.

The King being very well ſatisfied that the Earl had not in *England* a Party ſtrong enough to ſupport him, ſhowed no farther Uneaſineſs upon his Score. Another Buſineſs troubled him much more. He had received a Hundred Thouſand Crowns of Gold, in Part of the Portion of the Princeſs of *Wales* his Daughter-in-law *Arthur*'s Widow. As that Prince died without Iſſue, there was a Neceſſity either of ſending

* At the ſame Time were taken up *George* Lord *Abergavenny*, and Sir *Thomas Green*, but upon leſs Suſpicion, and therefore were ſoon after ſet at Liberty. *Bacon*.

1503. ſending back the Widow to *Spain*, and conſequently of returning the Hundred Thouſand Crowns, or in Caſe ſhe ſtayed in *England*, of giving her the Third Part of the *Principality* of *Wales* *, which had been ſettled upon her. Both theſe Things were equally grievous to a Prince of *Henry*'s Temper. However there was no avoiding them without breaking with *Ferdinand*, the which did not at all ſuit with his preſent Circumſtances. The Truth is, the Difference other Princes, and eſpecially the King of *France* had for him, was properly owing to his ſtrict Alliance with the *Spaniſh* Monarch. In this ſtreight he bethought himſelf of an Expedient very proper to ſecure him the Friendſhip of *Ferdinand*, with the Sum received, and to help him to the other Hundred Thouſand Crowns which remained to be paid. And that was to marry *Catharine* to his Son *Henry*, now Prince of *Wales* by the Death of his elder Brother. The Propoſal being made to the King and Queen of *Spain*, they agreed to it on Condition the Pope's *Diſpenſation* was firſt procured. This was the Subject of an Agreement made between the two Crowns on the 23d of *June*, without any mention of the Articles of the intended Marriage. It muſt be obſerved, that in this Agreement, it was alledged as a neceſſary Reaſon for demanding the *Diſpenſation*, not only that *Arthur* and *Henry* were *Brothers*, but moreover that *Arthur*'s Marriage with *Catharine* was ſolemnized in Form, and conſummated.

Agreement between Henry *and* Ferdinand Jan. 23. Act Pub. XIII. 76.

Alexander VI dying in the mean Time, *Pius* IV ſucceeded him. But as he out-lived not the 18th of *October*, it was to *Julius* II, who was elected the 1ſt of *November*, that the two King applied for the *Diſpenſation*. The new Pope granted a *Bull* to that Purpoſe, wherein he ſaid, that in the *Petition* lately preſented to him, *Henry* and *Catharine* did ſet forth, that *Catharine*

Pope Julius's *Diſpenſation for the Marriage.* Dec. 26. *p.* 88.

* And likewiſe of the Dukedom of *Cornwal*, and Earldom of *Cheſter*, for a Third of all three was ſettled upon her *Bacon. Rym. Fœd.*

Catharine had contracted Matrimony *per verba de Præsenti*, with the late Prince *Arthur*, and that the Marriage had been ſolemnized in Form, and *perhaps conſummated*. Upon the Word *perhaps*, it muſt be remarked, that upon this Occaſion it cannot be a Term denoting any Doubt, ſince it was not the Pope that ſpeaks in the *Petition*, but *Catharine*, who ſhould know whether the Marriage was conſummated or not. It is only a Term to give the greater Force to the *Diſpenſation*, as obviating all the Objections which one ſhould be able to make. This is evident by the Sequel of the *Bull*, where the Pope permits *Henry* and *Catharine* to remain in the State of Matrimony, though they ſhould have been married before, publickly or privately, and ſhould have *perhaps* conſummated their Marriage by carnal Copulation. It is eaſy to ſee that the Word *perhaps*, is inſerted purely to give the more Force to the *Diſpenſation*, by preventing all Caſes that might render it invalid. It was neceſſary to make theſe Obſervations beforehand, by Reaſon of the important Conſequences this Affair was attended with in the following Reign. 1503.

The King of *Scotland*'s Marriage was conſummated in *September* according to Agreement, *Henry* having conducted the Queen his Daughter as far as *York*, from whence ſhe purſued her Journey to *Scotland*. Margaret *is conducted to* Scotland.

The Archduke *Philip* returned this Year into the *Low-Countries* after about a Year's ſtay in *Spain*. As he paſſed through *France*, he endeavoured to make up a Difference between King *Ferdinand* his Father-in-law, and *Lewis* XII, about the Kingdom of *Naples*. He even took upon him to conclude in *Ferdinand*'s Name, a Treaty which *Ferdinand* afterwards refuſed to ſtand to. Had he had to do with a Prince of leſs Goodneſs and Equity than *Lewis* XII, that Refuſal might have thrown him into great Streights. But *Lewis* was ſo Generous as not to take Advantage of it. The Occaſion, in ſhort, of the Rupture between the two Monarchs was this : *The Archduke returns to the* Low-Countries. Mezerai.

I have

1503. *Rupture between* Lewis XII *and* Ferdinand.

I have mentioned before, that they had divided the Kingdom of *Naples* after conquering it. It was hardly possible that these two Princes should long possess their respective Shares, without some Occasion of Quarrel happening. Accordingly a Dispute arose about the *Capitanata* which each would have in his Lot. Whereupon the *French* and *Spaniards* came to Blows. At first the *French* got the better, but afterwards they lost two Battles, one near St. *Severina* in *Calabria* on the 21st of *April*, the other on the 28th of the same Month at *Cerignoles*, where the Duke of *Nemours* their General was slain. After these two Victories *Gonsolvo*, who commanded *Ferdinand*'s Troops, became Master of the whole Kingdom of *Naples*. *Lewis* desirous to repair his Losses, sent a strong Army into *Italy*. But sundry unexpected Accidents rendered it of no Effect.

The French *are driven out of* Naples.

1504. *Subsidy given the King for the Marriage of his Daughter.*

The 16th of *January* 1504 the King assembled the Parliament on pretense of the Necessity of reviving certain *Statutes*, and making some new ones. But the real Motive of calling it was to demand a *Subsidy* for the Portion of his eldest Daughter. The Custom of demanding Money on such Occasions redounded too much to the King's Benefit for him to suffer it to be abolished. The Queen of *Scotland*'s Portion was but thirty Thousand *Nobles* *, but one may guess that the *Subsidy* amounted to a much larger Sum, besides that the *Clergy* made him also a handsome Present upon the same Account. So instead of emptying his Coffers by marrying his Daughter, he filled them the fuller by it. Nothing shows more plainly the almost absolute Power the King had ingrossed, then the Choice of *Dudley* for *Speaker* of the *House* of *Commons*. He was the most hated Person in the Kingdom, except *Empson* his Associate, who was as odious as himself. Wherefore it must needs be that the Fear of displeasing the King, by rejecting the Person he recom-

Bacon. Dudley *Speaker of the House of Commons.*

* *Rapin* calls them Crowns. But *Rymer* XIII. 118 says, 30,000 *Angels Nobles*, the Value of each *Noble* being *Viginti Grossos*.

commended, made the *Commons* reſolve to make that Choice. 1504.

Advantagious Statutes for the King.

The *Subſidy* was not the only Thing that the King made to turn to his Account in this Parliament. He found Means to get ſome *Acts* paſſed which ſeemed to aim wholly at the Good of the Publick, but in reality tended only to procure him Money. For Inſtance, all *Patents* of *Leaſe* or *Grant* were diſannulled to ſuch as came not [upon lawful *Summons*] to ſerve the King againſt the Rebels *. As the Number of *Delinquents* in this Reſpect was very great, this *Act* was a fertile Source of Treaſure to the King, by reaſon they were obliged to renew their *Leaſes* and *Grants*, which they could not do but upon very hard Conditions.

Another *Statute* made all ſorts of clipped or impaired *Coins* of Silver not to be Currant in Payments, without ſuffering them ſo much as to paſs for the Value of their Weight. As there were ſcarce any other in the Kingdom, every Body was fain to bring in their ready Money to the *Mint*, in order to be new coined, by which the King was a very great Gainer.

The *Statute* againſt giving *Liveries* to any but *Menial* Servants was alſo revived, from whence *Empſon* and *Dudley* had an Opportunity to attack abundance of People.

Thus the King continually heaping up without being obliged to any extraordinary Expence, at a Time when his ordinary Expences were very moderate and huſbanded in the beſt Manner poſſible, could not but abound in ready Money. But then he doubly ruined his Subjects; firſt by draining their Purſes, and ſecondly by hindering the Coin, of which he had great Quantities in his Treaſury, from circulating in Trade. On the other Hand, *Empſon* and *Dudley* kept on their ſhameful Extortions with ſuch Rigour that the *En-*

* The like *Act* had been made before for *Offices*, and by this *Statute* it was extended to *Lands*. *Bacon*.

1404. *gliſh* had never felt the like under any of their former Kings.

The King thinks of canonizing Henry VI. *but drops it.*

About this time *Henry* had Thoughts of *canonizing Henry* VI. the laſt King of the *Houſe of Lancaſter*. But he met with two grand Obſtacles. The firſt, that the *Miracles* aſcribed to that Prince ſince his Death were not well atteſted, and that the Actions of his Life, which they made ſuch boaſt of, ſhowed rather the Weakneſs of his Underſtanding than his Sanctity. But the ſecond Difficulty cauſed the Project entirely to vaniſh, which was the neceſſary Charges of this *Canonization*. As it is an Act of Grace and Favour, the Pope proportions generally the Expences not to the Perſon of the *Saint* himſelf, but to the Riches of him that ſollicites the *Canonization*. The King even perceived, that the Court of *Rome*'s queſtioning *Henry the Sixth*'s Sanctity, tended only to heighten the Favour and inhance the Price accordingly. This was enough to make him lay aſide all Thoughts of the Matter. So avaricious a Prince could hardly reſolve to empty his Coffers for ſo needleſs a Thing, and which at beſt would have procured him only the Praiſes of the Friends of *the Houſe of Lancaſter*. He was contented therefore with obtaining a *Bull* for the Removal of *Henry* VI's Body to *Weſtminſter* among his Anceſtors. He had been buried at firſt in a ſecret Place of the Monaſtery at *Chertſey* near *London*, from whence he was removed to *Windſor*.

Bull to remove his Corps to Weſtminſter. Act Pub. XIII. 103. Jun. 19.

Proclamation in favour of the Subjects. Aug. 19. p. 106.

The 19th of *Auguſt Henry* iſſued out a *Proclamation*, giving notice that he had appointed *Commiſſioners* to whom his Creditors and ſuch as had any Demands upon him might apply for the Space of two Years, to commence the firſt Day of *November*. It is pretty hard to gueſs whether he did this from a Principle of Equity, and with Intent to ſatisfy thoſe he had injured, or whether he deſigned only to blind Peoples Eyes by this Act of Juſtice. The firſt would be the moſt likely, if from this time he had put a ſtop to the Exactions of *Empſon* and *Dudley*. But it is difficult to believe that, whilſt he ſuffered his Subjects to be oppreſſed

preſſed by theſe two *Miniſters*, he really intended to do Juſtice to all the World. 1504.

Iſabella Queen of *Caſtile* dying on the 26th of *November*, *Ferdinand* her Spouſe writ the ſame Day to *Henry* to give him notice of it. He told him in his Letter that the deceaſed Queen had appointed him in her *Will* Adminiſtrator of the Kingdom of *Caſtile*, for *Joan* their Daughter, Wife of the Archduke of *Auſtria*, and who by the Death of the Queen her Mother was become Queen of *Caſtile*. *Death of the Queen of* Caſtile. p. 112.

When the Archduke received the News of *Iſabella*'s Death, he was employed in making War upon the Duke of *Gueldres*. This War preventing him from going into *Spain* ſo ſoon as he could have wiſhed, he ſaw himſelf obliged to leave to King *Ferdinand* his Father-in-law the Government of *Caſtile*, fully bent however to take it from him as ſoon as poſſible. On the other Hand, *Ferdinand* making the beſt of *Iſabella*'s *Will*, pretended to keep the Adminiſtration of that Kingdom as long as he lived, apparently becauſe the deceaſed Queen had limited it to no Time. *Diſpute between* Ferdinand *and the Archduke his Son-in-law.*

This Diſpute bred ſome Uneaſineſs in *Henry*, whoſe Caſe was the ſame with *Ferdinand*'s, in the Opinion of many People. He was not ignorant that his Subjects for the moſt Part were perſuaded that *Elizabeth* his Spouſe had been of Right the true Queen of *England*, and conſequently the Crown was fallen after her Deceaſe to *Henry* her Son and lawful Heir. Tho' he affected to hold for certain, that *the Houſe of York* had never any Right to the Crown, yet he could not but be uneaſy on that Score, becauſe in general the *Engliſh* were of another mind. It is true, that beſides his Deſcent from the *Houſe of Lancaſter*, he founded his Right upon two other *Titles*, namely, *Conqueſt* and an *Act* of Parliament. But he plainly perceived how weak theſe two Foundations would prove, ſhould *the Houſe of York*, by ſome Turn, come to get ground. Upon this account he was very attentive to what paſſed in *Spain*, looking upon the Deciſion of this Conteſt as a *Precedent* for or againſt him. On the other Hand, *Henry's Uneaſineſs at it.*

1505. Hand, he was afraid that *Philip*, who ſome time ſince ſeemed cloſely united with *Lewis* XII, would join in a League with that Monarch and the Emperour, to oblige *Ferdinand* to yield him up *Caſtile*. In that Caſe he foreſaw that he ſhould be forced either to abandon *Ferdinand* to theſe three potent Enemies, or to enter into a War with them on his account. Both theſe things were equally oppoſite to his Intereſts. In fine, he had caſt his Eyes upon the Queen Dowager of *Naples*, Widow of King *Ferdinand*, for a Wife, that he might enjoy the large Dower ſettled upon her in that Kingdom. Perhaps he was in hopes by marrying that Queen, to render himſelf Umpire of the Diſpute between *Lewis* XII. and *Ferdinand* about the Kingdom of *Naples*.

He projects to marry the Queen Dowager of Naples.

With Deſign therefore to know fully the State of the *Caſtilians*, and the Qualities of the Queen of *Naples*, he ſent three Perſons into *Italy* and *Spain*, not as Ambaſſadors but as Travellers for their Pleaſure *. But however, that they might have acceſs to the Queen of *Naples* and *Ferdinand*, he ordered it ſo that the Princeſs of *Wales* gave them Letters both for the King her Father and the young Queen. Theſe Gentlemen's private *Inſtructions* with reſpect to the Queen were very particular. The King wanted to be informed exactly of her Age, her Complexion, her Stature, her Health, her Temper, her Inclinations, her Behaviour and Eſtate. This ſhows he was not willing to be raſh in his Reſolution. But the Project vaniſhed when the King came to find by his Meſſengers, that indeed the Queen's Marriage-Settlement was very conſiderable: but that *Ferdinand* had changed it into a Penſion for Life, ſince his being poſſeſſed of the Kingdom of *Naples*.

Affairs of Ferdinand *and* Philip.

When the Gentlemen arrived in *Spain*, the Conteſt between *Ferdinand* and *Philip* his Son-in-law was ſtill on the ſame Foot. They ſent the King word therefore,

* They were *Francis Ma-ſin*, *James Braybrook*, and *John Still*, Bacon.

fore, that *Ferdinand* continued to govern *Caſtile* as *Adminiſtrator:* That he was even in hopes to perſuade *Philip* to leave him the Adminiſtration freely during his Life, as well by Means of ſome of his *Council* whom he had won, as by threatning him to marry again, and ſo give an Heir to the Kingdom of *Arragon:* That there was to that End a Marriage on foot between *Ferdinand* and *Germaine de Foix*, which would be infallibly accompliſhed, in caſe *Philip* was reſolved to moleſt the King his Father-in-law. They informed him moreover, that *Ferdinand*'s Secretary had diſcovered to them as a great Secret, that the Marriage of Prince *Charles* of *Auſtria* with *Claude* of *France* would not take effect, becauſe *Lewis* XII. was bent to give his Daughter to *Francis* Duke of *Angoulême* his Heir-apparent. That then, on Suppoſition that *Philip* would ſtay in *the Low-Countries* with his Queen, *Ferdinand* intended to demand of the King *Mary* his ſecond Daughter for the young Prince of *Auſtria*. Theſe Informations containing nothing certain, *Henry* could take no Meaſures, till he ſaw how the Affairs of *Spain* were like to go. 1505.

Whilſt *Ferdinand* and *Philip* were negotiating about their Difference, *Philip* and *Joan* were proclaimed King and Queen of *Caſtile* at *Bruſſels*. They ſhowed by that, they intended not to give up for ever the Adminiſtration of *Caſtile* to *Ferdinand* as he had flattered himſelf. Mean while the War of *Gueldres*, and Queen *Joan*'s being near her Time, hindered them from going as they had reſolved to *Caſtile*. They knew that the *Caſtilians* were not well-pleaſed with *Ferdinand*, and doubted not but as ſoon as they ſhould appear, all the People would declare for them. For the ſame Reaſon *Ferdinand* made uſe of all his Cunning to diſſuade them from going. *Philip and Joan take the Title of King and Queen of Caſtile.*

In the mean while *Margaret* of *Auſtria*, *Philip*'s Siſter, loſt her Spouſe the Duke of *Savoy*, who died the 10th of *September*. Some Days after the new Queen of *Caſtile* was brought to Bed of a Princeſs who *Death of the Duke of Savoy.*

1505. who was called *Mary*, and was afterwards Queen of *Hungary*.

Henry's Alliance with the Duke of Saxony. XIII. 120.

This Year brought forth but very few remarkable Events with regard to *England*. Besides what has been related, we find only a Treaty of Alliance between *Henry* and *George* Duke of *Saxony*, Hereditary Governour of *Frise*, to whom *Henry* had sent Ambassadors ever since *February*. This Treaty was concluded on the 30th of *December*.

1506. **Philip and Joan set out for Spain.**

The War of *Gueldres* being over, and Queen *Joan* able to travel, *Philip* resolved to carry her to *Castile*, well-knowing that was the only way to secure the Government of that Kingdom. Though they intended to go thither by Sea, they chose the Winter Season, it seems, on purpose to take *Ferdinand* unawares, who probably would not expect them at that time of the Year. They set out on the 10th of *January* under a strong Convoy prepared before-hand.

A Storm drives them into England.

But before they got out of *the Channel*, a terrible Storm dispersed their Fleet, and the Ship on which they were aboard, with much difficulty ran into *Weymouth* in *England*, having been in great danger.

They land at Weymouth.

The King and Queen were so fatigued and sick, that contrary to the Opinion of their *Council* they would needs land to refresh their Spirits.

Mean while the Country People seeing a large Fleet, were very much alarmed. They immediately ran to their Arms, and Sir *Thomas Trenchard* at the Head of some Troops marched to *Weymouth*, to join the People in case of an Invasion. As soon as he heard that the King and Queen of *Castile* were landed, he went and paid his Respects to them, praying them to do him the Honour to lodge at his House, till the King was informed of their Arrival. *Philip* would very fain have embarked again. But he perceived they would not suffer him till they had received the King's Orders, to whom an *Express* was dispatched. So without much Intreaty he consented to stay till they heard from *Court*.

As

As ſoon as *Henry* had notice of the King and Queen of *Caſtile*'s Arrival, he ſent the Earl of *Arundel* * with his Compliments, letting them know that he would make all poſſible haſte to come and embrace them. The Earl withal aſſured them from the King, that they were as much Maſter in his Dominions as himſelf. *Philip* finding there was no avoiding ſeeing the King, believ'd he ſhould gain time by going to him. To that Purpoſe he went with all ſpeed to *Windſor*, whilſt his Queen followed by eaſy Journeys. *Henry* received them both with all the Marks of Friendſhip he could deviſe, but however, ruminating all the while how to reap ſome Advantage from the Accident which had thrown them into his Dominions *.

1506. *The King ſends his Compliments to them.*

They go to the King at Windſor.

Some Days after he gave *Philip* to underſtand, that as his Condition was altered, it would be proper to renew their Treaty of Commerce; to which *Philip* agreed, though the Reaſon *Henry* alledged was of no manner of force. For *Philip* by being King of *Caſtile*, was not the leſs Sovereign of *the Low-Countries*, the firſt Dignity cauſing no Alteration in the laſt. But *Henry* had his Views, and *Philip* plainly enough perceived that being in his Power, he ought carefully to avoid all Occaſions of offending him, for fear he ſhould find ſome Pretence to ſtay him in *England*. He was not ignorant of the ſtrict Union between *Henry* and *Ferdinand*, and was under ſome Apprehenſions that *Henry* would think of obſtructing his Voyage in Kindneſs to his Father-in-law. However that be, the Treaty was renewed, but with ſome Alterations in favour of the *Engliſh*. Amongſt other Things, an Article of the old Treaty was ſuppreſſed, which permitted

Treaty of Commerce renewed in favour of the Engliſh. XIII. 142.

* The Earl came to him in great Magnificence with a brave Troop of three hundred *Horſe*, and (for the more State) by *Torch-light*. Bacon.

*1 *Philip* at their firſt Meeting told the King, *That he was now puniſhed for his refuſing to come within his walled Town of* Calais, *when they met laſt.* The King replied, *That Walls and Seas were nothing where Hearts were open; and that he was here only to be ſerved.* Bacon.

1506. mitted *Philip*'s Subjects to fish on the Coasts of *England*. This made the Inhabitants of *the Low-Countries* call it [*Intercursus Malus* or] *the Bad Treaty*.

Henry's *Marriage with the Dutchess of* Savoy *agreed upon.* 151, 155.

This Affair being finished, *Henry* opened his Mind to *Philip* about his Design to marry *Margaret* his Sister, Widow of the Duke of *Savoy*. *Philip* seemed very well-pleased with the Proposal. And indeed, nothing could be more for his Advantage than to make *Henry* his Friend by this Alliance, for fear he should openly espouse the King of *Arragon*'s Quarrel. So the Marriage was concluded at *Windsor* on the 20th of *March* *. By the Articles signed by both Sides, *Philip* bound himself to give the Dutchess his Sister Three Hundred Thousand Crowns [of *French* Gold] with a yearly Pension of Three Thousand Eight Hundred and Fifty of the same. Mean while, *Henry* fearing *Philip* would go from his word, when he should be out of his Power, caused to be inserted in the Treaty, that the principal Lords of the *Low-Countries* should swear, that they would use their utmost Endeavours to have the Marriage consummated. The Oaths of several of the Lords in pursuance of this Article, are to be seen in *the Collection of the Publick Acts*.

Henry *demands of* Philip *the Earl of* Suffolk. Philip *denies him.*

Henry had one Thing more to obtain of *Philip*, without which he could not think of letting him go, though outwardly he continued to caress him. And that was, to deliver up the Earl of *Suffolk* who was then in *Flanders*. But upon his proposing it, *Philip* told him plainly, that he could not comply with his Request: that he was engaged in Honour not to sacrifice a Lord whom he had taken under his Protection: that besides, the doing as he desired would be dishonourable to himself, since the World would not fail to say that he was forced to it when he was in *England*. *Henry*, who minded but little what the World said provided he got his Ends, replied, that he

* This Treaty of Marriage is not found in the *Fœdera*, but is supposed and referred to by the *Acts* which follow the Treaty of Alliance or Commerce, dated *Feb.* 9.

he would take all the Diſhonour upon himſelf. This Anſwer threw *Philip* into a great Perplexity. He was unwilling to betray the Earl of *Suffolk* after promiſe to protect him. But on the other Hand, he was very ſenſible that *Henry* was bent upon having that Lord at any rate, and that he had an infallible Means in his Hands to come at him. Beſides, in the preſent Poſture of his Affairs, not being ſure yet whether he ſhould not be forced to go to War with his Father-in-law, it was eaſy for him to foreſee that he might ſtand in need of the King of *England*, and therefore it would be very wrong to diſoblige him. In ſpite of the Streight he was in, he ſuddenly came to a Reſolution, and with an Air of Confidence ſpoke in this manner: *Sir, ſince you are pleaſed to give Law to me, permit me to do the ſame by you. I will deliver up the Earl, but you ſhall give me your Honour that you'll not touch his Life.* *Henry* agreeing to what he ſaid, *Philip* deſired the Thing might be done ſo, as both their Honours ſhould be ſaved. *I'll order the Matter*, added he, *that the Earl ſhall come to* England *of his own accord, by which it will appear that I have ſollicited and obtained his Pardon, and that you were very ready to grant it.* *Henry* liking the Expedient, the Earl of *Suffolk* willingly cloſed with the Offer made him. Mean while, *Henry* deſirous of having the Earl in his Power before *Philip*'s Departure, continued his Entertainments and Diverſions on pretence of doing Honour to the King and Queen of *Caſtile*, but in reality, on purpoſe to gain Time till the Earl was arrived. He admitted *Philip* to *the Order of the Garter*; and *Philip* made the Prince of *Wales Knight of the Golden-Fleece.* After that, *Henry* carried his Gueſts to *London*, where they were magnificently entertained. Shortly after the Earl of *Suffolk* came from *Flanders*, and was conveyed to *the Tower*. Thus *Henry* kept *Philip* in *England* above three Months under colour of doing him Honour, till he had got all he wanted of him. In all appearance *Philip* ſaw plainly, notwithſtanding all the Careſſes he received, that it was not in his

1506.

He complies on Condition Henry *would not put him to death.*

The Earl of Suffolk *is ſent to the Tower.*

1506. Philip *and his Queen set out for* Spain.

Power to go when he pleased: Else it is not likely that, as he intended to sail into *Spain* in the Month of *January*, he would have staid willingly in *England* till the End of *April* or the Beginning of *May*.

Ferdinand *retires to* Arragon.

Upon *Philip*'s and *Joan*'s Arrival in *Castile*, the People showed so great Affection for them, that *Ferdinand* could easily see that his Endeavours to keep the Government of the Kingdom would be in vain. Accordingly, without insisting any longer upon his *Administratorship*, which could not take place but in the Queen his Daughter's Absence, he withdrew to his own Realm of *Arragon*. After which he went to *Naples*, where *Gonsolvo* his General began to raise his Jealousy. Thus *Philip* and *Joan* remained in Possession of *Castile*: but they did not continue so long.

Philip's *Death.*

Within a few Months *Philip* was seized with a Distemper, of which he died the 25th of *September*. He left the Guardianship of his Son *Charles* to *Lewis* XII. who appointed the Lord *de Chievrei* for his Governour. This Choice, which was generally well liked, and was a clear Evidence of *Lewis*'s Honesty and Disinterestedness, proved fatal to *France*, inasmuch as the Governour made his *Pupil* more Able than would have been necessary for the Good of the Kingdom.

Joan *loses her Senses, and* Ferdinand *returns to* Castile.

The Death of *Philip* was so astonishing a Blow to his Queen, that it quite turned her Brains, and made her uncapable of governing the *State*. Whereupon *Ferdinand* her Father resumed the Administration of Affairs, which he had been deprived of but five Months. He is said to take no great Care to have the Queen cured, lest recovering her Senses she should send him back again to *Arragon*.

Lewis XII. *gives to the Duke of* Angoulême *his Daughter promised to* Charles *of* Austria.

The Disinterestedness *Lewis* XII. had shown in respect to the young Archduke Prince of *Spain*, was not long-lived. He had promised to give him *Claude* his eldest Daughter in Marriage: but he thought it better to marry her to *Francis* Duke of *Angoulême* his Heir-apparent. Moreover, being apprehensive that a League would be formed against him between the Emperour, the Archduke, and *Ferdinand*, and that

that the King of *England* might come into it likewiſe, he did all he could to embroil young *Charles*'s Affairs, by ſtirring up the Duke of *Gueldres* to renew the War. 1506.

The Archduke being too young to govern, the *Flemings* prayed the Emperour his Grandfather to come and take the Adminiſtration in his Grandſon's Name. *Maximilian* granted their Requeſt, and till he could come himſelf he ſent them *Margaret* his Daughter, Widow of the Duke of *Savoy*. 1507. Margaret *Dutcheſs of* Savoy *governs the Low-Countries.*

Upon that Princeſs's Arrival at *Bruſſels*, ſhe concluded with *Henry* a proviſional Treaty of Commerce, till they ſhould have time to ſettle ſome Differences which the late Treaty had occaſioned between the Merchants of both Nations. This Treaty was ſigned at *Calais* on the 5th of *June*. *Treaty of Commerce with the Low-Countries.* XIII. 168.

The ſame Ambaſſadors which were met at *Calais*, ſpent the reſt of the Year there, in treating of the Marriage of *Charles* Archduke of *Auſtria*, Sovereign of the *Low-Countries*, and Prince of *Caſtile*, with *Mary*, *Henry*'s ſecond Daughter. At length, on the 21ſt of *December*, they ſigned a Treaty, wherein it was agreed that *Charles* ſhould marry the Princeſs *Mary* as ſoon as he ſhould be fourteen Years old, and that her Portion ſhould be Two Hundred and Fifty Thouſand Crowns of Gold. The young Prince ran the Risk of loſing the Kingdoms of *Arragon*, *Valencia*, *Grenada*, and the Principality of *Catalonia*, his Grandfather *Ferdinand* having married *Germaine de Foix*. But luckily for him they had no Children. *Marriage agreed upon between* Mary *the King's Daughter with* Charles *of* Auſtria. 171—230.

Though *Henry*'s Treaſury over-flowed, yet was he never ſatisfied with heaping up Money. We have ſeen that in the Year 1504 the Parliament gave him a *Subſidy* for the Marriage of the Queen of *Scotland* his Daughter. But the Year was not expired, before he iſſued out a *Proclamation* to levy a *Benevolence* of his own Authority, and without any apparent Neceſſity: So that it could not be aſcribed but to Henry *heaps up vaſt Riches.*

1507. his insatiable Desire of hoarding up Money *. He was grown so absolute in his Kingdom, that not a Soul durst oppose his Will, or even show the least Dislike. Mean while *Empson* and *Dudley* continued their Extortions and Oppressions with all imaginable Rigour. This very Year 1507, they fiercely prosecuted the *Mayor* of *London* for his neglecting to bring to Justice a *Coiner* of false Money; and because he would not or could not pay an exorbitant *Fine*, they sent him to the *Tower*. The *Sheriffs*, *Aldermen*, and all those that had bore any Office in the City, were questioned and prosecuted with the same Rigour, and compelled to pay to the King *Fines*, proportioned not to their Abilities, but to the King's and his *Ministers* Rapaciousness.

Empson and Dudley continue their Exactions.

The King is seized with the Gout, *which turns to a* Ptisick.

Whilst the King was wholly intent upon heaping up Riches, he found himself frequently seized with the *Gout*. At first he minded it not, because he thought there was no Danger in that Distemper. But by Degrees the *Humour* falling upon his Lungs, it turned to a *Ptisick*, which made him perceive he had not long to live. He permitted however his two *Ministers* to continue their Exactions without any respect of Persons. He was so pleased to see his Coffers full of Gold and Silver, that he could not find in his Heart to put a Stop to the shameful Proceedings which daily brought him in fresh Sums. He is said to hoard up Eighteen Hundred Thousand Pound *Sterling*. This Sum will appear prodigious, if we consider how scarce Money was then in *Europe*, in Comparison of what it is now-a-Days. He laid up his Treasures at *Richmond*, in Vaults, and would trust no Body with the Keys.

He heaps up 1,800, 000*l.*

1508. *Marriage of* Charles *and* Mary *solemnized by Proxy.* XIII. 230---236.

As the Marriage of the Princess *Mary* with the Archduke was the only considerable Affair *Henry* had upon his Hands at that Time, he employed the whole Year

* Besides what he got by the *Recoinage* of *Groats* and *Half-Groats*, now *Shillings* and *Six-Pences*. And the five Thousand *Marks* which he made the City pay for the Confirmation of their *Liberties* in 1504, *&c.*

Year 1508 in taking Meaſures to make it ſure. The *Acts* of this Year, in *the Collection*, ſcarce regard any Thing elſe. At length, on the 17th of *December*, the Marriage was accompliſhed *per verba de Præſenti*, the Lord *de Berghes* being the young Prince's *Proxy*. As ſuch, he eſpouſed the Princeſs, gave her a Ring, and ſaluted her publickly in the Name of the Prince her Spouſe *. 1508.

About the ſame Time the Archduke pawned to the King a Jewel called *the Rich Flower-de-luce* *, for the Sum of fifty Thouſand Crowns. The Emperour as Grandfather and Guardian of *Charles*, approved of the Marriage and Loan. In all likelihood the Money was borrowed for him. He had Occaſion for it to make a Figure in the League of *Cambray* which he had concluded this Year with the Pope and King of *France*, againſt the *Venetians*, who were become formidable to all *Italy*. *Charles borrows of Henry 50,000 Crowns upon a Jewel.* ibid. 234---239.

As to *Henry*'s Marriage with *Margaret* of *Auſtria*, though it had been concluded in 1506, he thought no more of it, after his falling into a *Ptiſſick*, being ſenſible he was fitter to think of Death than a Wife. *Henry thinks no more of his own Marriage.*

The King perceiving he daily grew worſe, was pleaſed to prepare for Death by granting a *General Pardon*. He freed likewiſe all Debtors that were in Priſon for any Sum under forty Shillings, and payed the Creditors with his own Money. Then he made his *Will*, ordering that his *Heir* ſhould make Reſtitution of whatever his *Officers* and *Miniſters* had unjuſtly taken from his Subjects. But this Remorſe came upon him too late. As he could not reſolve to do it in his Life-Time, the Prince his Son thought not fit to 1509. *A General Pardon.* *He orders his Heir to make Reſtitution.*

* *Henry* was ſo pleaſed with that *Alliance*, that in a Letter to the City of *London*, he expreſſes himſelf as if he thought he had built a *Wall of Braſs* about his Kingdom, in having for his Sons-in-law a *King of Scotland*, and a Prince of *Caſtile* and *Burgundy*. Bacon.

*1 There is in the *Fœdera* the Inventory of the Jewels contained in the *Rich Flower-de-luce*, which weighed, in *Gold* and *precious Stones*, 211 Ounces and a half. XIII. 241.

1508. to let go the Money the King his Father had raked together. He died at *Richmond* on the 22d of *April* 1509, having lived two and fifty Years, and reigned three and Twenty, and eight Months. His Death is said to happen in good Time, for if he had lived much longer, the Prince his Son being now in his seventeenth Year, might not have had the Patience to stay till his Father's Death should put him in Possession of the Throne. In which Case he would have been able to support himself with the Queen his Mother's Title, Heiress of the *House of York*, and to pretend that the King his Father reigned only in the Right of his Queen. This Pretension would have been capable of reviving the old Quarrel and kindling afresh the Flames of a Civil War in the Kingdom. But the King's Death put an End to the Fears of the *English*.

Death of Henry VII.

His Issue. *Henry* VII had three Sons and four Daughters. *Arthur* his eldest died in his seventeenth Year, as hath been said. *Henry* his second was his Successor, and *Edmund* his Third died at the Age of five Years. Of his four Daughters, two died in their Infancy, and the other two, *Margaret* and *Mary*, are sufficiently known by what has been said of them.

His Character. If one reads the History of this Reign with never so little Attention, he will plainly perceive that *Henry* made two Things the sole Ends of all his Actions. The first was to keep the Crown which he had acquired by extraordinary Good-Fortune, and it may be, without ever thinking any Thing of the Matter, till he was invited into *England* by the Duke of *Buckingham*. The other was to heap up Riches. As he never suffered himself to be diverted by other Thoughts, he was wholly intent upon fully examining all Matters which could any ways relate to the two Ends he had ever in View. Ambition, Honour, Glory, Love, Pleasures and the like, which generally possess the Souls of Princes, made but a slight Impression upon his. Content with enjoying his Crown, he thought neither of new Acquisitions, nor of rendering

dering his Name Illuſtrious by great Actions. His Thoughts were entirely taken up with preventing or defeating the Deſigns of his Domeſtick Enemies, or with well filling his Coffers. He had a ſtrange Sagacity in finding out how to make every Thing he was concerned in, turn to his Account. This is what he plainly made appear in the Affair of *Bretagne*, in the Wars he feigned to wage with *France* and *Scotland*, and even in his Domeſtick Troubles, which by his cunning Management turned all to his Profit. 1509.

Though he ſaw himſelf ſometimes forced to take up Arms, never Prince loved Peace better than he *. As he had no Ambition, War had no Charms for him. On the contrary, he conſidered that all the Events of a War whether foreign or domeſtick, were againſt his Intereſt. A foreign War could at beſt but procure him ſome Glory and Acquiſitions Abroad, of which he was not very fond; and a Domeſtick War might do him a great Injury. Beſides a Time of Commotions was no proper Seaſon to deviſe means to ſcrape up Riches. So having laid down this Maxim of his Policy, never to engage in any War without an abſolute Neceſſity, he kept ſteddily to his Principle. It is this that made him behold the loſs of *Bretagne* without Concern, and ſuffer the Inſults of the King of *Scotland* without Reſentment, becauſe it was not from the War it ſelf that he intended to reap any Advantage, but only from the Preparations he ſhould be obliged to make. However, this Policy of his would have been unſeaſonable when he was attacked by domeſtick Enemies, whoſe Aim was to rob him of his Crown. As his All then lay at Stake, he faced the Danger chearfully, though with all the Precautions poſſible not to run any Hazard. He won two Battles upon the Rebels, one at *Stoke*, the other

* His uſual *Preface* to his Treaties was, *That when* Chriſt *came into the World*, Peace was ſung; *and when he went out of the World*, Peace was bequeathed. *Bacon.*

1509. other at *Black-Heath*. But in both he had great Odds on his Side, and fought with Men ill-armed and unskilled in the Art of War. So one cannot say what he would have done, had he been opposed with equal Forces. It is full as difficult to know whether it was owing to his Courage that he headed his Armies in Person, or to his Distrust of those that served him. However that be, he was always fortunate in his Domestick Wars, and from thence gained so great a Name, that all the Princes of *Europe* earnestly courted his Alliance. On the other Hand, the Esteem Foreigners showed for him, did not a little contribute to the rendering him feared by his Subjects. I say, feared, for it is certain he was never beloved. In a Word, his Methods of governing, which came very near to *arbitrary Power*, especially towards the End of his Reign, his insatiable Avarice, his Haughtiness, his Pride, and his dark and reserved Temper. were no proper Qualities to win the Affections of his People.

He never opened his Mind to any Body, except it may be to one or two of his *Ministers*. As for the rest, he set them to work without their knowing themselves the Motives of their own Proceedings. The World was so perswaded that he had always some hidden Design even in his most indifferent Actions, that very often that was ascribed to his Policy, which was purely the Effect of Chance.

The *Spies* he kept in foreign Courts gave him a pretty extensive Knowledge of all that passed there. On the other Side, his Ambassadors were always charged to get Information by all sorts of Ways, of the *Secrets* of the Princes they were sent to. Very often it was the main Point of their *Instructions*. By this Means he made such *Discoveries* as enabled him to convince the foreign *Ministers* residing at his Court, of his great Insight into their Master's Affairs. Hence he reaped many considerable Advantages, chiefly in that the Princes of *Europe* standing in Awe of his Abilities were very forward to live in good Understanding

ſtanding with him. His ſtrict Friendſhip with *Ferdinand* King of *Arragon*, who was a Prince of much the ſame Character, was exceeding uſeful to him. In all likelihood it hindered the Court of *France* from medling more with the Affairs of *England*, and was one of the principal Cauſes of the conſtant Peace he had with his Neighbours. 1509.

Inſtead of raiſing the Credit of the *Nobility*, he took all poſſible Care to leſſen it. His *Council* was almoſt wholly made up of *Churchmen* and *Lawyers*, who being devoted to him, and having no other End but to pleaſe him, never oppoſed his Will. The unlimited Compliance which his *Council* had for him, was the Cauſe that he gave himſelf up without Diſcretion to his natural Paſſion for heaping up Money, there being no Perſon about him, that had Boldneſs or Conſcience enough to give him good Advice upon that Head. His Behaviour in this Reſpect drew upon him the Hatred of the *Engliſh*, which at firſt made him a little Uneaſy. But when he was got over all his Troubles, he minded it not. On the contrary, he affected to rule with an abſolute Power, making of his *Council* a *Court of Juſtice*, which decided all *Suits* belonging to the Crown, the which had never been ſeen before.

He has been very much cried up for the good Laws made in his Reign, as if he had been the ſole Legiſlator, and his Parliament no ways concerned. Hence perhaps it is that they have given him the glorious Name of the *Solomon of England*, though he was much more like that Prince in the heavy Yoke he laid on the People. But if a Man ſhould carefully examine theſe Laws, he would find that the King's Intereſt was at the Bottom of them, though in Appearance they ſeemed to be enacted for the Good of the People. In the ſame Manner did *William the Conqueror* formerly proceed, whom our *Henry* reſembled in ſo many Things, that one might draw a juſt Parallel between them. In ſhort, *Henry*'s moſt diſtinguiſhing Character was, that he lived entirely for

1599. himself, considering Things only with regard to his own private Interest, and gave no heed to any Affairs wherein that was not concerned. 'Tis true indeed, such a Character is not uncommon among Princes. But his was peculiar in this, that whereas the View of other Princes is divided usually into several Branches, *Henry*'s was as it were confined to one Thing, namely, the having his Coffers always full.

He was extremely Suspicious, as those generally are who act with hidden Views, because they think all the World like themselves. The *House of York*'s Title, and the People's Opinion upon that Head, filled his Soul with Fears and Suspicions, wherewith he was continually racked. It is true he took great Care to conceal his Uneasiness. But his Behaviour and Precautions plainly enough showed that his Mind was not so calm as he would fain have had it believed. This perpetual Distrust carried him to seek without ceasing, the Means to prevent Danger, in which he was not always successful. Witness, the Report he caused to be spread that the Duke of *York* was alive, which had a quite contrary Effect to what he expected. He had but a pretty narrow Genius. He saw better near at Hand than at a Distance, and his Wisdom consisted rather in extricating himself at a Pinch, than in finding Means to avoid the Danger. The chief Troubles in his Reign may be said to happen by his own Fault. However he acquired, by a long Experience, Qualities which by Nature he had not.

It is no wonder that a Prince always engaged in preventing the Rebellion of his Subjects, and ever busied in heaping up Money, should have performed nothing Glorious for himself or the Kingdom. They are your Conquerors that make the greatest Kings. On the contrary, Peace would have been very advantagious to the *English*, if it had made them Happy. But it was more fatal to them than War it self, since the insatiable Avarice of the King hurried him continually to devise Means to accumulate Riches, the

which

which must be done at their Expence. There are Princes that gather Riches only to squander them. But *Henry* kept his Money close in his Coffers, without giving any Body a Share. Liberality was a Virtue he did not set up for. If he parted with any Thing, it was only to *Spies* or *Informers*. 1509.

As for his *Religion* and *Morals*, nothing certain can be affirmed, by Reason of the Contrarieties which occurred in him in that Respect. He was Chaste, Temperate, an Enemy to open and scandalous Vices, Constant in the Exercises of Devotion, and observing strict Justice in Matters where his Interest was not concerned. But on the other Hand, his extreme Avarice made him commit many Acts of Injustice, and the Fear of losing his Crown, caused him to look upon as lawful, all Means which could free him from that Danger, how unjust soever they might be in other Respects. The Death of the Earl of *Warwick* will be an everlasting Stain to his Memory. His making a Jest of Religion, in causing a solemn *Procession* to be made on purpose to show that Prince to the People, and the *Excommunications* he ordered to be pronounced against his own *Spies*, are clear Evidences that his Religion was not Proof against Interest.

In general, it cannot be denied that this Prince had great Abilities. But as these Abilities had no Object but himself, they would have been more valuable in a private Person than in a great Monarch. Though all his Projects were crowned with Success, his Reign cannot be said to be happy, either for himself or for *England*. He lived under continual Apprehensions and Suspicions, and his Subjects were always exposed either to domestick Troubles or Oppression. One Thing rendered this Reign remarkable, namely, that by *Henry*'s Abilities, the Civil Wars, which had so long afflicted *England*, were at length happily ended. I say happily, since it was much the same Thing with respect to the Welfare of the *English*, whether the Kingdom was governed by a

1509. Prince of the *House of Lancaster*, or a Prince of the *House of York*.

Henry VII was of a serious and thoughtful Temper, always mindful of his Affairs, without being ever taken off by his Pleasures, to which he was little addicted. He had a Book wherein he marked down with his own Hand, the Qualities and Characters of the Persons he knew, that he might employ them accordingly upon Occasion. A Monkey * that he kept in his Camber, having one Day tore this *Note-Book* all to Pieces, he appeared grieved as at some very great Loss.

He was somewhat taller than the common sort of Men. Of a long, thin and meagre Visage like the rest of his Body, of a grave Countenance, which made People speak to him with Fear. He could however be affable when his Affairs required it. He was rather Studious than Learned. What he read in his leisure-Hours was generally in *French*, though he understood *Latin* too.

He founded a Chapel at *Windsor*, for which he obtained of the Pope Privileges and Immunities. He turned into an Hospital the Palace of the *Savoy*, built [by *Peter* Earl of *Savoy*] in the Reign of *Henry* III. He founded likewise several Convents of *Dominicans* and *Franciscans*. But of all his Structures, That which did and still does him the greatest Honour, is his Chapel in *Westminster-Abbey*, which gives not Place in any Thing to the most stately Chapels in Christendom. There he was buried, and there the Bodies of his Successors are reposited with his *1.

* Set on, as it was thought, by one of his Chamberlains. *Bacon.*

*1 The Authority of the *Star-Chamber*, which (as my Lord *Verulam* says,) before subsisted by the antient *Common Laws*, was confirmed in certain Cases by *Act* of *Parliament*. This Court consisted of *Councellors*, *Peers*, *Prelates*, and *Judges*, and in Causes *Criminal*, the Council used to sit in the Chamber called the *Star-Chamber*; in *Civil*, in the *White-Chamber* or *White Hall*. Amongst others the following Laws were enacted. Any Person under the Degree of a Lord, conspiring the Death of a *Privy-Counsellor* or *Peer*, should be put to Death. Poor *Suitors* should be admitted

mitted *in Formâ Pauperis*, without paying Fee to *Counſellor* or *Attorney*. Murtherers were to be burnt in the Brawn of the Left-Hand, with the Letter M. and Thieves with the Letter T. So that if they offended a ſecond Time, they ſhould be put to Death, and this to reach to *Clerk*'s Convict. In his fifth Year it was ordained, That the *Mayors* of *London* ſhould have Conſervation of the River *Thames*, from *Stanes*-Bridge to the Waters of *Yeuſdale* and *Medway*. In his 18th Year, King *Henry* being himſelf a Brother of the *Taylor*'s Company, as ſeveral Kings had been before him, namely, *Richard* III, *Edward* IV, *Henry* IV, V, VI, and *Richard* II. Beſides Dukes 11, Earls 28, Lords 48, he gave them the Name of *Merchant-Taylors*. The ſame Year, the Chapel of *our Lady* above the Eaſt-Side of the High-Altar at *Weſtminſter-Church*, with a Tavern called the *White-Roſe* near adjoining, was taken down, and *Henry* the Seventh's famous Chapel was built in their Place, which as *Stow* ſays, coſt fourteen Thouſand Pound. In his ſecond Year, *Cheap-Side* Conduit was built by Alderman *Ilam*, which was taken down this Year 1728. In this Reign *John Collet* Dean of St. *Paul*'s, founded *Paul's-School* in the Church-Yard. In his tenth Year the Body of *Alice Hackney* is ſaid to be found whole of Skin, and the Joynts of the Arms pliable, after having been buried 175 Years. The *Colleges* founded in this Reign were, *Chriſt's College* and St. *John*'s in *Cambridge*, by *Margaret* Counteſs of *Richmond* the King's Mother. *Jeſus College* in the ſame Univerſity by *John Alcock* Biſhop of *Ely*. *Corpus Chriſti* in *Oxford* by *Richard Fox* Biſhop of *Wincheſter*, and *Brazen-Noſe* College by *William Smith* Biſhop of *Lincoln*. 1509.

The End of the Reign of HENRY VII.

The

The STATE *of the* CHURCH *of the* XVth *Century.*

State of the Affairs of the Church in the xvth *Century.*

THE *Chriſtian Church* had never been in ſo deplorable a Condition as in the xvth *Century*. The *Juſtice* and *Mercy* of God, and the *meritorious* Death of *Chriſt* were ſcarce any longer the Object of a *Chriſtian's Faith*. But the far greateſt Part of the People's Religion was made to conſiſt in *Pilgrimages*, and the worſhipping of the *bleſſed Virgin*, *Saints*, and *Relicts*. As for the *Clergy*, they made it their whole Buſineſs to ſupport themſelves in that Height of Grandeur and Power they had attained to ſeveral *Centuries* ſince, and to ſee that no Man preſumed to offer to diſpute their Immunities. *Church-Diſcipline* was never more Remiſs. One would have thought that the *Clergy* looked upon their *Spiritual* Power and Juriſdiction but only as a Rampart to ſecure their *Temporal* Privileges. Provided their *Rights* were untouched, every one might do what ſeemed good in his own Eyes. The Authority of the *Church* was become the main Point of *Religion*.

The *Papal* Power had increaſed exceedingly every *Century*, each Pope having endeavoured to enlarge it as much as poſſible. They were come at length to diſpoſe of all the *Church*-Preferments in *Chriſtendom*, and to be the ſupreme Judges in all Cauſes *Eccleſiaſtical*. National *Synods* were quite out of Doors. And indeed, what uſe would they have been of, ſince the Court

Court of *Rome* claimed the *Cognizance* of all *Church*-Matters? In a Word, the Pope was become the *Centre* of Religion, to which every Thing muſt needs tend. The Privileges of particular *Churches*, the *Prerogatives* of Sovereigns, were all annulled by the *Non obſtante-Clauſe*, which was uſually inſerted in every *Bull*. But it was not only over *Spirituals* that the Popes had ſtretched their Authority: They pretended moreover to extend it over *Temporals*, under colour that no Caſe could happen but wherein *Religion* was concerned. Kings themſelves were not out of their Reach. In all the Marriages of Princes there was occaſion for the Pope's *Diſpenſation*: Neither Peace nor Truce of any Moment was concluded without the Pope being *Mediator* or *Guarantee*. Some Popes were ſeen to carry their Pretenſions ſo far, as to enjoin *Peaces* or *Truces* without the Conſent of the Parties concerned. In ſhort, it is extremely probable that they would have wholly engroſſed the *Temporal* Power as well as the *Spiritual*, if the *Schiſms* of the XVth *Century* had not cauſed them to loſe a great deal of Ground. The *Revolutions* of the following *Century* made them loſe ſtill more. Be that as it will, the Popes were become *real* Sovereigns, not only with reſpect to the Power they had graſped, but likewiſe with regard to the immenſe Riches which through numberleſs *Channels* flowed into the vaſt Ocean of the *Apoſtolick Chamber*. Tenths, Firſt-Fruits, Taxes for the Uſe of *the Chamber*, Diſpenſations for all ſorts of Matters, as well repugnant to the Law of God, as contrary to the *Canons* of the *Church*. *Subſidies* exacted every now and then from the *Clergy*, for the Occaſions of the *Holy See*. *Cruſadoes*, Benefices which were ſeldom beſtowed without a previous Bargain with the *Apoſtolick Chamber*: In a word, *Simony* openly practiſed by many Popes, ſome of whom were accuſed and convicted, were inexhauſtible Fountains from whence flowed the Riches and Luxury of the Court of *Rome*. It was next door to impoſſible, that Purity of Life and of true religious Principles

ſhould

ſhould keep itſelf *unſpotted* amidſt ſo much Grandeur and Affluence. On the contrary, the Popes were ſo much the more liable to make an ill uſe of their Power, as the Generality of them were not born for ſo high a Station. Accordingly we find in Hiſtory that *Rome* and *Avignon* were the Centre of Pride, Avarice, Luxury, Senſuality, and of all the moſt ſcandalous Vices. The Popes were neither *Learned* nor *Religious*. Hardly was there one to be found that might paſs for an honeſt Man, even according to the Maxims of the World. And yet all the Preambles of their *Bulls* were ſtuffed with Expreſſions of their *Zeal*, their *Charity*, their *Humility*, their *Juſtice*: whilſt for the moſt Part what they enjoined was an authentick Proof of their *Pride* and *Tyranny*. I do not in the leaſt aggravate Matters. The Authors which wrote before the *Reformation* have ſaid a hundred Times more. And the ſame has been even publickly preached before the *Councils*.

We may eaſily imagine that ſuch kind of Popes did not take much care to fill what they call the *Sacred College*, with Perſons truly pious and religious. It is true indeed, during this *Century* there were *Cardinals* of great Fame, and eminent for their Wit, their Eloquence, their political Virtues, and their Capacity for temporal Affairs. But they were for the moſt Part worldly-minded Men, who conſidered Religion but as a Means to make their Fortune. The *Legates* which were ſent to the ſeveral States of *Chriſtendom* were ſo many *Incendiaries*, who made it their Buſineſs to ſow Diſcord and Diviſion among Princes, or to ſpur them on to ſhed the Blood of their own Subjects. In a word, they minded nothing but the Intereſt of their Maſter and the *Roman See*, making no Conſcience to break through all the Rules of Religion and Equity, in order to compaſs their Ends.

The reſt of the *Clergy* in general were no better. Moſt of the Biſhops were promoted to the *Epiſcopacy* purely for having ſhown themſelves Sticklers for the Court

Court of *Rome*, or been of Service to Princes in their temporal Concerns. They were Perſons brought up at Court, and inſtructed in the Maxims of the World. Cruelty, Injuſtice, Diſhoneſty, were but too common among them. Theſe were even deemed as ſo many Virtues, when employed in the Perſecution of ſuch as they termed *Hereticks*, eſpecially of ſuch as dared to queſtion any of the Pope's or the *Clergy*'s pretended Rights.

As for real Learning, it was ſcarce ſo much as heard of in this *Century*. *School-Divinity* and Skill in the *Canon-Law* were all the *Eccleſiaſticks* valued themſelves upon. It was the only Road by which they could hope to arrive at *Church-Dignities*. On the other Hand, the *Monks*, who had crept into moſt of the *Profeſſorſhips* in the *Univerſities*, had over-run *Divinity* and *Philoſophy* with ſuch a heap of *Jargon*, as ſerved only to give their Diſciples falſe Notions of *Learning*, and to teach them to wrangle.

Such was in general the State of the *Church* in the *Century* we are ſpeaking of. As for the *Civil* Affairs of *Europe*, they were in this *Century* juſt as they were before, and have heen ſince. The Sovereigns divided among themſelves on the Score of their different Intereſts, thought only how to ſupplant one another, and to make their Neighbour's Loſs turn to their own Gain. This drew them into bloody Wars, which rendered their People miſerable, and ſuffered neither Princes nor Subjects to mind the Breaches in the *Church*, or to think of the Means to heal them. Corruption was got to ſuch a Height in *Civil States* as well as in the *Church*, that God ſeemed to have abandoned Men to a *reprobate Senſe*, ſo blind and inſenſible were they grown. We may add for the further Repreſentation of the ſad Eſtate of the *Church*, the great Progreſs of the *Turks* in *Europe*, during this unfortunate *Century*. The *Greek* Empire entirely deſtroyed, and ſeveral other *Chriſtian States* over-run by the *Infidels*, were plain Tokens enough of the Wrath of Heaven againſt *Chriſtians*, to move them to ſearch

after the Cauſe. But inſtead of *ſeeking the Lord*, they perſecuted with Fire and Sword ſuch as ſought God alone, and refuſed to pay divine Worſhip to *Creatures*.

To bring about a Reformation in the *Church* which ſtood in ſo great Need of it, all, or at leaſt the chief Princes of *Europe* ſhould have joined their Endeavours in helping forward ſuch a Deſign. But how was it poſſible that ſo many Sovereigns who had *Religion* ſo little at Heart, ſhould be able to ſacrifice their private Paſſions to ſo great a Good? Or how could ſo many different Intereſts be made to agree? All *Europe* paſſionately wiſhed that the *Church* might be reformed. Several Biſhops ſeemed to deſire the ſame. Nothing was talked of in the *Councils* but the Neceſſity of going through with ſo noble a Work. One would have even thought that the *Councils* of *Conſtance* and *Baſil* intended to labour at it to ſome purpoſe. But the well-affected had neither Prudence nor Reſolution enough to withſtand the Artifices and Violence of the oppoſite Party. We ſhall ſee in the Sequel, that it was the *Popes*, the *Cardinals*, and the chief of the *Clergy* who oppoſed with all their Might the Reformation intended, becauſe they were very ſenſible that it would prove prejudicial to their *Temporal* Concerns. On the other Hand, when a Man conſiders with what Eagerneſs and Animoſity they laboured to root out the pretended *Hereſies*, which combated the worldly Grandeur of the *Clergy*, he can make no other Inference from thence, but that they themſelves perceived the Neceſſity of a Reformation which they would not admit, and that the Fountain of the *Corruption* was in the Heads of the *Church*, from whence it had but too great an Influence upon the Inferior *Clergy*.

To repreſent to the Life the State of the *Church* of the XVth *Century*, and to ſet it in its true Light, it would be neceſſary to give a particular Account of what paſſed at the *Councils* of *Conſtance* and *Baſil*. But this Account would lead me too far. Beſides, the

Hiſtory

Hiſtory of the firſt of theſe *Councils* is lately publiſhed, and is writ with that Plainneſs, Circumſpection and Impartiality, that there is no room to ſuſpect that the Author (*a*) has ſuffered himſelf to be biaſſed by Paſſion or Prejudice. The Hiſtory of the *Council* of *Baſil* by the ſame Hand is ſoon to come out. So that referring the Reader to theſe two Hiſtories, I ſhall only relate in a few words the moſt remarkable Paſſages of theſe *Councils*. The Knowledge of which will be of uſe to underſtand the *State* of the *Church* of *England*, which I ſhall ſpeak of preſently.

A brief Account of the Council of Conſtance

The *Schiſm* which was begun in 1378 by *Urban* VI. and *Clement* VII, was kept on foot in the Beginning of the XVth *Century*, by *Boniface* IX. and *Benedict* XIII. their Succeſſors. *Boniface* having ſucceeded *Urban* VI. reſided at *Rome*, and *Benedict*, Succeſſor of *Clement* VII. held his *See* at *Avignon*, where the King of *France* kept him in Cuſtody, for fear he ſhould get away before the *Schiſm* was ended.

The *Univerſity* of *Paris* had propoſed a Method to put an End to the *Schiſm*, namely, that the two Popes ſhould reſign the *Pontificate*, the which was called *the Method of Ceſſion*. *Boniface* IX. and *Benedict* XIII. feigned both to be willing to agree to this Method for the Sake of reſtoring Peace to the *Church*. But at the ſame time they uſed ſo many Shifts and Evaſions, that it was eaſy to ſee they had no mind to it at all. And therefore the King of *France* had thought fit to ſecure the Perſon of *Benedict*. This Monarch's Illneſs afterwards having placed the Duke of *Orleans* his Brother at the Head of Affairs, the young Prince was a great Favourer of *Benedict* XIII, and in 1404, gave him an Opportunity to make his Eſcape. This ſame Year *Boniface* IX. died, and the *Cardinals* of his Party choſe *Innocent* VII, who behaved juſt as his Predeceſſor had done in the Buſineſs of the *Ceſſion*. To *Innocent*, who ſat in the *Papal* Chair but two Years, ſucceeded *Angelo Corario*, who took the Name

(*a*) Mr. *L'enfant* Miniſter at *Berlin*.

of *Gregory* XII. Thus the *Schiſm* continued ſtill between *Gregory* and *Benedict*. Theſe two Popes pretending to deſire to end it by the Method of *Ceſſion*, amuſed the World along while with their Diſſimulation and Artifices. In ſhort, the *Schiſm* having now laſted thirty Years, and there being no appearance that the two Popes would keep their word, *Gregory* XII. ſaw himſelf deſerted on a ſudden by his *Cardinals*, who retired to *Piſa*. There remained but Four with him. On the other ſide, *France*, which was the principal Stay of *Benedict* XIII. being tired with his Evaſions, withdrew from his Obedience, and the Pope having loſt that Support, went and reſided in *Spain*. But his *Cardinals* refuſing to follow him, choſe to go and join *Gregory*'s. Preſently after, the *Cardinals* of both Parties, with one conſent, called a *General Council* at *Piſa*, to which moſt of the Princes of *Europe* ſent their Ambaſſadors and Prelates.

This *Council*, which was held in 1409, depoſed the two Popes, and gave the *Cardinal* leave to chuſe a new one, who aſſumed the Name of *Alexander* V. But as *Gregory* and *Benedict* did not think themſelves lawfully depoſed, it happened that inſtead of *Two* there were now *Three* Popes ſummoned.

Alexander V dying 1410, *John* XXIII. was elected in his room, who called a *General Council* to meet at *Conſtance* in *November* 1414*. This *Council* found no better way to end the *Schiſm*, than by turning out the three Popes. *John* XXIII. and *Benedict* XIII. were depoſed, and *Gregory* XII. voluntarily reſigned the *Pontificate*. Whereupon the *Council* elected Cardinal *Odo Colonna*, who took the Name of *Martin* V. *John* XXIII, who had been committed to the Cuſtody of the

* The Deputies to this *Council* from *England* were firſt the Biſhops of *Salisbury*, *Bath* and *Hereford*, the Abbot of *Weſtminſter*, and *Prior* of *Worceſter*. But upon the Death of the Biſhops of *Salisbury* and *Hereford*, the *Engliſh* Prelates underſtanding that other *Churches* were repreſented by a more numerous Delegation, ſent *Clifford* Biſhop of *London*, the *Chancellors* of both *Univerſities*, with Twelve *Doctors*, to this *Council*. *Walſing*. *p*. 387.

the Emperour *Sigiſmund*, having made his Eſcape, came and ſubmitted to *Martin* V. who honoured him with a Cardinalſhip. As for *Benedict* XIII. he ſtill kept the Title of *Pope*, and retiring to the Caſtle of *Peniſcola*, belonging to the Kingdom of *Valencia*, he was ſuffered by the King of *Arragon* to live there in quiet. After his Death, which fell not out till 1424, his Cardinals choſe a *Canon* of *Barcelona*, who took the Name of *Clement* VIII. But in 1429 he quitted his Dignity in favour of *Martin* V. Thus ended the *Schiſm* at length, after having laſted One and Fifty Years.

This Abſtract, as ſhort as it is, will enable us to gueſs at the Character of the *Popes*, who were at the Head of the *Church* during theſe fifty Years. They were Men who ſacrificed the Peace and Quiet of the *Church* to their own private Intereſts, and damned without Mercy, as far as lay in their Power, all that were not of their Party. They would without ſcruple have involved all *Chriſtendom* in a bloody War upon their Score, if the Sovereign Princes had not been wiſer than themſelves. Surely a Man cannot but form to himſelf a very melancholly Idea of the State of the *Church* of thoſe Days, when he conſiders that the *Chriſtians* of both Sides acknowledged for *Chriſt*'s *Vicars*, Popes whom they deteſted and abhorred, and who indeed were ſo little worthy of the Station they enjoyed, that ſeveral of them were depoſed for *Hereſy*, *Simony*, and *Perjury*.

But I have one important Reflection more to make upon the Procedure of the *Council* of *Conſtance*, the Motive whereof is at firſt Sight hard to be conceived. If the *Council* of *Piſa* was *General* and *Lawful*, as that of *Conſtance* could not help owning, why were her Deciſions not obſerved? Why was *Gregory* XII's Reſignation accepted, a Reſignation which ſuppoſed that he was ſtill Pope in ſpite of his having been depoſed? Why were there any Terms offered him to induce him to quit the *Pontificate*? Why was *Benedict* XIII depoſed over again, when he had been depoſed

poſed by a *General Council*? In ſhort, why was *John* XXIII deprived of his Dignity, for not keeping his Promiſe to reſign the *Papacy*, ſince it could not be queſtioned but that he was really *Pope* and his *Miſſion* Good? Did not theſe Proceedings deſtroy the Authority of the *Council* of *Piſa*?

Let it not be objected that *John* XXIII was not depoſed for any Flaw in his *Miſſion*, but on the ſcore of his Crimes. It is certain that when he was required to promiſe to reſign the *Pontificate*, it was ſolely with a View to put an End to the *Schiſm*. Had he reſigned with a good Grace, he would never have been accuſed of, much leſs condemned for the Crimes which he was depoſed for afterwards. It will be ſaid perhaps that this Inconvenience was not ſo great as that of keeping up the *Schiſm*. But ſhould the ſtriking at the Authority of a *General Council* be deemed a ſlight Inconvenience? Did not the *Council* of *Conſtance* give a Handle to have her own Authority diſputed? And indeed there is no Reaſon why the depoſing of *Benedict* XIII, and of *John* XXIII by the *Council* of *Conſtance* ſhould be more valid than the depoſing of the ſame *Benedict* XIII and *Gregory* XII, by the *Council* of *Piſa*.

But however as myſterious as it appears to be, one diſcovers a little the Reaſon of the Proceedings of the *Council* of *Conſtance*. The *Schiſms* manifeſtly tended to the Diſſolution of the *Papal Dignity*, which ſerved for Baſis and Foundation to moſt of the *Clergy*'s Privileges, and to the *Hierarchy* it ſelf. *Caſtile*, *Arragon*, *Navarre*, *Portugal*, had ſtood Neuter ſome Years, without owning any of the contending Popes. *France* had withdrawn her Obedience from *Benedict* XIII, without transferring it to *Gregory* XII. In a Word, the whole World in general began to contemn their *Excommunications* which they ſo viſibly abuſed. There was Danger therefore that People would learn by Degrees to do without a *Pope*. By which Means the Foundation of the *Hierarchy* would have been undermined, and perhaps a new Form of Government introduced

troduced into the *Church*. The *Cardinals* and *Prelates* of whom the *Council* of *Conſtance* was compoſed, were ſo highly concerned to avoid this Inconvenience, that it is no Wonder they ſhould ſacrifice All to attain their Ends. This is the true Reaſon of their Conduct. But they took Care to proceed in a very different Manner with regard to the pretended *Hereticks*, who openly called the *Clergy*'s Privileges into Queſtion. In order to root out a *Hereſy* ſo prejudicial to them, they made uſe of Fire and Sword, rather than recede from the leaſt of their Intereſts. This is what we are going to ſee in the Manner they went to work in this Reſpect.

All the World knows that *John Huſs* and *Jerome of Prague* were burnt alive at *Conſtance*. But every Body has not been at the Pains to examine for what *Errours* they ſuffered that rigorous Puniſhment. They were *Then*, and ſtill are to this Day charged with having maintained *Impious*, *Horrible*, and *Damnable* Tenets. They were condemned as *Seditious*, *Obſtinate*, and *Incorrigible* Followers and Defenders of *Wickliff*, *Hardened*, *Crafty*, *Malicious*, and *Convicted* Hereticks. Had there been any ſtronger Terms to expreſs their Horror for theſe *Hereſies*, they would have made no Scruple to uſe them. But after all, wherein conſiſted theſe *Hereſies* ? In their being Followers of *Wickliff*. If you conſult the Authors who ſpeak of their *Sentence*, you'll ſcarce find one which ſays more than that *John Huſs*, and *Jerome* of *Prague* were Followers of *Wickliff*, and conſequently abominable Wretches, deſerving to be condemned to the Flames. In the Opinions of *Wickliff* then we are to ſearch for their *Errours*. Now herein is a double Meaning, which has been conſtantly made uſe of to juſtify the *Sentence* of theſe two *Doctors*. It is hardly to be queſtioned but that the *Council of Conſtance* had that ſame double Meaning in View, when *ſhe* cauſed the Errours and Memory of *Wickliff* to be ſtigmatized firſt, before *John Huſs* and *Jerome* of *Prague* were brought upon their Trial.

Wickliff's

Wickliff's Opinions were of two Kinds. The one concerned the main Doctrines of *Faith*. The other related to the *Hierarchy*, the *Clergy*, their Juriſdiction, Power, and Riches. *Wickliff* did not believe *Tranſubſtantiation*. He rejected the Invocation of *Saints*, the Adoration of the *Croſs* and *Images*, *Pilgrimages*, and *Relicts*. On the other Hand, he thought that the *Hierarchy* had no Foundation in *Scripture*. From whence he drew ſeveral Concluſions againſt the exceſſive Authority which the *Popes*, the *Cardinals*, the *Biſhops* had uſurped. Moreover he taxed the *Clergy* with leading very immoral and diſſolute Lives, and maintained that the Revenues of the *Church* were exceedingly miſuſed. From theſe Principles his Enemies inferred numberleſs Conſequences, ſome whereof had never entered into his Thoughts. In a Word, they came to find in his Writings two hundred and ſixty Capital *Errours*. His Followers added a great many more which he had never taught, and the whole Sum was imputed to him, as if he had maintained them all in expreſs Terms.

Be that as it will, *John Huſs* embraced *Wickliff*'s Opinions, but it was only in what concerned the *Hierarchy* and *Clergy*. It is certain he believed *Tranſubſtantiation*, and died in that Belief. As for *Images*, his Opinion was that a Man might honour them, kneel to them, light up Wax-Tapers before them, kiſs them, becauſe the Mind refered that Worſhip to the *Originals*. So that it is a Thing paſt Diſpute, that he was not burnt for maintaining Errours in the main Doctrines of *Faith*, but for Opinions which combated the exorbitant Power and Riches of the *Church*, that is to ſay, of the *Clergy*. All poſſible Endeavours were uſed to make him deny *Tranſubſtantiation*: But he could never be brought to that. And yet by the Advice of the Cardinal of *Florence*, the *Council* condemned him upon the Depoſition of the Witneſſes that accuſed him of rejecting that *Doctrine*, without having any Regard to his own expreſs Declaration to the contrary. It is no hard Matter to conceive the *Coun-*

cil's

cil's Drift, in cauſing that Article to be inſerted in *Huſs*'s *Sentence*. The *Council* was very ſenſible that it muſt needs have appeared very ſtrange, that a Perſon ſhould be condemned to be burnt, whoſe Principles tended to a Reformation, as well in the *Head* as in the *Members* of the *Church*, which all *Chriſtendom* required, and which the *Council* it ſelf feigned to believe neceſſary. It was requiſite therefore to juſtify the *Sentence*, by rendering this Man odious, as one that rejected a fundamental Article of *Faith*. For this Reaſon, without diſtinguiſhing *Wickliff*'s Errours, *John Huſs* and *Jerome* of *Prague* were condemned as Followers of that *Arch-Heretick*. Whereby it was intimated that they embraced all the Opinions of their Maſter.

But to make appear, by a Teſtimony beyond all Exception, that theſe two Men were burnt for their Notions concerning the *Clergy*, I need only quote what *Æneas Sylvius*, *alias* Pope *Pius* II, ſays in his Hiſtory of *Bohemia*. The Deputies of the *Council* having admoniſhed the Parties accuſed to forſake their *Errours*, and conform to the *Church*'s Sentiments, they made Anſwer, *That they were indeed Lovers of the Holy Goſpel, and true Diſciples of Chriſt : That the Church of* Rome, *and all the other Churches in the World were far gone from the Apoſtolical Traditions : That the Clergy ran after Pleaſures and Riches : That they lorded it over the People, affected the higheſt Seats at Entertainments, and bred Horſes and Dogs. That the Revenues of the Church, which belonged to the poor Members of Chriſt, were conſumed in Vanity and Wantonneſs. That the Prieſts were ignorant of the Commandments of God, or if they did know them, they lightly regarded them.*

The Fathers of the Council, continues the Hiſtorian, *perceiving and knowing the invincible Obſtinacy of theſe People, judged that the corrupted Members of the Church that were incurable, ought to be cut off, leſt they ſhould infect the reſt of the Body. Accordingly Sentence was paſſed upon them, all the Fathers unanimouſly agreeing that Per-*

ſons who rejected ſound Doctrine, approved of by the Church, deſerved to be burnt.

Hence it is evident to a Demonſtration, wherein conſiſted the *Hereſy* of *John Huſs* and of *Jerome* of *Prague*, viz. in their accuſing the *Clergy* of being corrupted. It was then in order to deſtroy theſe Enemies of the *Clergy*, that the *Council* made no ſcruple to violate the *Safe-conduct* the Emperour *Sigiſmund* had given *John Huſs*, or at leſt to allow that he ſhould violate it himſelf. Moreover the *Council* had no regard to the Promiſe they had publickly given to *Jerome* of *Prague*, in order to draw him to *Conſtance*. It is true indeed the *Council* had inſerted theſe Words in their Engagement, *Without Prejudice to Juſtice, and as far as the Catholick Faith requires it*, a captious *Clauſe* if ever there was one. For was not the *Catholick Faith* the very Point in queſtion; and of what uſe could the *Council*'s Promiſe be to *Jerome* of *Prague*, unleſs againſt *Juſtice*? Did he run any Riſk, or ſtand in need of a Promiſe of Safety, if he had not held the Tenets he was charged with?

Let us proceed now to the Decree of this *Council*, againſt *Communion in both Kinds*. We ſhall ſee in this Point, as well as in the foregoing, that the Authority of the *Church* or of the *Clergy*, was at the Bottom of the Matter. The Fathers of *Conſtance* condemned not *Communion* in both Kinds as ſinful in it ſelf. On the contrary, they owned that it had been the Cuſtom of the primitive *Church*, and that the *Church* had Power to grant it to the Laiety, if ſhe thought it proper. But they pronounced *Anathema* againſt ſuch as maintained that the *Church* had not a Right to aboliſh this Practice. What did they mean then by the *Church*? Did they not mean the *Councils* compoſed of the ſeveral Members of the *Clergy*? It is ſo true that in this Decree the *Council*'s ſole View was to ſupport the Authority of the *Church Repreſentative*, that ſome Years after another General *Council* made no ſcruple to allow the *Huſſites* the Liberty of communicating in *both Kinds*, without any apprehenſion

henſion that the *Faith* would be affected by it, as ſoon as they were willing to receive that Liberty as a Favour from the *Church*.

As to other Opinions which appeared at the ſame Time, but which ſtruck not at the *Clergy*, the Council of *Conſtance* behaved with an aſtoniſhing Coldneſs. *John Petit*, Advocate of the Duke of *Burgundy* had maintained that it was lawful for any private Perſon to kill a Tyrant, even by Surprize. This Tenet being brought before the *Council*, what was done in the Matter? After abundance of Sollicitations, they declared it *Erroneous*, without naming the Author, or coming upon his Perſon, though they had ordered *Wickliff*'s Bones to be dug up thirty Years after he was buried. The *Sect* of the *Scourgers* broached ſeveral erroneous Doctrines. But the *Council* was content with propoſing that a Way ſhould be found out to bring them back by fair Means to the Unity of the *Church*.

What Reformation could be expected from a *Council* which proſecuted ſo rigorouſly ſuch as called in queſtion the Privileges of the *Pope*, the *Cardinals* and the *Clergy*? The Reformation muſt have begun with lopping off the chief Branches of theſe Prerogatives. Indeed before *Martin* V's Election, the reforming the Court of *Rome* was talked of in the *Council*; and a Liſt of the Abuſes which were to be redreſſed, was drawn up. But by the Artifices of ſome, and eſpecially of the *Cardinals*, this noble Deſign came to nothing. A Pope was elected, and the Pope elect found Means to get this Matter put off to a more convenient Seaſon.

This is the Sum of the moſt remarkable Tranſactions of the *Council* of *Conſtance*. You will find theſe and the reſt of the Facts ſet out in all their Circumſtances in the new Hiſtory which I mentioned above, and to which I refer the Reader. Let us ſee now what the Council of *Baſil* did with reſpect to the *Huſſites*, and the Quarrel of Pope *Eugenius* IV, with the

ſame *Council*. Nothing is more proper to ſhow the State of the *Church* of thoſe Days.

Hiſtory of the Council of Baſil.

The *Bohemians*, who, for the moſt Part had embraced the Opinions of *John Huſs*, highly reſented the Uſage he had met with. This Severity ſerving only to confirm them in their Tenets, they reſolved to maintain them in ſpite of the *Council*'s Decrees. Communion in both Kinds was the principal Point they inſiſted upon. This occaſioned terrible Commotions in *Bohemia*, which *Martin* V. greatly inflamed by his haughty Treatment of the *Huſſites*. *Wenceſlaus* King of *Bohemia* dying in the mean while, *Sigiſmund* his Brother, who was Emperour, pretended to the Succeſſion. But the *Bohemians* refuſed him, becauſe he would not conſent that they ſhould live in the *Faith* they profeſſed. *Martin* V. ſiding with *Sigiſmund*, publiſhed a *Cruſado* againſt the *Huſſites*, and by that means put them under a Neceſſity to ſtand upon their own Defence. It is needleſs to enquire here whether *Sigiſmund* had any Right to mount the Throne of *Bohemia* without the Conſent of the *States*. This is a Query which would lead me too far. Be that as it will, a *Bohemian* Gentleman, named *Ziska*, having headed the *Huſſites*, defeated *Sigiſmund* ſeveral Times, and made him as well as the Pope deſpair of rooting out theſe pretended *Hereticks* by Force of Arms. This War laſted till the *Council* of *Baſil*, without *Sigiſmund*'s being able to take peaceable Poſſeſſion of the Kingdom of *Bohemia*.

The *Council* of *Baſil*, which met in 1431, finding that the Arms of *Sigiſmund* and the *Croiſes* proſpered not as was expected, reſolved to make Peace with the *Huſſites*. In all probability their Aim was to ſet *Sigiſmund* on the Throne of *Bohemia* at any rate, that he might by that means be the better able to take proper Meaſures to extirpate theſe People. To this purpoſe, they ſent Deputies to *Bohemia*, to invite the *Huſſites* to come and lay their Reaſons before the *Council*. They agreed to it, and their Deputies being arrived

at

at *Baſil*, demanded theſe Four Things, for which they offered to be reconciled to the *Church*.

Firſt, That Communion in both Kinds ſhould be adminiſtred to the *Bohemian Laity*.

Secondly, That Offenders ſhould be puniſhed according to the Law of God, and by thoſe whoſe proper Buſineſs it was.

Thirdly, That the Word of God ſhould be preached by able Prieſts.

Fourthly, That the *Clergy* ſhould have no Temporal Juriſdiction.

Theſe were the Sentiments of the *Huſſites*, on the Score of which ſo bloody a War had been made upon them, even to the ſtirring up all *Europe* againſt them. But it was not ſo much on account of their *Doctrines* that they were thus cruelly perſecuted, but by reaſon of their obſtinate Refuſal to ſubmit to the Deciſions of the *Church*, and the Contempt they ſhowed for the *Clergy*. The *Council* uſed all poſſible Endeavours to bring the *Bohemian* Deputies to ſubmit to the *Church* without Terms. But in ſhort, perceiving that they firmly ſtuck to the Four Articles, the *Council* thought fit to grant them upon Condition, that they ſhould be firſt explained, becauſe their being couched in general Words might give Occaſion to freſh Diſputes. The *Huſſites* conſenting to it, the *Council* explained the Four Articles as they judged convenient. Which done, an Agreement was drawn up conformable to the Four Articles and the Explanation they had made.

This Affair being thus ſettled, *Sigiſmund* demanded to be received for King of *Bohemia*, and was ſo accordingly, after ſigning certain Conditions, namely, the Approbation of the Agreement, and ſome other Things relating thereto. One would have thought that the Perſecution againſt the *Huſſites* had been at an End. But *Sigiſmund* was no ſooner on the Throne of *Bohemia*, but he broke his Word with them. On the

the other Hand, the Pope pretending that they kept not the Conditions on which the Four Articles were granted, poſitively refuſed to approve of the Agreement. This occaſioned in *Bohemia* freſh Troubles, which were all along fomented by the Court of *Rome*, and which properly ended not till the Middle of the laſt *Century*, in the utter Ruin of the *Huſſites*.

Before we leave this Subject, let us make one Remark upon it. Let the *Huſſites* be inveighed againſt as much as you pleaſe: Let them be accuſed of holding impious and deteſtable Errours, yet after all, theſe ſame Errours muſt be reduced to the Four Articles which they themſelves exhibited to the *Council* of *Baſil*. On account of theſe, *Cruſadoes* were publiſhed againſt them, and *John Huſs*, and *Jerom* of *Prague* were burnt. But a *General Council*, owned by all the World as ſuch, at the time when the Agreement was granted them, judged that theſe Articles might be ſuffered without detriment to the *Catholick Faith*. It follows therefore, that War was made upon them purely for the ſake of maintaining the *Church*'s Authority. That was the main Point of Religion. But for what Reaſon were they perſecuted afterwards? It was becauſe the Popes would never ſtand to the Agreement, tho' the *Huſſites* frequently offered to ſubmit to the *Church* upon that Condition. It is evident then that the War from the Beginning to the End was wholly founded upon this Principle, that the *Church* has a *deſpotick* Power, and that it is unlawful to bind her to any Conditions. But what *Church* is this that is inveſted with ſo high a Prerogative? It cannot be a *General Council*, ſince ſuch a *Council* has not judged that Point unqueſtionable. It is therefore the Pope alone which muſt be meant by the *Church*. It will be ſaid perhaps that the Authority of the *Council* of *Baſil* is not acknowledged by a great Part of the *Church*: but this will be without Ground. For the Truth is, the Agreement with the *Huſſites* was made before the *Council* was removed to *Ferrara*, and that of *Baſil* is owned

owned by all the World for lawful before that removal.

We are now going to ſee a Quarrel of another Nature, not of the *Church* with her *heretical* Enemies, but of the *Church* with Herſelf, of the *Members* with the *Head*. Till the *Council* of *Baſil*, the *Popes* and the *Councils* had agreed pretty well to improve the *Church*'s Authority, and cauſe it to be abſolutely obeyed. By the Help of the *equivocal* Word *Church*, an entire Submiſſion was required of *Chriſtians*, ſometimes to the *Pope* as the Head, ſometimes to the *Councils* as Repreſentatives of the Body, according as an Opportunity offered to make the beſt of that *Term*, for the Benefit of the one or the other. As for the *Chriſtian Laiety*, they had been reckoned long ago to have no ſhare in the Meaning of the Word *Church*. But however, though in confining the Signification of the Word *Church* to the *Clergy* alone, there ſtill remained ſome Ambiguity, it had not yet entered into any one's Head to remove it by deciding whether the Authority of the *Church* was lodged in the Body of the *Clergy*, or in the *Pope* as Head. The *Councils* of *Piſa* and *Conſtance* had done ſomething towards aſſuming this Authority, in depoſing the Popes themſelves. But *Martin* V. after his Election, had managed it ſo cunningly, as to ſhift off the Deciſion of this important Point, either by breaking up the *Council*, or by confirming whatever was done with regard to the *Doctrines*, without medling with any of the other Articles. He was very ſenſible that he ſhould lie under a great Diſadvantage if the Queſtion was decided by the *Council*, as the *Council* would do the Moment they ſhould break up. At length the *Council* of *Baſil* had Occaſion to bring this Point upon the Board.

The *Council* had been called by *Martin* V, who had appointed Cardinal *Julian Cæſarini* to preſide as *Legate*. *Martin* dying in 1431, before the *Council* was aſſembled, *Eugenius* IV. was choſen in his room. The new Pope did nothing to hinder the Opening of the

the *Council:* but he intended it ſhould not continue long. For ſome time paſt nothing was talked of but the Neceſſity of reforming the *Church* both in the *Head* and *Members.* Now as a Reformation of this Nature could not but be brought about by a *General Council,* ſuch a Council could not but terrify the Pope, who had not yet had Time to taſte the Sweets of the *Pontificate.* The *Council* of *Baſil* was no ſooner met, but *Eugenius* ſought means to diſſolve it. He made uſe of as a Handle to this the *Council*'s inviting the *Huſſites* to come to *Baſil* during the firſt *Seſſion.* He pretended that theſe *Hereticks* having been condemned in the *Council* of *Conſtance,* they ought not to be allowed a Re-hearing. Upon this frivolous Pretence he publiſhed a *Bull* for diſſolving the *Council.*

Inſtead of ſubmitting to the Pope's Pleaſure, the *Council* reſolved to continue their *Seſſions.* Hence ſprung a Quarrel which begot a real *Schiſm.* Some maintaining the Authority of the *Council,* and others ſtanding by the *Pope.* The *Council* made ſeveral Decrees, which placed the Authority of a *General Council* above that of the Pope, and the Pope nulled theſe Decrees, affirming, that the Body could not act but by the Directions of the Head. The Emperour, the King of *France,* and moſt of the other Princes having declared immediately for the *Council, Eugenius* ſaw himſelf under a Neceſſity to approve the *Council,* and conſent that it ſhould continue. But having ſent other *Legates* to preſide in his Name, the *Council* refuſed to receive them as Preſidents. This was a freſh Occaſion of Quarrel. The Pope threatned to diſſolve the *Council,* and the *Council* threatned to ſuſpend the Pope. And accordingly they made ſome Advances that way. Whereupon *Eugenius* finding he was the weakeſt Side, was fain once more to approve and confirm the *Council.*

The forced Compliance of the Pope allayed the Storm for ſome Time. But in 1435, the *Council* having ſhown that they would ſet about in good earneſt to reform the *Church* in the *Head* and *Members,* and having

having made with that view Decrees to aboliſh the *Firſt-Fruits*, and to ſettle the Rights of the *Apoſtolick Chamber*, the Pope ſaw he ſhould be ruined unleſs he found ſome way to ſtop their Proceedings. On the other Hand, the *Cardinals* eaſily perceived, that ſince the Pope was begun with, it would not be long before their Turn came. There were ſome Biſhops too, who were ſorry to ſee a Reformation going forwards, which would be prejudicial to them in ſome Things, though they might hope to be Gainers by it in other Reſpects. This occaſioned the *Council*'s ſplitting into two oppoſite Parties; but however the Reformers had the Majority on their Side. Mean while the Pope continued to gain Ground, ſince the *Cardinals* and ſeveral Biſhops thought it for their Intereſt to ſtand by him.

Another Thing helped likewiſe to ſet the Pope's Affairs upon a good Foot. Some time ſince [*John Emanuel Palæologus*] Emperour of *Conſtantinople*, was briskly attacked by the *Turks*. As he had need of Succours, he had a Notion, that in caſe he got the *Greek Church* to be united with the *Latin*, the Pope and Princes of *Europe* would aſſiſt him with all their Forces in defence of his Empire. This Matter had been already propoſed to *Martin* V, and it was chiefly with a View to bring about this Union that Pope *Martin* had called the *Council* of *Baſil*, to which the *Greek* Emperour was to come in Perſon with the Biſhops of his *Church*. *Eugenius* IV. failed not to improve this Opportunity to ſtrengthen his Party. He diſpatched *Nuntio's* to the Emperour, to let him know that the Time was come to perform his Promiſe. But that, as it might be inconvenient for him and his Attendants to come ſo far as *Baſil*, he promiſed to remove the *Council* to ſome good Town in *Italy*, provided he would give his Word to be there. On the other Hand, the *Council* ſent likewiſe Ambaſſadors to *Conſtantinople* to diſſuade the Emperour from coming to any Place but *Baſil*. But the Emperour had already reſolved to repair to the Town the Pope ſhould

pitch upon. The Fathers of *Baſil* plainly perceiving that the Pope intended to remove the *Council* elſewhere, made haſte and paſſed ſeveral Decrees which very much leſſened the *Papal* Authority, and at length cited the Pope to appear before them.

Eugenius made light of the Proceedings againſt him at *Baſil*. Upon notice that the *Greeks* were arrived at *Venice*, he publiſhed a *Bull* for the tranſlating the *Council* of *Baſil* to *Ferrara*. The *Council* refuſed to comply with the *Bull*, and by a Majority of Votes they ſuſpended the Pope till he ſhould come in Perſon and make his Defence. Mean while, Cardinal *Julian* Preſident of the *Council*, and the reſt of the Cardinals except one, left *Baſil*, carrying away with them a good Number of Biſhops, and repaired to *Ferrara*, where the Pope opened his *Council* on the 10th of *February* 1438. Thus aroſe a new Sort of *Schiſm* between two *Councils*, which Both called themſelves *General*, and condemned each other. But the Pope's had ſoon a conſiderable Advantage of the other, by the Arrival of the *Greek* Emperour at *Ferrara*, with a great many Prelates of his Nation. Next Year *Eugenius* tranſlated the *Council* to *Florence*, where a ſort of Union was patched up between the *Greeks* and *Latins*, which laſted not long *.

In the mean time the *Council* of *Baſil* going on with their Proceedings againſt *Eugenius* IV, came at laſt to depoſe him, and chuſe another Pope in his room, namely, *Amedeus* Duke of *Savoy*, who having reſigned the Government of his Dominions, was retired to the Solitudes of *Ripaille*. The new Pope took the Name of *Felix* V. Hence was formed in the *Church* a double *Schiſm* between two *General Councils* and two *Popes*,

* The Emperour in order to compaſs his Ends compelled the *Greek* Fathers to aſſent to theſe Four Articles: 1. *That there is a Purgatory.* 2. *That the Pope is Head of the Church.* 3. *That the Holy Ghoſt proceeds from the Father and the Son.* 4. *That unleavened Bread may be uſed in the Euchariſt.* But when they came home they declaimed againſt the *Council*, and recanted their Subſcriptions.

Popes, who thundered out their *Anathema*'s againſt one another, to the great Scandal of Chriſtendom. People for the moſt Part were at a great ſtand to ſee thus two *Popes* and two *Councils* condemning one another, and each excommunicating the Adherents of the other Party, not ſparing even thoſe who thought to be ſafe by ſtanding Neuter.

Charles VII, who reigned then in *France*, cauſed a *Synod* to be held, in which it was reſolved, that *France* ſhould own the *Council* of *Baſil* for lawful; but ſhould remain however in Obedience to Pope *Eugenius*: Another puzzling Point for the *French*. The Truth is, it is pretty hard to conceive how a Man could reconcile two ſuch oppoſite Things together.

In 1441 was held in *Germany* another ſuch Aſſembly, wherein no better Expedient was found than the Calling a new *Council* ſomewhere elſe than at *Baſil* and *Florence*, and that *Germany* ſhould remain Neuter till this new *Council* met. A *Diet* held at *Francfort* in 1442, approved of this Expedient, and the Council of *Baſil* conſented to it, though with Reluctance. But this Deſign met with ſuch Obſtacles that it was not put in Execution.

Mean while *Felix* V not being pleaſed with the *Council* of *Baſil*, for taking ſo much upon them, reſolved to withdraw to *Lauſanne*, on pretence that *Baſil*-Air did not agree with him. On the other Side, *Eugenius* tranſlated the *Council* of *Florence* to *Rome*, in the Church of St. *John* of *Lateran*, where they began to ſit in 1444.

At length in 1446 the Princes of *Germany* aſſembled at *Francfort*, unanimouſly reſolved, that if *Eugenius* would not redreſs the Grievances they complained of, they would all recognize Pope *Felix*. *Eugenius* demurred at firſt. But the Emperour giving him to underſtand that he muſt comply or reſolve to loſe all *Germany*, he granted whatever the *Germans* deſired; whereupon an Agreement was made.

This was a terrible Blow to the *Council* of *Baſil*, who had already loſt *Italy*, *Arragon*, and ſeveral other *States*. As for *France* they could not much rely upon her, ſeeing ſhe continued all along in Obedience to Pope *Eugenius*. *England* had declared likewiſe for that Pope, ſo far as that we find in the *Collection of the Publick Acts*, that *Henry* VI ſent an Embaſſy to make a League with him.

Eugenius IV died whilſt theſe Things were doing, and had for Succeſſor *Nicholas* V.

The *Council* of *Baſil* having loſt a great Part of their Authority, and *Felix* V having but very few Friends, the King of *France* held a *Synod* at *Lyons*, in order to deviſe Means to put an End to the *Schiſm*. *Felix* V having ſent *Legates* thither, it was reſolved with his Conſent, that if *Nicholas* V would grant him certain Conditions, he would reſign the *Pontificate*. This was the Subject of a Negotiation which laſted the whole Year 1448. Mean-while the *Council* of *Baſil* finding they were forſaken by almoſt all the World, and deſpairing of being protected any longer at *Baſil*, had taken a Reſolution to remove to *Lauſanne*.

In fine, *Felix* having obtained in a good Meaſure all that he had deſired, reſigned the *Papal* Dignity in 1449. But it was done with the Conſent of his *Council*, who found Means to preſerve ſtill ſome Remains of Authority. By their laſt Decree, they approved of *Felix*'s Reſignation, created him *Cardinal* and *Legate a latere* in *Savoy* and the *Tarentaiſe*, and allowed him to wear the Pope's Habit all his Life. *Nicholas* V confirmed this Decree according to Agreement. Thus ended at length the *Schiſm* in which there was a Complication of three *Schiſms*. Firſt between *Eugenius* IV and the *Council* of *Baſil*: then between two *General Councils*; and laſtly between two *Popes*. One may ſay the firſt is not yet ended, ſince the Diſpute which occaſioned it, is ſtill on Foot. The Sticklers for the Court of *Rome* declaim for ever againſt the *Council* of *Baſil*, for decreeing that a *General Council* is above the

the *Pope*. On the other Hand, their Oppoſers make the Decrees of this *Council*, the Foundation of their Opinion. It is very likely that this Queſtion will remain a long while undecided.

I have dwelt the longer upon what paſſed in the two famous *Councils* of *Conſtance* and *Baſil*, becauſe nothing in my Opinion is more proper to diſcover the wretched State of the *Church* of thoſe Days. From the Time that the laſt *Schiſm* was cloſed, to the End of the XVth *Century*, the *Papal Chair* was filled with Popes cruelly bent upon the Deſtruction of the *Huſſites*, contrary to the Faith of the Agreement, or wholly taken up with aſſerting the exorbitant Power uſurped by their Predeceſſors, and generally in order to have an Opportunity to ſatisfy their Avarice.

Calixtus III Succeſſor of *Nicholas* V oppreſſed the *Germans* to ſuch a Degree, that they were forced at length to break the Agreement they had made with *Eugenius* IV, plainly perceiving it was of no manner of uſe. 1455. *Characters of the Popes of the* XVth *Century.*

Pius II who was lately *canonized*, was ſo far from conſenting to a Reformation in the *Head* of the *Church*, that he excommunicated by a *Bull* all Perſons that ſhould dare to appeal from the Pope to a *General Council*. 1458.

Paul II was no ſooner choſen, but he broke the Oath he had taken before his Election, concerning the redreſſing certain Abuſes which himſelf with the reſt of the *Cardinals*, had judged neceſſary. Never were the *Gratia Expectativæ* [or *Bulls* for Church-Preferments before they become void] more frequent than whilſt he ſat in the *Papal Chair*. He ſpent the whole Time of his *Pontificate* in ſtriving to aboliſh the *Pragmatick Sanction* * in *France*, which debarred 1464.

* This is an *Edict*, paſſed in the Council of *Bourges* in the Reign of *Charles* VII, and was levelled againſt *Papal Proviſions*, the Payment of *Firſt-Fruits*, and other Incroachments of the Court of *Rome*. In a Word, it contains the Privileges of the *Gallican-Church*, and was taken out of the *Acts* of the *Council* of *Conſtance* and *Baſil*.

red him of the Liberty of doing there whatever he pleaſed.

1471. *Sixtus* IV raiſed, by one of his *Bulls*, the *Hierarchy* to the greateſt Height poſſible, juſt when Thouſands were complaining of the exceſſive Power the *Clergy* had uſurped.

1484. *Innocent* VIII picked a Quarrel with *Ferdinand* of *Arragon* King of *Naples*, and by his Sollicitations inclined *Charles* VIII to carry his Arms into *Italy*.

1492. Mezerai. *Alexander* VI was one of the vileſt Men of his Age. This is he of whom a famous *Roman Catholick* Writer gives this fine Character, that he would have been the wickedeſt Man in the World, if he had not had a Baſtard Son * who was more wicked than himſelf.

I paſs over in Silence the Blood-Thirſtineſs of all theſe Popes, in perſecuting the *Bohemians*, contrary to the Faith of their Agreement. The *Cruſadoes* againſt the *Turks*, in which they would have ingaged all the Princes of *Europe* appeared very ſpecious. But Sovereigns were ſo well ſatisfied, that in publiſhing *Cruſadoes*, the Popes had nothing in View but their own private Intereſt, that they could never have any Confidence in them.

Such in general was the State of the *Chriſtian Church* in the XVth *Century*, upon which I ſhall make but one ſingle Remark, leaving my Readers at Liberty to make as many as they pleaſe: What I would obſerve is, that the Abſtract I have juſt given, makes it evident to a Demonſtration, how trifling their Opinion is, who ſay that it is not the Buſineſs of private Perſons to endeavour to reform the *Church*, but that the Work muſt be left to the *Church* herſelf. Who then is this *Church* from which we are to expect this happy Reformation? Is it all *Chriſtians* in general, agreeing together as it were by a ſudden Inſpiration, to reform Abuſes? Doubtleſs this is not what is meant by the word *Church*? Is it the Pope with his *Cardinals*? But theſe are the very Men who have all along

* *Cæſar Borgia.*

long prevented it, and very probably will do ſo for ever to the utmoſt of their Power. Shall a *General Council* take in Hand this Reformation? But what has paſſed hitherto in theſe Aſſemblies affords no Proſpect of receiving ſo great a Benefit from thence. Beſides, who ſhall call this *General Council*? Of whom ſhall it be compoſed? Who ſhall preſide in it? Can the Pope be brought to convene a *General Council* on purpoſe to reform the *Church*? Will he give the Preſidentſhip to another, that the Members may with the more Freedom reform him with his Court? In a Word, ſhall it be the *Pope*, the *Cardinals*, the *Prelates*, that ſhall determine Matters in this *Council*? But theſe are ſo many Parties concerned to leave Things juſt as they are.

Will it be ſaid with ſome, *that* the *Church* has no need of Reformation: *That* ſhe is Innocent and Pure, without Spot or Wrinkle, or any Thing like it: *That* all the *Prerogatives* which the *Popes*, the *Cardinals*, the *Biſhops* enjoy, belong to them by *Divine Right*: *That* the *Pope* exerciſes no Power but what *Chriſt* inveſted him with: *That* his Deciſions are infallible as well in Point of Fact as of Right, and *that* the ſame Obedience muſt be paid to his Decrees as to thoſe of God himſelf? But if by Ill-luck it falls out, that purſuant to this Principle, the *Popes* ſhould enlarge their *Phylacteries*, and every Day form new Claims, as it has but too frequently happened, how ſhall one be able to ſet Bounds to them, if 'tis confeſt that the *Church* has no need of Reformation, or that the Buſineſs of Reformation muſt be left to the *Church* herſelf?

State of the Church of England.

After having taken a View of the State of the *Church* in general, it is Time to come to that of the *Church* of *England* in particular. *England*, with regard to Religion, was juſt in the ſame State with the reſt of *Europe*. The People were extremely deſirous of a Reformation of ſundry Abuſes which had crept into the *Church*. The *Clergy* were Tooth and Nail againſt it, becauſe no Change could be made but to their

their Prejudice. As for the Kings, they made Religion ſubſervient to their Intereſt. When they imagined they ſtood in need of the *Clergy*, they found Ways and Means enough to evade the People's Demands. But when the Parliament's Good-Will was requiſite, they aſſented to ſuch *Statutes* as ſerved to curb the Incroachments of the *Pope* and *Clergy*.

In the Beginning of the *Century*, *Henry* IV, whoſe chief View was to fix himſelf in the Throne, and who thought he could not do without the *Clergy*, affected throughout his whole Reign to be very obliging to them. Hence proceeded all thoſe *Statutes* which were paſſed in thoſe Days againſt the *Lollards*. *Henry* V ſhowed at firſt great Inclination to ſtrip the *Clergy* of their Riches, according to the Parliament's Deſire. But afterwards having taken it into his Head to conquer *France*, he was very careful to avoid giving the *Church* cauſe to raiſe Troubles in his Kingdom. It was abſolutely neceſſary in order to execute the grand Project he had formed, that his Subjects ſhould be ready to aſſiſt him with their Purſes. But on the other Hand, he was no leſs concerned to live in a good Underſtanding with the Court of *Rome*, for fear ſhe ſhould throw Obſtacles in his Way. He knew what ſhe was capable of when once ſhe thought herſelf injured. So keeping fair both with the Pope and his own Subjects, he found Means to hinder the Pope from abuſing his Power too much, without depriving him however of what he had got. By this prudent Management, he made his Reign peaceable with reſpect to Religion. We muſt except however what he did in the Beginning againſt the *Lollards*. He had ſuffered himſelf to be prepoſſeſſed, that they had conſpired againſt his Life, and that Notion made him at firſt a little ſevere. But as he was endowed with an excellent Judgment, he ſoon came to diſcern the Intereſt of the *Clergy* from thoſe of *Religion*, and put a ſtop to the Proceedings againſt theſe unhappy People. *Henry* VI was a weak Man, ever ready to receive the Impreſſions they were pleaſed to give him.

Had

Had he held the Reins of the Government himſelf, it is very probable the *Clergy* would have gained a great deal of Ground in his Reign. But they that had the Management of Affairs, as well during his *Minority*, as after, were Men of quite another Character. Beſides the *French* War, the Diſturbances at Court after the King's Marriage, and the Civil Wars which quickly followed, gave thoſe at the Helm no Time to think much of Religious Affairs. For the ſame Reaſon, the Reign of *Edward* IV was not diſturbed either by the *Lollards* or their Adverſaries. It is true *Edward* ſhowed a great Condeſcenſion for the *Clergy*, in granting them a Favour which the former Kings had conſtantly denied them. Nevertheleſs his Complaiſance did not go ſo far as to indulge Perſecution. The Reigns of *Edward* V and of *Richard* III were wholly ſpent in domeſtick Troubles, which had no manner of Influence upon the Affairs of the *Church*. As for *Henry* VII he laid it down as a Rule to keep the *Church* upon the ſame Foot he found it when he mounted the Throne. He avoided as a Rock, all Innovations which might have obſtructed the Execution of his two main Deſigns, namely, to ſecure the Crown to himſelf and his Heirs, and to heap up Money. Such was, with regard to Religion, the Diſpoſition of the Kings that reigned in *England* during the *Fifteenth Century*.

As for the *Engliſh* Nation, 'tis certain it was generally *Wickliffite* in ſome Reſpects. *Wickliff*'s Opinions tended manifeſtly to theſe two main Ends. Firſt, to reform the Government of the *Church*, and to ſet Bounds to the Power of the *Pope* and *Clergy*. Secondly, to alter the *Church's Creed* as to certain *Doctrines* long ſince received, and which he thought contrary to *Scripture*. Now as he perceived that it was next Door to impoſſible that *Chriſtians* ſhould be brought back to what he believed to be the antient *Faith* of the *Church*, becauſe the *Clergy* were concerned to maintain the eſtabliſhed *Errours*, he inſiſted ſtoutly upon the firſt Point, as being abſolutely neceſſary in

order to be able to attain to the Second. It is certain, that in reſpect to the general Aim he propoſed to himſelf in the firſt of theſe Points, not only his profeſſed Followers, but all the reſt of the People did as it were join with him. For many Ages the *Engliſh* had felt the Oppreſſion which the Pope and *Clergy* had kept them under. In all Chriſtendom there was no People that had experienced more the Rigour of the *Church*'s Dominion. The Hiſtory of *England* makes this appear ſo viſibly, that a Man muſt have been blind not to ſee it. But granting that Hiſtory has carried Matters too far in this Reſpect, the *Statutes* of *Proviſors* and *Præmunire* ſo frequently revived, leave no room to queſtion but that the *Engliſh* thought themſelves oppreſſed. Wherefore one may ſay that in general the People of *England* were *Wickliffites* as to the firſt Point, though many believed that *Wickliff* had a Mind to carry the Reformation a little too far, and that in order to correct the Abuſes of the *Hierarchy*, he had run into the other Extreme. But the Nation was not generally *Wickliffite* with reſpect to the ſecond Point, namely, the Alteration of certain Articles of Belief. It is true, *Wickliff* had in this Reſpect abundance of Followers, but they were not the Majority. Thus the Name of *Wickliffite* or *Lollard* was an *equivocal* Term capable of being underſtood in two different Senſes. Sometimes it ſignifies a Man who ſeparating from the *Church*, embraced all *Wickliff*'s Opinions. It might likewiſe be underſtood of a Man who remaining in the *Church*, ſuch as it was then, and adhering to the received *Doctrines*, was however of *Wickliff*'s Mind as to the *Temporal* and *Spiritual* Juriſdiction of the *Clergy*. In this laſt Senſe there were more *Lollards* in *England* than can be imagined. This Diſtinction may ſerve to account for divers Proceedings of the Parliaments in the Beginning of the XVth *Century*, which ſeem to be contrary one to another. Sometimes they were ſeen to ſpeak and act like *Lollards*, demanding with great Earneſtneſs that the *Clergy* ſhould be ſtript of their Riches,

Riches, and ſometimes they condemned theſe ſame *Lollards* to the Flames, when they conſidered them in the firſt Senſe I have juſt mentioned. The *Clergy* knew very well how to make their Advantage of the Ambiguity of that *Term*. When a Man was ſo hardy as to ſhow that it were to be wiſhed that ſome Alteration might be made in the Government of the *Church*, they never failed to accuſe ſuch a one of being a *Lollard*, and to charge him with all *Wickliff*'s Opinions. Hence he became odious of courſe, becauſe the true *Lollards* maintained *Doctrines* repugnant to the *Faith* of thoſe Days. The firſt Parliament which petitioned *Henry* IV to ſeize the *Church-Lands*, could not eſcape that Imputation which made a deep Impreſſion in the King's Mind. Thus it often happened that People did not dare to eſpouſe openly *Wickliff*'s firſt Opinions, for fear of being taxed with holding the others too, and of being in Danger to ſuffer for *Tenets* which they held not, as it happened to *John Huſs* and *Jerome* of *Prague*. It was not without Cauſe that the *Clergy* proſecuted the *Lollards* with ſuch Animoſity, ſince their Principles tended to no leſs than to ſtrip them of all their Prerogatives. At this very Day the *Church of England*, though embracing *Wickliff*'s Opinions with reſpect to the *Articles of Faith*, cannot forbear expreſſing very little Eſteem for that *Doctor*, becauſe he has combated the *Hierarchy* which ſhe has thought proper to retain.

The *Lollards* were perſecuted ſometimes more, ſometimes leſs, according to the Temper of the Kings, the Archbiſhops, and the reſt of the Prelates, but eſpecially according to the Circumſtances of Affairs. In general, the Beginning of the XVth *Century* was much worſe for them than the Middle or the End. The Reaſon is evident. For as their Number continually increaſed, their Enemies found much leſs Countenance, and they themſelves more Protection. In the Beginning of the XVth *Century*, which was the worſt Time of all for them, there were however but very few burnt, for which three principal Reaſons

may be given. First, as the *Statutes* did not enact that all in general ſhould be burnt, who held the *Tenets* of *Wickliff*, but only ſuch as preached or taught them publickly, the Number of the Guilty was not very great. Theſe *Statutes* were not obſerved after the manner of the *Inquiſition*, but according to the *Rights* and *Privileges* of the *Engliſh* Nation. In the next Place, the Idea which the *Clergy* were pleaſed to give of the *Lollards* was, that they entirely ſubverted *Religion*. But oftentimes when the Parties accuſed as ſuch were examined, it appeared that they believed only that the *Pope* and *Clergy* abuſed their Power too much, the which was the general Opinion of the Kingdom. In the laſt Place, it fell out ſometimes that the Judges themſelves were of this *Sect*. The which gave riſe to the *Statute* in the Reign of *Henry* V, whereby all Magiſtrates were obliged, upon Admittance into their Office, to ſwear that they would ſee the Laws againſt the *Lollards* put in Execution. But I do not know whether that *Statute* was punctually obſerved. If we may believe *Walſingham the Monk*, the Judges and ſeveral Biſhops themſelves were very remiſs in proſecuting the *Lollards*. This he aſcribes to the general Corruption which reigned in *England*. But this Corruption was nothing elſe but the Inclination the *Engliſh* had for *Wickliff*'s Opinions; or at leaſt their Scruples to put People to Death on the Score of *Religion*. The moſt remarkable thing which paſſed in *England* with regard to the *Lollards*, is the Tryal and Puniſhment of Sir *John Oldcaſtle*, otherwiſe called the Lord *Cobham*, of which I have given an Account in the Reign of *Henry* V. We muſt turn now to another Subject, namely, the Conteſts which *England* had with the Court of *Rome* in the XVth *Century*.

Diſputes between England *and the Popes.*

In ſpite of all the Complaints which the *Engliſh* had frequently carried to the Court of *Rome*, about her continual Incroachments, and in ſpite of the Precautions which ſeveral Parliaments had taken to ſcreen themſelves from her Uſurpations, the Popes did not abate

abate an Inch of their Pretenſions. The *Acts of Parliament* were to them but like *Cannon* without *Ball*, which made a Noiſe without any Effect. Upon every Occaſion that offered, they made no Scruple to act contrary to theſe *Statutes*, as if there had been no ſuch Thing; and to aſſert their *Apoſtolick* Power without troubling themſelves whether they prejudiced the King or his Subjects. The Parliament, willing to remedy the Abuſes which aroſe from the continual Diſpenſations granted by the *Pope* without hearing the Cauſe, paſſed an *Act* that *All Perſons who purchaſed or executed any* Bulls *to be diſcharged from the Payment of* Tyth, *ſhould incur the Penalties contained in the Statute of Proviſors.* It was enacted by another *Statute* paſſed at the ſame Time, that *if any Perſon ſhould procure a* Proviſion *to be exempt of the Juriſdiction of the Biſhops, he ſhould incur the ſame Penalties.* Theſe *Acts* being made chiefly with a View to the Monks, were not capable of producing the intended Effect, becauſe the Pope, by the *Fulneſs* of his *Apoſtolick* Authority, exempted the *Monks* from the Obſervance of theſe *Parliamentary Statutes.* The Biſhops, whom this Affair chiefly concerned, not daring to diſpute the Power which the Pope aſſumed, it was the Parliament's Buſineſs to ſtand up for their Cauſe as well as their own. To that Purpoſe the *Statutes* upon this Subject were revived, and a *Clauſe* added, prohibiting the *Monks* in particular to purchaſe or execute any ſuch Exemptions, upon the Penalty compriſed in the *Statute of Præmunire.*

The *Statute of Præmunire*, which I have mentioned upon ſeveral Occaſions, was a terrible *Fence* againſt the Incroachments of the Court of *Rome.* It is true that it did not fall upon the Pope directly, ſince the Parliament had no Power over him. But as it hindered the *Engliſh* from applying to the Court of *Rome* for things contrary to the *Prerogatives* of the Crown, and the Laws of the Realm, it abridged the Pope of a good Part of the Advantages which he pretended to by his *Apoſtolick* Power. It will ſeem

ſtrange

ſtrange perhaps that the Popes ſhould be ſilent when this *Statute* was paſſed, and a good while after. But it is eaſy to find out the Reaſon. The *Schiſm* which began in 1378. and laſted till 1409, hindered them from beſtirring themſelves. The Popes which *England* acknowledged took care to give no cauſe of Offence at ſuch a Juncture. It is true, there was an Interval of ſome Years, during which *Alexander* V. and *John* XXIII. might have made ſome Attempt upon that Law. But *Alexander* was Pope but a very little while, and *John* was taken up with Matters which in his Opinion were of more Importance. *Martin* V. conſidered not this Buſineſs with the ſame Indifference. In 1426. he writ a thundering Letter to *Chicheley* Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, upbraiding him for his Remiſſneſs in this Particular, and enjoining him to exert his utmoſt to get the *Statute* repealed. *Henry* VI. who was then on the Throne, not being above five Years old, the Pope thought it a proper Time to compaſs his Ends. It will not be unacceptable perhaps to inſert Part of this *Letter* which ſhows what the Pope's Thoughts were of the pretended Privileges of his *See*.

MARTIN,

SERVANT *of the* SERVANTS *of* GOD,

To his Reverend Brother, the Archbiſhop of CANTERBURY, *Greeting and Apoſtolical Benediction.*

Martin V's *Letter to the Archbiſhop of* Canterbury.

" HAD you conſidered what a ſtrict Account
" you muſt give to Almighty God for the
" *Flock* committed to your Care: Had you called to
" mind the Obligations of your Office, and how much

" you

" you are bound to maintain the Rights and Honour " of the *Roman Church*, of whom you hold your Dig- " nity: Had you, I ſay, duly recollected theſe " Things, you would never have ſuffered your ſelf " to be ſeized with ſuch a Lethargy and Negligence. " No, you would have done your Duty long ſince; " you would have endeavoured to ſet right the Miſ- " led, and oppoſed with all your Might thoſe who " have ſacrilegiouſly invaded the Privileges granted " to the *Church* by our Saviour. Was the Authori- " ty of your Character beſtowed upon you only to " enrich your ſelf, and to give you an Opportunity " of *ſeeking your own, and not the Things which are* " *Jeſus Chriſt's*? If this be your Opinion, you widely " miſtake the Inſtructions of our Bleſſed Saviour, " who, when he committed his *Sheep* to St. *Peter*'s " Care, only commanded him to *feed them*; neither " received he this Command, till after he had given " his Maſter repeated Aſſurances of his Love. Is " this then your way of ſhowing your Love to " *Chriſt?* Is this *feeding* and taking care of the *Flock?* " Will ſuch Conduct as this diſcharge your Duty to " *the Holy See?* Alas! your *Flock* is running down a " Precipice before your Eyes, and you are regardleſs " of their Danger, and make no attempt to ſave " them: You ſuffer them to feed in dangerous Pa- " ſtures without warning them, and which is horrible, " you ſeem to put Poiſon into their Mouths with " your own Hands: You ſtand and ſee the Wolves " ſcatter and tear them in pieces, and like a *dumb* " *Dog* vouchſafe not ſo much as to *bark:* You can be- " hold the Authority of our Bleſſed Saviour and the " *Holy See* deſpiſed and trampled upon, without ſo much " as dropping one word of Remonſtrance. One would " have thought that you might have whiſpered your " Diſlike at leaſt, though you had been ſo very pru- " dent as not to have declared it publickly. Are " you not ſenſible that you muſt one Day account to " the *utmoſt Farthing* for all Omiſſions and Prevari- " cations of this kind? Don't you think, if any of

" your

" your *Flock* are loſt by your Neglect, (and alas! " there are a great many) *their Blood will be required* " *at your Hands?* Conſider and tremble what Ven- " geance God denounces by his Prophet *Ezekiel: Son* " *of Man, I have ſet thee a Watchman unto the Houſe* " *of* Iſrael, *if thou ſeeſt the Sword come and doſt not blow* " *the Trumpet, and any Perſon is taken away, his Blood* " *will I require at thy Hands.*

To ſee this Beginning, would not one think that the Point in Hand was ſome *new Hereſy* tending to ſubvert the fundamental Principles of Religion? At leaſt, one ſhould believe that the Pope had the *Wickliffites* in view. But it was no ſuch thing; we ſhall ſee in the Sequel of the *Letter* what the Matter was; namely, the *Statute of Præmunire*, which the Archbiſhop had not got to be repealed, the Pope ſuppoſing without any ground that it was in that Prelate's Power to cauſe the Laws of the Realm to be annulled. He went on in this Manner:

" I leave it to your ſelf to conſider, what abomi- " nable Violence has been committed upon your *Pro-* " *vince.* Pray read that *Royal Law*, if there's any " thing in it that is either *Law* or *Royal.* For how " can that be called a *Statute*, which makes void the " Laws of God and the *Church?* Or how can it de- " ſerve the Name of *Royal*, when it deſtroys the an- " tient Cuſtoms of the Realm? When it is ſo con- " trary to theſe Words of *Scripture*, *The King loveth* " *Judgment?* Tell me then, Reverend Brother, " whether you, who are a *Catholick* Biſhop, can think " it reaſonable ſuch an *Act* as this ſhould be in Force " in a *Chriſtian* Country?

" In the firſt Place, under colour of this execrable " *Statute*, the King of *England* reaches at the *Spiri-* " *tual* Juriſdiction, and governs ſo abſolutely in *Ec-* " *cleſiaſtical* Matters, as if our Saviour had made him " his *Vicar.* He makes Laws for the *Church* and " and *Clergy.* In ſhort, he enjoins ſo many things a- " bout *Clerks*, *Benefices*, and the Concerns of the " *Hierarchy*, that one would think *the Keys of the*

" *Kingdom*

" *Kingdom of Heaven* were put into his Hands, and " the Superintendency of theſe Affairs had been in- " truſted with him and not with St. *Peter*.

" Beſides theſe hideous Uſurpations, he has enac- " ted ſeveral Penalties againſt the *Clergy*. Such a " Rigour as this is the more unjuſtifiable, that the " *Engliſh* Government does not treat *Turks* and *Jews* " with ſo much Severity. People of all Nations and " Perſuaſions have the Liberty of coming into *Eng-* " *land*. Only thoſe who have *Cures* beſtowed upon " them by the *Vicar* of *Jeſus Chriſt* are excluded. " Only thoſe, I ſay, are baniſhed, ſeized, impriſo- " ned, ſtripped of their Fortunes. If any Perſon, " charged with the Execution of the *Mandates* and " *Cenſures* of the *Holy See*, happens to ſet Foot on " *Engliſh* Ground, and procced in the Buſineſs of his " Commiſſion, he is treated like an Enemy, thrown " out of the King's Protection, and expoſed more- " over to ſtill greater Hardſhips. Was ever ſuch " Iniquity as this paſſed into a Law? Pray conſider " whether ſuch *Statutes* as theſe are for the Honour " of the Kingdom; and whether it becomes you to " be ſilent under all this Outrage. Is this an In- " ſtance of filial Obedience? Is this the *Engliſh* Peo- " ple's way of ſhewing their Regards to their *Mother* " *Church* and the *Holy See?* Can that be called a *Ca-* " *tholick* Kingdom where ſuch profane Laws are prac- " tiſed, where Application to *Chriſt's Vicar* is pro- " hibited, where St. *Peter*'s Succeſſor is not allowed " to execute our *Saviour*'s Commiſſion? *Chriſt* ſaid to " St. *Peter*, and in him to his Succeſſors, *Feed my* " *Sheep*. But this *Statute* will not allow them to do " ſo, but transfers that Office upon the King, and " pretends in ſeveral Caſes to give him *Apoſtolical* Au- " thority. *Chriſt* built his *Church* upon St. *Peter*; " but this *Act* of Parliament hinders the Effect of " this Diſpoſition, not permitting St. *Peter*'s *See* to " proceed in the Functions of the Government of " the *Church*, or to make Proviſions ſuitable to her " Neceſſities. Our Lord has ordered, that what-

" ever his High-Prieſt *ſhall bind or looſe in Earth, ſhall*
" *be bound or looſed in Heaven:* but this *Statute* runs
" directly counter to the divine Command. For if
" the immediate Repreſentative of our Saviour thinks
" fit to delegate any Prieſt to execute the *Power of*
" *the Keys*, contrary to the Intent of the *Statute*, he
" is refuſed Admittance, forced out of the Kingdom,
" ſtript of his Effects, and made liable to farther Pe-
" nalties. If any *Diſcipline*, if any *Apoſtolick Cen-*
" *ſure* appear againſt this Uſage, it is puniſhed as a
" capital Offence.

" And what does your *Prudence* think of all this?
" Is this a *Catholick Statute?* Can it be ſuffered with-
" out Diſhonour to our Saviour, without a Breach
" upon the Laws of the *Goſpel*, and the Ruin of Peo-
" ple's Souls? Why therefore did you not *cry aloud?*
" Why *did you not lift up your Voice like a Trumpet?*
" *ſhow your People their Tranſgreſſion, and the Houſe of*
" Jacob *their Sins*, that *their Blood may not be required*
" *at your Hands?* If all Perſons who have the *Cure* of
" Souls are bound to this Duty, how much more are
" you, who have both the Prieſts and People com-
" mitted to your Care by the *Holy See*, by whoſe Fa-
" vour you enjoy the Privilege of *Primate* and *Le-*
" *gate* for the *Church* of *England*, and have the Ho-
" nour of being Succeſſor to that glorious Martyr
" St. *Thomas*, who to remove the Oppreſſion of ſuch
" *Statutes* as this, ſcrupled not to ſacrifice himſelf for
" the Intereſt of the *Church*.

" Theſe Things conſidered, you, who ought to
" have ſet up the *Church*'s Standard, been moſt for-
" ward in the Defence of *Religion*, and animated your
" Fellow Biſhops to a noble Conteſt, are the firſt
" that turn your Back and decline the Service. Thus,
" either by your great Cowardice, or as it is gene-
" rally believed, by your downright Prevarication,
" you diſcourage thoſe who offer to make a Stand.
" If therefore the *Church* complain of your Conduct;
" if the whole be laid to your Charge, be not ſur-
" prized but troubled at the Imputation. Let this

" Reproach

" Reproach ſerve to put you upon reforming your " Conduct, and make you boldly perform the Duties " of your Office; which, were you but inclined to " make the moſt of your Power, would be no difficult " Task. Exert therefore your Character among the " *Laity*; inform their Underſtandings in this Point, " and endeavour to ſet them right again. Show them " what a Snare this *Statute* will prove, and how much " Guilt it will draw upon their Conſciences. Let " your Admonitions be preſſed home, and then " *the crooked will be made ſtreight, and the rough ways* " *ſmooth*".

After this long Reprimand, the Pope continues to tell the Archbiſhop, that he thought himſelf bound in Conſcience to deal thus plainly with him. Then he charges him upon Pain of *Excommunication* to go immediately and make what Intereſt he could with the *Privy-Council* for the repealing the *Statute of Præmunire*; to apply to both *Houſes* of Parliament for the ſame Purpoſe, and to let them know that all thoſe who obeyed that *Statute* were under *Excommunication*. Moreover, he orders him to enjoin all the *Clergy* to preach publickly and every where the ſame Doctrine, to take with him two grave Perſons to atteſt his Diligence, and to certify him of the Reſult of the Matter.

Reaſons of the Pope's Conduct.

If any one has a mind to know what made *Martin* V. ſo very angry with *Chicheley*, who had no hand in the *Statute of Præmunire*, paſſed long before he was Archbiſhop, and who had not the Power to get it repealed; the Reaſon is this: *Chicheley* had oppoſed with all his Might the *Papal Exemptions*. He had diſſuaded *Henry* V. from conſenting that *Henry Beaufort* his Uncle ſhould be made a *Cardinal Legate a latere* for Life, and hold the Biſhoprick of *Wincheſter* in *Commendam*. Moreover, he had ſaid publickly that all the Pope's Proceedings tended only to drain *England* continually.

The Archbiſhop being willing to juſtify himſelf, did it not to the Pope's Satisfaction. On the contrary, he drew upon himſelf a ſtill more thundering Letter than the former, and after that a Third directed to the two Archbiſhops, wherein to mortify *Canterbury*, *York* is named firſt. *Chichely* fearing the Pope's Threats, got ſome Biſhops to write in his behalf: but nothing was able to pacify him. At length he ſent him a Letter himſelf, telling him, he heard by common Report that *his Holineſs* had proceeded to a Sentence againſt him, which had never happened to any Archbiſhop of *Canterbury* ſince the Days of St. *Auguſtin*. That however, he was not certain of the Thing, becauſe he was commanded by the King to bring all the Inſtruments he had received from *Rome* with the *Seals* whole, and lodge them in the *Paper-Office* till the Parliament ſate.

Mean while *Martin* V. reſolving to puſh his Point, writ to the King and Parliament in a higher Strain than any Pope had ever done before. He admoniſhes, or rather commands them to repeal the *Statute of Præmunire*, otherwiſe he aſſures them they cannot be ſaved.

At length the Archbiſhop ſeeing the Pope obſtinately bent upon his Purpoſe, and not daring to contradict him any longer, went in Company with ſeveral other Biſhops to the *Houſe of Commons*, where he made a long Speech, the Drift of which was to perſuade the *Houſe* to repeal the *Statute*, putting them in mind of the Danger of an *Interdict* upon the whole Kingdom. But neither his Arguments nor his Threats were able to bring the *Commons* to repeal the *Act*, or to make the leaſt *Amendments*. On the contrary, they addreſſed the King to take the Archbiſhop into his Protection, and to write to the Pope in his behalf.

Pope *Martin*'s Letter and his extraordinary Endeavours to get the *Statutes of Præmunire* repealed, afford Matter for three Remarks, upon this Subject. The firſt is, that this Letter ſhows to a Demonſtration, that the main of Religion was made

then

then to conſiſt in the Pope's *Prerogatives*, and the *Clergy*'s *Immunities*. Hence it appears farther, how averſe *Martin* was to conſent to the leaſt Diminution of his pretended *Rights*, and conſequently to a Reformation in the *Head* and *Members* of the *Church*, demanded with ſo much Earneſtneſs at the *Council* of *Conſtance*, where he was preſent in Perſon.

The ſecond Remark is, that at all Times the Popes in their Conteſts with the ſeveral *States* of *Chriſtendom*, have always had great Advantages. Theſe Advantages conſiſted in that by the Threats of *Excommunication* and *Interdict*, they puſhed Matters ſo far, that there was need of great Reſolution not to ſuffer one's ſelf to be over-awed and loſe ſome Ground either by way of Accommodation or otherwiſe. But if this Reſolution was Proof againſt all Attempts, and the Circumſtances of Affairs were not favourable to the Court of *Rome*, ſhe had the Power to ſtop when ſhe pleaſed, in Expectation of a better Opportunity. They who had the Misfortune to contend with her, always reckoned themſelves very well off if they were not worſted, being ſatisfied if ſhe would but let them live in Peace.

Conjecture upon this Matter.

The Third Remark is a Conjecture which I ſhall leave to the Reader's Judgment. The Thing is this: Though *Henry* VI was then but five Years old, and though his *Minority* ſeemed to countenance the Pope's Deſign, yet it is certain that *England* had never been in a more proſperous Condition. The *Engliſh* were quiet and pleaſed with the Government, and the Victories of *Crevant* and *Verneuil* had put their Affairs in *France* upon a very good Foot. On the other Side, the Affairs of *Charles* VII were in ſuch Diſorder that there was no likelihood of their being ever reſtored. And therefore *Martin* V could not deem it a proper Time for him. Beſides, the King's two Uncles were not of a Temper to ſuffer the Prerogatives Royal, and the People's Rights to be trampled upon, at a Time when their Affairs were in ſo flouriſhing a Condition. It is therefore ſomething probable that *Martin*,

tin, who was much more inclined to *France* than *England*, made all that Noiſe then, on purpoſe to ſtir up Troubles in *England*, which would be of Service to King *Charles*, and give him Time to breathe. If the Archbiſhop had punctually obeyed him, and if the *Clergy* had every where preached againſt the *Statute of Præmunire*, purſuant to the Pope's expreſs Orders, the Parliament would have been forced to ſtand by their *Act*, and to puniſh the *Clergy*'s Preſumption. Then the Pope would have had a Pretence to put the Kingdom under an *Interdict*, the which would have very much embroiled the Affairs of the *Engliſh* in *France*. But *Chicheley*'s Prudence prevented the Miſchiefs which might have ſprung from *Martin*'s haughty Proceedings. In ſhort, *Martin* perceiving that he was ſupported neither by the King's Council, nor by the *Clergy* nor the People, let the Buſineſs drop, not thinking proper to expoſe his Authority any farther. This Conjecture is built upon *Martin*'s ſhowing himſelf all along very partial to *France*, either out of Inclination, or becauſe indeed it was not for the Intereſt of the Court of *Rome* that *France* ſhould be ſubject to *England*.

Before I leave the *Statute of Præmunire*, it will not be improper to obſerve, that this *Act* had two principal *Clauſes*. The Firſt, which contained the *Statute of Proviſors* made in the Reign of *Edward* I, prohibited the ſolliciting and procuring of *Benefices* from the Court of *Rome* by way of *Proviſion*, contrary to the Rights of the Crown and the Patrons. The Second prohibited the carrying to the Court of *Rome*, or *elſewhere*, Cauſes which belong to the King's Courts. The *Clergy* complained that by theſe Words, *or elſewhere*, the King's Judges pretended to abridge the *Eccleſiaſtical Courts* of numberleſs Cauſes which they had the *Cognizance* of before. They maintained that theſe Words, *or elſewhere*, inſerted in the *Act*, had no manner of Relation to the *Eccleſiaſtical Courts*, but only to the ſeveral Places where the Pope's Court might be beſides at *Rome*: That nevertheleſs the Judges underſtood them in the firſt Senſe, and that if there

was

was in a Proceſs the leaſt Point belonging to the Royal Juriſdiction, they took Occaſion from theſe two Words, to remove it from the Cognizance of the *Eccleſiaſtical* Court, as well as from the Court of *Rome*. In 1439 the *Convocation* complained to the King of the Explanation which the *Lay* Judges gave to theſe Terms, pretending it was contrary to the Intent of the Law, for ſeveral Reaſons which they alledged in their Addreſs. At that Time the *Clergy* had no Anſwer, or if they had it was not to their Mind. But in the Reign of *Edward* IV, they obtained a *Charter* of the King, prohibiting his Judges to have any Thing to do with criminal Matters where the *Clergy* where concerned. I do not know whether *Edward* granted this *Charter* out of Policy, to gain the *Clergy*'s Good-Will, or whether he was convinced that the Words, *or elſewhere*, were explained contrary to the Intent of the Parliament.

Other Conteſts between the Parliament and Pope.

Beſides the Conteſts which the *Statute of Præmunire* cauſed between *England* and the Court of *Rome*, there were ſome others which I ſhall but juſt touch upon. In 1403 in the Reign of *Henry* IV, the Parliament paſſed an *Act*, forbidding all Perſons that ſhould have *Proviſion* of any Benefice, to pay into the *Apoſtolick Chamber* more than was paid in old Time. The Penalty for thoſe that acted the contrary was, that they ſhould forfeit to the King the ſame Sum they paid the Pope. The Occaſion of this *Statute* was a Grievance introduced ſome Time ſince by the Court of *Rome:* Which was, that no Perſon ſhould have *Proviſion* of any *Benefice* that was void, till he had compounded with the *Apoſtolick Chamber*, as well for the *Firſt-Fruits* as for other leſſer Services in that Court, and had paid beforehand the Sum agreed upon.

But the greateſt Diſpute between *England* and the Popes was upon the Score of the *Collation* of the Biſhopricks. Though the Popes, when firſt the *Anglo-Saxons* were converted, had ſent *Italian* or other foreign Biſhops into *England*, it is certain that towards the

the latter End of the *Saxon*-Monarchy, the Biſhops were choſen by the *Chapters*. The ſame Privilege was continued to them after the *Norman Conqueſt*, and confirmed by King *John*'s *Charter*. Mean while the Popes having gradually enlarged their Authority, aſſumed the Power of beſtowing Archbiſhopricks and Biſhopricks, by way of *Proviſion*, ſometimes on one, ſometimes on another Pretence. This is what I have had frequent Occaſion to Remark in this Hiſtory. They would fain have eſtabliſhed this Rule at once, that the Diſpoſal of all the Biſhopricks belonged to them by *Divine Right*; but as they found it ſomething difficult, they bethought themſelves of another Expedient. And that was, to get Poſſeſſion by Degrees, that they might in Time found a Right upon Precedent. Thus being content at firſt with maintaining that upon certain Occaſions, they had a Power to fill the vacant *Sees*, they afterwards framed theſe Occaſions when they pleaſed. In ſhort, they multiplied them ſo very faſt, that hardly was there a vacant Biſhoprick whichthey did not fill by way of *Proviſion*. Time and lucky Junctures having confirmed them in this Prerogative, there was no longer any Poſſibility to wrench it out of their Clutches. Thus the Privilege of the *Chapters* was entirely deſtroyed.

Arundel Archbiſhop of *Canterbury* dying in 1413, the Monks of St. *Auguſtin* choſe *Henry Chicheley* then Biſhop of St. *David*'s. But Pope *John* XXIII voided the Election, declaring that for this Turn he had reſolved to diſpoſe of that *See* by way of *Proviſion*. However to avoid Diſputes, he made choice of the ſame *Chicheley*, by which Means he preſerved his pretended Right, without Detriment to the Perſon elected.

But *Martin* V did not carry it ſo fair with *England*. He was no ſooner ſeated in the *Papal Chair*, but he boldly diſpoſed of all the *Sees* which became void, without any Regard to the Privilege of the *Chapters*. In two Years only he filled by way of *Proviſion* thirteen Biſhopricks in the Province of *Canterbury*. It

was

was not only with reſpect to *Sees* that *England* had cauſe to complain of the Pope, he diſpoſed likewiſe of all the other Benefices of the Kingdom, without giving himſelf any Trouble, either about the Right of the Patrons, or the Inſtruction of the People. The beſt Preferments were for the moſt Part conferred upon Foreigners, who underſtood not a Word of *Engliſh*, or reſided not in *England*, and ſometimes upon Children themſelves. For Inſtance, he made *Proſper Colonna* his Nephew then not above ſoutteen Years old, Archdeacon of *Canterbury*. *Henry* V who was a Prince of a very high Spirit, ſent Ambaſſadors to *Rome* to complain as well of theſe as other Grievances. But *Martin* V delayed giving an Anſwer ſo long, that the Ambaſſadors told him, the King their Maſter had choſe to ſend them to *Rome* purely out of a Deference to the *Holy See*, to which he was not obliged: But that for the future he would uſe his Prerogative. That in the mean Time they had Inſtructions to make a ſolemn Proteſtation before himſelf and the *Conclave*, if his *Holineſs* would not comply immediately. I know not what Anſwer the Pope returned. But not long after *Martin* having tranſlated the Biſhop of *Lincoln* to the *See* of *York*, by way of *Proviſion*, the *Chapter* refuſed to admit him, and the Pope was forced to revoke his *Bull*.

In 1438 the *Univerſity* of *Oxford* complained that *Church*-Preferments were beſtowed without any Regard to Learning or Merit. That therefore the *Colleges* were become empty, becauſe there was no need of Study or Learning to qualify a Man for a *Benefice*. Whereupon the *Convocation* to whom this Complaint was addreſſed, paſſed a *Canon* that none but *Graduates* in the *Univerſity* ſhould be capable of *Benefices*. But this was a weak Fence againſt the *Papal* Power.

Mean while, tho' the Court of *Rome* made the *Apoſtolick* Authority ſound very high, yet the Popes now and then met with ſome Mortifications. For Example, in the Reign of *Henry* IV the Parliament ordered

that the *Peter-Pence* ſhould be depoſited in the King's Hands till the Schiſm was cloſed.

In the Reign of *Henry* V the *Alien Priories* were ſuppreſſed without aſking the Pope's Conſent.

Under *Henry* VI, Pope *Nicholas* V having demanded an extraordinary *Subſidy* of the *Clergy* of *England* for the Occaſions of the *Holy See*, the King forbid the *Clergy* to grant it.

The like Demand made ſome Years after by one *Vicentini* a *Nuntio*, was bluntly denied by the *Clergy*. They began to ſtand leſs in Fear of the *Papal* Power, formerly ſo dreadful to the whole *Church*, and particularly to *England*. The *Schiſms* did the *Pope* irreparable Damage.

During the whole XVth *Century* we don't find that any *National Councils* were held in *England*, but only *Convocations* of the *Clergy* in the two *Eccleſiaſtical Provinces* of *Canterbury* and *York*. The Condemnation of the *Lollards* was almoſt the whole Buſineſs of theſe *Convocations*. As for *National Synods* they were become uſeleſs, ſince the Popes had engroſſed the *Cognizance* of all *Eccleſiaſtial* Matters. Beſides, the leaſt *Appeal* to the Pope was enough to made void all the *Canons* of a *Council*. On the other Hand, the Popes had managed it ſo that no *National Synods* could be held without their Licenſe. Now as in theſe *Synods*, there was but too frequent Occaſion to examine into the Bounds of the *Papal* Authority, they were grown ſo odious to the Court of *Rome*, that the uſe of them was laid aſide by Degrees. At this very Day, in the *States* which have not admitted of a Reformation, you hear no more of *National Councils*, or at leaſt ſo very rarely, that it is plain the Popes do not allow them but with Regret and much Difficulty. Of this we have ſeen of late Years a remarkable Inſtance in *France*, in what paſſed about the famous Conſtitution *Unigenitus* of *Clement* XI. King *Lewis* XIV, as Powerful and Formidable as he was, could never obtain the Pope's Leave to call a *National Council* but upon ſuch Terms as rendered the Thing impracticable,

ble, though that Monarch's ſole Aim in it was to get the *Conſtitution* approved.

The Article of the eminent Men who flouriſhed in the *Church* of *England* during this *Century* will not take us up long. The Truth is, there were *Cardinals*, *Archbiſhops*, *Biſhops*, and other *Clergymen* famous enough; but it was on the Score neither of their *Piety* nor *Learning*. The *Poſts* they held at Court, their Embaſſies, Intrigues of the Cabinet, and the Hand they had in the Revolutions in the Court and Kingdom, were the only Things which diſtinguiſhed them from the reſt. *Henry Chicheley* Archbiſhop of *Canterbury* was one of the beſt. For which Reaſon he obtained not the Honour of the *Cardinalate* which was laviſhly beſtowed upon *Henry Beaufort* Biſhop of *Wincheſter*, upon *Kemp*, *Bourchier*, *Morton*, who were leſs worthy of it than him, if true Merit had been regarded. But *Chicheley* wanted one indiſpenſable Quality of a *Cardinal*, that is, to be entirely devoted to the *Holy See*.

If there were any learned Men beſides, they were ſo with reſpect to the Time they lived in, when true *Learning* was not much in vogue. And therefore it would be a very needleſs Thing to ſpeak of each in particular, ſeeing their Fame hardly out-lived them. Some were noted for their great Animoſity againſt the *Lollards*, and amongſt the reſt *Arundel* Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*. This Prelate in his *Funeral* Sermon of *Ann* of *Luxemburgh*, *Richard the Second*'s Queen, highly commends her for ſpending her Time in reading the *Holy Scriptures* in the *vulgar* Tongue. And yet ſome Years after, in the Reign of *Henry* IV, he condemned in *Convocation* the Tranſlation of the *Bible* as a very pernicious Thing *.

* As there was a Scarcity of Perſons eminent in other Parts of Learning in this rude and illiterate *Century*, ſo was there likewiſe of Hiſtorians. The moſt noted were:

Sir *Joha Froiſſard*, who wrote a General Hiſtory of the Affairs of *France*, *Spain*, &c. but chiefly of *England*. He was a *Frenchman* born, but was brought up in his Youth in the Court of *Edward*

ward III, and familiarly converſant in that of *Richard* II. He wrote in his own Tongue, which was then the Court Lauguage of *England*. In the *Engliſh* Edition publiſhed by Sir *John Bourchier* at the Command of *Henry* VIII, the Miſtakes that had crept into the *French* Copies are corrected. His Account of Matters ſeems to be plain and honeſt; and perhaps none gives a better of the Affairs of *Edward* III and *Richard* II. *Rapin* has made good uſe of him.

Thomas Walſingham a *Benedictine* Monk of St. *Albans*. His *Hiſtoria Brevis* [or ſhort Hiſtory] begins at the Concluſion of *Henry* III's Reign, where *Matthew Paris* ended his. The Account he gives is well enough, and we are indebted to him for many Things not taken notice of by any other Writer of thoſe Times. His *Ypodigma Neuſtriæ* (as he calls it) gives an Account of *Normandy* from the Time it came firſt into the Hands of *Rollo* and his *Danes*, down to the ſixth Year of *Henry* V, wherein the Readers will find many Occurrences not elſewhere to be met with. Both theſe Works were publiſhed by *Arch. Parker* 1574.

John Harding comes next, a Nothern *Engliſhman* and an inveterate Enemy to the *Scots*. He collected whatever might tend to the Proof of that antient *Vaſſalage* of *Scotland* to the Crown of *England*, and hearing of an old *Record* in that Kingdom which put the Matter paſt Diſpute, he went in Diſguiſe. and with much ado brought it away, and ſhowed it to *Henry* V, *Henry* VI, and *Edward* IV. To the laſt of theſe he dedicated his two Books of *Chronicles* in *Engliſh* Rhime, printed at *London* 1543.

William Caxton was a menial Servant for thirty Years together, to *Margaret* Dutcheſs of *Burgundy* (Siſter to *Edward* IV) in *Flanders*. Finding, as he ſays, after his return to *England* an imperfect Hiſtory, he continued it in *Engliſh* under the *Latin* Title of *Fructus Temporum*. It begins wirh the firſt Inhabiting of this Iſland, and ends (the laſt Year of *Edward* IV) 1483, Folio, printed 1515.

John Roſſe or *Rous*, travelled over the greateſt Part of *England*, and having made large Collections out of the *Libraries* where he came, he writ the Hiſtory of our Kings, which is ſtill extant in MS. in the *Cottonian* Library. He died in 1491.

Vespat. A. XII.

The End of VOL. VI.

Addi-

Additional NOTES *and Amendments communicated by the Reverend* W. S. *whilſt the Tranſlator was Abroad.*

VOL. IV.

PAGE 7. Line 37. *Rutland* *.

* It ſhould be *Rudhlan* in *Flintſhire*. This Caſtle was built by *Lhewehlyn* ap *Sitſilht*, and firſt taken from the *Welſh* by *Robert de Rudhlan*, Nephew of *Hugh* Earl of *Cheſter*. The Caſtle therefore was not built but repaired by *Edward* I. *Offa* King of *Mercia* and *Meredyth* King of *Dyved* died in the Battle fought at *Rudhlan* in the Year 794. *Camb.* in *Flint.*

P. 113. l. 14. *Cheſter* *.

* There was no Biſhop of *Cheſter* at that Time. This *See* was tranſlated after the *Conqueſt* from *Lichfield* hither. After that it was transfered to *Coventry*, and from thence by *Henry* VIII to the antient Seat again. So that the Perſon here meant was *Walter de Langton* Biſhop of *Lichfield* and *Coventry*, in whoſe Dioceſe *Cheſter* was.

P. 275. l. 9. *Church-Yard* *.

* It ſeems in it ſelf improbable that 50,000 Perſons ſhould be buried in one Year in the ſame *Church-Yard*, and what proves it falſe is, that there was but one *Ciſtercian* Abbey in *London*, viz. St. *Mary de Grace* near the Tower, founded by this King, but not till 1352. *Tanners Hiſt. Mon. p.* 139.

P. 291. the Author's Note at the Bottom of the Page [(*a*) Branch of *Evreux*,] r. Branch of *Eu*. The Counts of *Eu* were deſcended from *Robert* Count *d' Artois* younger Son of *Lewis* VIII. The Count *d' Eu* was one of the Hoſtages, p. 299.

P. 396. l. 1. of *London* *.

* He was a Merchant of *Kingſton upon Hull*, of which Place his Father *William de la Pole* was the firſt *Mayor*. Dugdale.

P. 399, add to the Note at the Bottom of the Page,

The *Temporalities* of *Norwich*-Biſhoprick were reſtored *October* 23, 1385. *Rym.* VII. 479.

P. 418. l. 30. Biſhop of *Chicheſter* *.

* *Thomas Ruſhooke* was deprived and ſucceeded by *Richard Mitford*, *May* 7. 1389.

P. 430.

P. 430. l. 35. ſevereſt Puniſhment *.
* That *Tory* Biſhop of *Exeter* was *Edmund Stafford* conſecrated 1395, and died 1419.

P. 463. l. 7. *See of Cheſter* *.
* See of *Lichfield* and *Coventry*, his Name was *John Bokyngham*. *Cheſter* was then in the Dioceſe of *Lichfield*.

P. 474. l. 23. *Richard de Peckham* *.
* *Richard Mepham*. 'Tis ſuppoſed that he died at the *Council of Lyons*.

P. 478. l. 3. Cardinal *d' Oſſa* *.
* Pope *John* XXII was a Shoemaker's Son of *Cahors* in *France*, and probably inſtead of *Cardinal d' Oſſa*, he ſhould be ſtiled Cardinal of *Cahors*. But perhaps *d' Oſtia*.

P. 481. l. 15. *Fitz-Ralph* *.
* He was inſtalled *Dean* of *Lichfield*, *April* 20th 1337, and tranſlated to *Armagh*, 1397. He died 1360.

VOL. V.

PAGE 25. l. 18. his Life *.
* *Thomas Merks* Biſhop of *Carliſle* lived after his Deprivation ſeveral Years. *Goodwin*, *p.* 679.

P. 82. l. 30. Priſon *.
* The Judge who committed the Prince was Sir *William Gaſcoign* of *Harewood-Caſtle*, *Yorkſhire*. Camb.

P. 227. l. 22. his Character *.
* He was a great General, as appears by his Defenſe of *Harfleur*, p. 141.

P. 262. He took the *Great Seal* *.
* But 'tis ſaid p. 226. that the Parliament made the Biſhop of *Durham Thomas Langley* Chancellor, and not the Biſhop of *Wincheſter*.

P. 369. Thirty Years *.
* He was Archbiſhop but 29 Years. He died *April* 12th 1443. His Succeſſor *John Stafford* was a *Baſtard*, as were in the next *Century*, *Tonſtall*, *Gardiner* and *Bona*.

P. 347. l. 22. *December* *1.
*1 Cardinal *Kemp* died *March* 22d 145¾.

VOL.

VOL. VI.

PAGE 27. Line 22. *John Kennet* *.

* His Name was *Kennedy*, Anceſtor of the Earl's of *Caſſilis*; but he was not the ſole Regent at that Time.

P. 97. Earl of *Stafford* *.

* In the *Genealogical Table* no notice is taken of *Henry* Earl of *Stafford* being *Margaret*'s Husband.

P. 129, &c. * Concerning the Death of the Duke of *Clarence*, *Rapin* cites *Biondi*, &c. but does not cite *Act. Pub.* 'Tis moſt probable that the Eight Articles againſt the Duke (p. 132.) were not brought into Parliament till after his Death. *Dugdale* in his *Baronage* ſays ſo, p. 164. Whoever reads the great Hurry the Duke's Enemies were in to take him off, and the general Indignation of the People againſt the King as a Fratricide, muſt be of *Dugdale*'s Opinion, that the Duke was not condemned and attainted in Parliament till after his Death.

P. 132. l. 39. of Malmſy Wine *.

* A vulgar Error, that it was done at the Duke's own Requeſt. *Whitlock* ſpeaks more properly: *He was drowned in a Butt of Malmſey (as Men ſuppoſe) not without the King's Knowledge.*

P. 151, l. 17. *Elizabeth Lucy* *.

* In the Life of *Monk* Duke of *Albermarle*, there is a Genealogical Table, which ſhows him to be deſcended from *Edward* IV. and *Elizabeth Lucy*, whoſe Daughter one of his Anceſtors had married.

P. 194. l. 30. mean Parentage *.

* Biſhop *Moreton* was not of mean Parentage. He was Son of *Richard Moreton*, a Gentleman of *Bere* in *Dorſetſhire*; whoſe Grandfather was *Robert Moreton* of *Moreton* in *Nottinghamſhire* of a very antient Family.

N. B. The Notes and Amendments already ſent by the ſame Hand upon the reſt of the Volumes, will be inſerted in their proper Places; and the uſeful Remarks he has promiſed to communicate upon the Whole, will be printed in an Appendix to the laſt Volume: Wherein, to make the Work the more complete, will be added many other Notes and Obſervations, and any Miſtakes which may have happened will be corrected, particularly in the Two Volumes that were publiſhed during the Tranſlator's Abſence from the Preſs.

ERRATA in VOL. VI.

PAGE 4. Line 35. Saxton read *Caxton*. P. 8 and 9. Criſton r. *Crichton*. P. 14. l. 28. to treat r. *to break*. P. 17. l. 20. inflicted r. *afflicted*. P. 31. l. 10. Louſcales r. *Lord Scales*. P. 51. l. 10. after *Lodging*, inſtead of a . put *a*,. P. 67. l. 13. Edward's r. *Edward*. P. 97. l. penultimâ, dele *and*. P. 104. l. 17. ſent r. *ſo ſent*. P. 128. l. 4. after Maria put *a*, P. 135. l. 17. Countenance r. *Continuance*. P. 143. l. 30. James's r. *James*. P. 155. l. 7. their r. *her*. Ibid. l. 8. Perſon r. *Perſons*. P. 174. l. 19. the r. *they*. P. 195. l. 11. new r. *knew*. P. 200. l. 17. was r. *were*. P. 218. l. 28. after Aſhton r. *after that Aſhton*. P. 221. l. 31. James IV. r. *James* III. P. 248. l. 15. happened r. *that happened*. P. 250. l. 17. judged r. *adjudged*. P. 312. l. 14. has r. *had*. P. 313. l. 27. accept r. *to accept*. P. 315. l. 25. their r. *there*. P. 316. l. 16. aright r. *rightly of*. P. 317. l. 34. Countries r. *Counties*. P. 318. l 29. taken r. *was taken* P. 223. l. 16. the Lord r. *the Lords*. P. 324. l. 8. maturely r. *mutually*. P. 330. l. 38. to Condition r. *no Condition*. P. 331. l. 38. bear r. *bare*. P. 386. l 17. unreaſonable r. *unſeaſonable*. P. 390. l. 13. after Account dele the . and put *a*,. P. 399. l. 1. Ambaſſadors r. *Ambaſſador*. P. 424. l. 33. Elizabeth r. *Catherine*.

BRITISH MUSEUM

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